

38

1 May–31 July 1957

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



# Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

1 May–31 July 1957

Second Series

38







“So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the ‘third world’ as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote...the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.”

Indira Gandhi



**Selected  
works of  
Jawaharlal  
Nehru**



WITH A VASE PRESENTED BY THE FRIENDS OF INDIA SOCIETY,  
HELSINKI, 18 JUNE 1957

# **Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru**

**Second Series**

**Volume Thirty Eight**

**(1 May – 31 July 1957)**

**A Project of the  
Jawaharlal Nehru  
Memorial Fund**



© 2006

All Rights Reserved

Enquiries regarding copyright  
to be addressed to the publishers

PUBLISHED BY

Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

Teen Murti House, New Delhi 110 011

ISBN 019 568813 9

ISBN 978 019 568813 9

DISTRIBUTED BY

Oxford University Press

YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110 001

Mumbai Kolkata Chennai

Oxford New York Toronto

Melbourne Tokyo Hong Kong

TYPESET BY

Digigrafics

D-69, Gulmohar Park

New Delhi 110 049

PRINTED AT

Lordson Publishers Pvt Ltd

C 5/19, Rana Pratap Bagh

Delhi 110 007

Editor

Mushirul Hasan



## FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

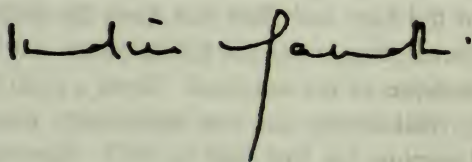
No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both



within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Indira" and the last name "Gandhi" clearly distinguishable.

New Delhi  
18 January 1972

Chairman  
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund



## EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume opens with Jawaharlal Nehru's public speech at the Ramlila Grounds in Delhi on 10 May 1957. The speech has a great deal of contemporary relevance, especially because the country is gearing up to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Great Indian Revolt of 1857. He recalled how he used to listen to the tales of the old people about what happened in 1857-58 in Allahabad, Delhi, Lucknow and other places. These stories made a deep impression on him and filled him with anger. Later, when he visited Awadh and the rural areas of Allahabad district, he often heard tales of 1857 in those parts. People still talked about whole villages being burnt down as punishment. He found even the minds of the peasantry filled with the events of 1857.

What led to this great outburst in 1857? Nehru asked. According to him, it was an expression of the people's anger against the British takeover of the country, and an attempt to get rid of foreign rule. Who was responsible? Nehru did not think it was a coordinated movement: but there was a general feeling of resentment spread over the whole of north India and one spark was enough to ignite a whole conflagration. Nehru concluded by pointing out that the events of 1857 proved that, by and large, except for stray incidents, there was communal harmony. The rift appeared only later and widened because the British followed a policy of divide and rule in order to maintain their hold over the empire. So they adopted the policy of deliberately fomenting communal passion and religious antagonism. They had separate regiments of Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs because they did not want Indians to develop a spirit of nationalism. This went on for years.

He engaged with Algurai Shastri on 18 July 1957, and concluded his letter with the remark: "I do not see why we should object to opinions which we do not like being expressed. We are not a totalitarian state and we give full freedom of expression of opinion."

While the bulk of the collection in this volume deals with "External Affairs", the volume is replete with documents which show Nehru's concern on the issue of food scarcity and shortage of foreign exchange at this point in time.

Under the title "National Progress", Nehru's speeches and correspondence cover the Planning Commission, the budget proposals, food production, and other issues of economic development. Industry and labour is covered in section

four, followed by a major speech on atomic energy in the Lok Sabha on 24 July 1957.

The five documents on "Minorities and Weaker Sections" illustrate Nehru's commitment to a pluralist society. One of them, a note to G.B. Pant, the Union Home Minister, examines the legal implications of conversion to Buddhism.

Issues of governance are organized state-wise. The section opens with Nehru's letters to Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab, on the Hindi-Gurmukhi controversy. In addition, he engages with the Arya Samaj leaders who spearheaded the language agitation in the Punjab.

Free India's first Prime Minister was an outstanding parliamentarian. This is exemplified in his speech on 11 May 1957, in which he reiterated the conventions to be observed in the Lok Sabha. There is an interesting exchange of letters on the portraits of nationalist leaders being put up in the Central Hall of Parliament House, as also on the nomination of Dr Tara Chand in place of Zakir Husain, future President of the Republic, to the Rajya Sabha.

The External Affairs section begins with a letter to Russell H. Fifield, a US Foreign Service officer. It is a lucid exposition of Panchsheel. Nehru claims to have first used this term after the five principles of peaceful coexistence emerged out of long discussions between the Governments of India and China. His speech in the Lok Sabha on 23 July 1957 is, likewise, a lucid enunciation of India's foreign policy.

The Prime Minister visited, in June 1957, Syria, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. "At a bright moment it struck me", he said in Helsinki on 18 June, "that I might borrow those words ('Panch Shila'), which were used in a different context, and use them in a political context for five principles of international behaviour, political behaviour."

In Oslo, Norway, he made it clear that the Kashmir issue was not a question of territory: "it is a question of basic approaches, a kind of theocratic approach on the Pakistan side and a secular approach that we follow." He continued: "Now, it is rather odd for this aggression to be overlooked and for India to be asked to do something about its own territory."

From Stockholm, Nehru went to London to attend the eighth Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. The minutes of the meetings reveal his active interest in world affairs. He talked of the nationalism of each individual country in the Middle East as "a real and effective force", welcomed the decision of the United Kingdom to relax controls on trade with China, and addressed the question of disarmament. On disarmament, Nehru said that, in the light of the rapid advances of science and technology, the problem could not be considered from a static viewpoint. The progressive development of nuclear weapons did not provide a source of security. On the contrary, it created a source of fear. It was



arguable that, for the moment, the possession of nuclear weapons by a limited number of powers acted as deterrent to the outbreak of war. But if the production of nuclear weapons became practicable for an ever increasing number of countries, the threat to world peace would grow rather than diminish. While Nehru recognized the existence of fears that nuclear disarmament might endanger security, he felt strongly that it was the absence of such disarmament that in fact represented a danger to peace. The argument that control over the use of nuclear weapons could be envisaged only as part of a comprehensive settlement of the whole problem of disarmament was not likely to lead to practical results; and it was on this ground that Nehru regarded himself as more of a realist than those who advocated the comprehensive approach.

In his review of the overseas visit, he pointed out to the Congress Parliamentary Party on 19 July 1957:

.... you know that during the last eight or nine years, I have gone abroad several times to Europe and specially the United Kingdom and sometimes to other countries, the United States of America, China, the Soviet Union and Western Asia, Eastern Asia also. Going abroad and looking at other countries and seeing them, year after year, helps one very greatly in two ways. One is to find what changes are taking place in other countries, what progress or lack of progress is being made there and also to see one's own country from a distance in some perspective. Because living in one's own country and dealing with all our day-to-day problems, one is apt to lose perspective. Further that the things which we are accustomed to here in the country, because we are accustomed to them, we rather bypass them or ignore them. Even when it is an evil, well, we put up with it, as it has always been there. Looking at it from the point of view of outside it seems to be more important or worse. So also our virtues. Both our virtues and our failings stand out more from a distance, otherwise we are accustomed to both. That naturally happens.

Still with "External Affairs", this volume covers Nehru's correspondence with the Dalai Lama and with his own colleagues on Tibet and China. Of considerable significance is his visit to Sri Lanka from 17-20 May 1957 and his evocative speeches on the relevance of the Buddha. The breadth of his global vision is, furthermore, reflected in his dealings with India's other neighbours and the countries in South-East Asia.

As in the previous volumes, Nehru's letters to Chief Ministers illuminate important aspects of India's polity and society.

“We are all, I suppose, rather lonely persons, sometimes doubting what we ourselves say or do.” This is Nehru writing to Hiren Mukherjee on 9 June 1957.

We thank various individuals and institutions for their help in publishing this volume. Shrimati Sonia Gandhi granted us permission to consult and publish the papers in her possession. They are referred to as the JN Collection. We have also had access to important collections at the Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, the Secretariats of the President and the Prime Minister, the Ministries of External Affairs and Home Affairs, Planning Commission, National Archives of India, and the Press Information Bureau. The All India Radio allowed to use the tapes of Jawaharlal Nehru’s speeches. Some speeches and press conferences published in *Nehru in Scandinavia*, have also been included in the volume.

For their scholarly and secretarial assistance, we are grateful to Dr Bhashyam Kasturi, Shri Shyamal Roy, Shri Amrit Tandon, Dr Etee Bahadur and Smt Saroja Ananthakrishnan.

November 2006

MUSHIRUL HASAN

# CONTENTS

## 1. General Perspectives

1	The First War of Independence	10	May	1957	3
2	Issues Facing the Nation	16	May	1957	15
3	Socialism by Consent	29	May	1957	31

## 2. National Progress

### I. Economic Development

1	To Mauli Chandra Sharma	5	May	1957	43
2	To V.T. Krishnamachari	20	May	1957	44
3	Reorganization of the Planning Commission	21	May	1957	45
4	The Economic Situation	31	May	1957	46
5	Role of the National Development Council—I	3	June	1957	49
6	Role of the National Development Council—II	4	June	1957	53
7	Prioritization of Schemes	8	June	1957	60
8	Appointment of the Second Pay Commission	19	July	1957	62
9	To B.V. Keskar	29	July	1957	70
10	To E.M.S. Namboodiripad	31	July	1957	71

### II. Mobilization of Resources

1	To T.T. Krishnamachari	2	May	1957	76
2	To Y.B. Chavan	3	May	1957	77
3	To T.T. Krishnamachari	4	May	1957	77



4	Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit	25	May	1957	78
5	To Vijayalakshmi Pandit	25	May	1957	80
6	To U Nu	26	May	1957	81
7	Reducing Expenditure on Ceremonial Functions	28	May	1957	83
8	The Budget Proposals	30	May	1957	83
9	To T.T. Krishnamachari	4	June	1957	98
10	To Central Ministers and Chief Ministers	5	June	1957	99
11	To Heads of Indian Missions	6	June	1957	102
12	To Kailas Nath Katju	6	June	1957	106
13	To Satya Narayan Sinha	6	June	1957	107
14	To T.T. Krishnamachari	12	June	1957	108
15	To T.T. Krishnamachari	16	July	1957	109
16	To Humayun Kabir	28	July	1957	110
17	To C.P.N. Singh	29	July	1957	111
18	Revenue from Estate Duty	29	July	1957	111

### III. Food and Agriculture

1	To M.S. Thacker	28	May	1957	112
2	Food Production	31	May	1957	113
3	To M.S. Thacker	2	June	1957	115
4	Minimum Prices for Agricultural Commodities	11	June	1957	115
5	To T.T. Krishnamachari	12	June	1957	116
6	To P.S. Deshmukh	29	July	1957	117
7	To Ajit Prasad Jain	31	July	1957	118

### IV. Industry and Labour

1	Utilization of Soviet Aid	1	May	1957	121
2	To Jagjivan Ram	11	May	1957	123
3	To Swaran Singh	14	May	1957	124
4	Transition to a Dynamic Economy	20	May	1957	125
5	To Swaran Singh	20	May	1957	128
6	To E.M.S. Namboodiripad	26	May	1957	129
7	To Sudhi Ranjan Das	27	May	1957	130

8	To E.M.S. Namboodiripad	29	May	1957	131
9	To Swaran Singh	6	June	1957	132
10	To K.C. Reddy	7	June	1957	133
11	To K.C. Reddy	8	June	1957	134
12	To Saiyid Fazl Ali	12	June	1957	135
13	To Bisnuram Medhi	12	June	1957	138
14	To Bisnuram Medhi	13	June	1957	139
15	To Bisnuram Medhi	16	July	1957	140
16	To A.K. Gopalan	17	July	1957	141
17	Location of Oil Refinery	24	July	1957	142
18	To Swaran Singh	25	July	1957	144
19	Assam's Claims for an Oil Refinery	27	July	1957	144
20	National Progress and Trade Unionism	30	July	1957	146

## V. Atomic Energy

1	Performance of the Department of Atomic Energy	24	July	1957	155
2	To Homi J. Bhabha	26	July	1957	162

## VI. Education and Culture

1	To D.P. Karmarkar	1	May	1957	163
2	Higher Education for African Students	2	May	1957	164
3	To N. Sanjiva Reddy	6	May	1957	165
4	To C.M. Trivedi	6	May	1957	167
5	To C. Subramaniam	9	May	1957	168
6	Statues of the British Period	13	May	1957	169
7	Policy Regarding Foreign Statues	13	May	1957	170
8	The Sanskrit Language	14	May	1957	171
9	To B.V. Keskar	14	May	1957	175
10	Pricing of Indian Publications	16	May	1957	175
11	To Saif F.B. Tyabji	29	May	1957	176
12	To G.S. Malkote	29	May	1957	177
13	To Abul Kalam Azad	4	June	1957	178
14	To Sumitra Charat Ram	4	June	1957	179
15	To Mohammad Mujeeb	10	June	1957	180

16	To Abul Kalam Azad	26	July	1957	181
17	To Abul Kalam Azad	27	July	1957	182
18	To Sri Prakasa	28	July	1957	183
19	To Abul Kalam Azad	30	July	1957	185

## VII. Health

1	The Pursuit of Health	3	May	1957	186
2	To Amrit Kaur	6	May	1957	189
3	To Jivraj N. Mehta	10	May	1957	190
4	The Effective Management of Hospitals	13	May	1957	191
5	The Right Approach to Family Planning	25	May	1957	193
6	To Amrit Kaur	5	June	1957	195
7	To D.P. Karmarkar	15	July	1957	197
8	To D.P. Karmarkar	17	July	1957	198

## VIII. Minorities and Weaker Sections

1	To C.P. Matthen	5	May	1957	200
2	To Yuhanon Mar Thoma	28	May	1957	201
3	Legal Implications of Conversion to Buddhism	28	May	1957	202
4	Constitutional Provisions for Scheduled Castes	18	July	1957	204
5	Privileges to Converts from Scheduled Castes	26	July	1957	205

## 3. Issues of Governance

### I. States

#### (i) Punjab

1	To Partap Singh Kairon	4	May	1957	209
2	To Partap Singh Kairon	26	May	1957	212

3	To Partap Singh Kairon	13	June	1957	215
4	To Atmanand Saraswati	13	June	1957	216
5	To Ghanshyam Singh Gupta	15	July	1957	223
6	To Partap Singh Kairon	17	July	1957	224
7	To Tara Singh	21	July	1957	225
8	To Atmanand Saraswati	22	July	1957	227
9	To Partap Singh Kairon	25	July	1957	231
10	To C.P.N. Singh	25	July	1957	233
11	Message to the Harijan Convention	28	July	1957	234
12	To Partap Singh Kairon	29	July	1957	235
13	To Gurmukh Singh Musafir	30	July	1957	236

## (ii) Delhi

1	Slum Improvement	2	May	1957	237
2	To K.C. Reddy	10	May	1957	240
3	To K.C. Reddy	4	June	1957	241
4	Legislation for the Delhi Corporation	5	June	1957	241
5	To D.P. Karmarkar	30	July	1957	242
6	Town Planning	30	July	1957	244

## (iii) Other States

1	To Mohanlal Sukhadia	3	May	1957	247
2	To Sampurnanand	16	May	1957	248
3	To Sri Prakasa	24	May	1957	249
4	To G.B. Pant	27	July	1957	250

## II. North-Eastern States

1	The Challenge of Development	10	May	1957	252
2	To V.T. Krishnamachari	15	May	1957	253
3	To Bisnuram Medhi	16	May	1957	255
4	Necessity of Withdrawing the Army	23	May	1957	257
5	To Saiyid Fazl Ali	23	May	1957	258
6	To Saiyid Fazl Ali	28	May	1957	260



7	To Saiyid Fazl Ali	2	June	1957	262
8	To Saiyid Fazl Ali	6	June	1957	263
9	To Saiyid Fazl Ali	16	July	1957	264
10	Protecting the Loyal Nagas	18	July	1957	265
11	Dealing with Tribal Areas	23	July	1957	267
12	To Saiyid Fazl Ali	25	July	1957	269
13	Cable to Saiyid Fazl Ali	26	July	1957	271

### III. A New House for the Prime Minister

1	Proposal to Move to a Smaller House	12	June	1957	273
2	To Indira Gandhi	27	June	1957	274
3	Unsuitability of Teen Murti House	15	July	1957	277
4	To Mohanlal Saksena	21	July	1957	280
5	Some Points of Detail	26	July	1957	283
6	Decision to Remain in the Existing House	28	July	1957	284

### IV. The Rossellini Affair

1	A Foreign Film Maker's Romantic Affair	16	May	1957	287
2	To Manobina Roy	12	June	1957	289
3	To Krishna Hutheesing	27	June	1957	290
4	To Subimal Dutt	4	July	1957	292
5	To Manobina Roy	29	July	1957	295

### V. General

1	Arrangements for Prime Minister's Security	4	May	1957	297
2	A Case of Unjustified Dismissal	5	May	1957	298
3	To Mehr Chand Khanna	6	May	1957	300
4	To G.B. Pant	7	May	1957	301



5	To Rajendra Prasad	10	May	1957	302
6	To S. Nijalingappa	10	May	1957	304
7	The Approach to Security	11	May	1957	305
8	To N.C. Chatterjee	11	May	1957	305
9	To Chaman Lall	12	May	1957	306
10	To B. Ramakrishna Rao	13	May	1957	307
11	To J.B. Kripalani	16	May	1957	308
12	To N.C. Chatterjee	22	May	1957	309
13	To Y.N. Sukthankar	23	May	1957	311
14	To G.B. Pant	23	May	1957	312
15	To Abul Kalam Azad	30	May	1957	313
16	To Morarji Desai	31	May	1957	314
17	The Promotion of Scientists	6	June	1957	315
18	To T.T. Krishnamachari	6	June	1957	316
19	To Abul Kalam Azad	8	June	1957	318
20	To Bisnuram Medhi	8	June	1957	319
21	To Bisnuram Medhi	8	June	1957	320
22	To Bisnuram Medhi	8	June	1957	321
23	To Chief Ministers	8	June	1957	323
24	To Sri Krishna Sinha	8	June	1957	324
25	To Rajendra Prasad	9	June	1957	325
26	To Rajendra Prasad	10	June	1957	326
27	The Case of B.S. Grewal	13	June	1957	327
28	To T.T. Krishnamachari	4	July	1957	329
29	Police Ethics	15	July	1957	330
30	The Petition Against Nehru	16	July	1957	331
31	To G.B. Pant	17	July	1957	336
32	Keeping Official Secrets	19	July	1957	337
33	To Asok K. Chanda	21	July	1957	338
34	To Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers	22	July	1957	341
35	To Swaran Singh	23	July	1957	342
36	To V.T. Krishnamachari	28	July	1957	343
37	Unrest Among Government Employees	29	July	1957	345
38	To G.B. Pant	29	July	1957	347
39	Dealing with the Government Employees' Strike	31	July	1957	348

#### 4. Parliamentary Affairs

1	The Importance of Conventions	11	May	1957	353
2	To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar	26	May	1957	354
3	To S. Radhakrishnan	27	May	1957	355
4	To Indulal Yagnik	28	May	1957	356
5	To S. Radhakrishnan	30	May	1957	357
6	To B.C. Roy	6	June	1957	358
7	To Rajendra Prasad	28	July	1957	360

#### 5. Indian National Congress

1	To U.N. Dhebar	5	May	1957	365
2	To M.J. Kanetkar	7	May	1957	365
3	To Mohan Lal Saksena	10	May	1957	366
4	Need for Introspection	13	May	1957	367
5	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	30	May	1957	378
6	Revitalizing the Congress	31	May	1957	379
7	Need for Strengthening the Party	1	June	1957	380
8	The Salaries of Ministers	2	June	1957	384
9	To U.N. Dhebar	2	June	1957	386
10	To Algurai Shastri	3	June	1957	387
11	Allocation of Party Work	3	June	1957	388
12	To Algurai Shastri	5	June	1957	389
13	To Partap Singh Kairon	5	June	1957	390
14	To Mohan Lal Saksena	6	June	1957	391
15	To U.N. Dhebar	7	June	1957	392
16	To N.C. Kasliwal	7	June	1957	394
17	To B.C. Roy	8	June	1957	395
18	To U.N. Dhebar	9	June	1957	397
19	To Sampurnanand	10	June	1957	399
20	Message to the Youth Congress	27	July	1957	401
21	To U.N. Dhebar	30	July	1957	402
22	To Sampurnanand	30	July	1957	404

#### 6. Kashmir

1	To C. Rajagopalachari	2	May	1957	409
2	Cable to G.L. Mehta	4	May	1957	412

3	Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit	4	May	1957	413
4	To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad	5	May	1957	414
5	To Jose Manuel Rivas Sacconi	10	May	1957	416
6	To Gonzalo Guell	10	May	1957	418
7	To Vishnu Sahay	14	May	1957	419
8	To Lakshmi N. Menon	24	May	1957	420
9	Dulles's Statement	25	May	1957	421
10	Publicity Work Abroad	28	May	1957	422
11	To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad	4	June	1957	424
12	Some Administrative Issues	13	June	1957	425

## 7. Defence

1	To Shriman Narayan	4	May	1957	429
2	Need for Non-violent Defence Techniques	4	May	1957	430
3	To Partap Singh Kairon	7	May	1957	436
4	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	29	May	1957	437
5	To M.K. Vellodi	6	June	1957	437
6	Border Security	4	July	1957	439
7	Appraisal of Defence Policy	27	July	1957	440

## 8. Portuguese Possessions

1	Payment of Allowances to Goans	2	May	1957	445
2	Raising the Morale of Goans	12	May	1957	446
3	Talks with Members of Parliament	27	May	1957	447
4	A Review of Government Policy	27	May	1957	449
5	Policy Towards Daman and Diu	6	June	1957	450
6	Goan Students in India	27	July	1957	451

## 9. External Affairs

### I. General

1	To John A. Thivy	15	May	1957	455
2	To Russell H. Fifield	4	June	1957	456



3	To Norman Cousins	6	June	1957	458
4	Foreign Policy Challenges and the Cold War	23	July	1957	460

## II. Foreign Visit

### (i) Syria

1	On Becoming a Citizen of Damascus	14	June	1957	469
2	Relations with Syria	14	June	1957	474

### (ii) Denmark

1	Democracy and Social Welfare	15	June	1957	477
2	Press Conference	17	June	1957	483
3	The Priorities Before India	17	June	1957	499

### (iii) Finland

1	The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence	18	June	1957	504
2	The Pursuit of Philosophy and World Problems	18	June	1957	509
3	To T.T. Krishnamachari	18	June	1957	516
4	Press Conference	19	June	1957	517
5	Interview to Finnish Radio	19	June	1957	535

### (iv) Norway

1	Problems of Security	20	June	1957	540
2	Press Conference	22	June	1957	547
3	Farewell to Oslo	22	June	1957	560



**(v) Sweden**

1	The Approach to Peace	23	June	1957	561
2	Problems of Planning and Development	24	June	1957	569
3	Press Conference	24	June	1957	573
4	Goodwill Among Nations	24	June	1957	591

**(vi) UK**

1	To Lord Mountbatten	3	June	1957	598
2	The Future of the Commonwealth	8	June	1957	599
3	The Soviet Union	26	June	1957	604
4	The Situation in West Asia	27	June	1957	606
5	Egypt's Declaration on Suez	27	June	1957	609
6	China, Tibet and South-East Asia	28	June	1957	610
7	The Question of Disarmament	1	July	1957	614
8	Improving the Effectiveness of the UN	2	July	1957	616
9	Interview to CBS	3	July	1957	619
10	India's Development Plans	3	July	1957	629
11	Implications of the Emerging European Associations	3	July	1957	632
12	Hungary and the Suez	4	July	1957	633
13	To T.T. Krishnamachari	4	July	1957	634
14	Press Conference	4	July	1957	635
15	Changes in the Soviet Union	5	July	1957	649
16	The Adventure of India's Development	5	July	1957	651
17	To V.K. Krishna Menon	5	July	1957	659
18	To G.B. Pant	6	July	1957	660

**(vii) The Netherlands**

1	The Dynamism of Asia	8	July	1957	661
2	Honouring Creative Dutch Children	8	July	1957	665
3	Press Conference	9	July	1957	666

### (viii) Review of Foreign Visit

1	Summation of Visit	18	July	1957	676
2	Sharing Impressions with Party MPs	19	July	1957	676

### III. Neighbouring Countries

#### (i) China

1	To the Dalai Lama	8	May	1957	687
2	To Sampurnanand	14	May	1957	689
3	To R.K. Nehru	9	June	1957	691
4	To R.K. Nehru	15	July	1957	692
5	The Border with China	30	July	1957	693

#### (ii) Pakistan

1	Suicide by a Pakistani	3	May	1957	694
2	Arrest of Two Indian Officials	8	May	1957	696
3	To Pyarelal	11	May	1957	697
4	The Lahore Incident	14	May	1957	698
5	To Mohammad Noman	24	May	1957	699
6	The Ganga Barrage Scheme	28	May	1957	700
7	Indus Waters and the World Bank	10	June	1957	701
8	Cable to M.J. Desai	5	July	1957	703
9	To C.C. Desai	18	July	1957	704

#### (iii) Sri Lanka

1	To Asoka Mehta	12	May	1957	705
2	On a Pilgrimage	17	May	1957	706
3	Opposite Approaches to Life's Problems	17	May	1957	707
4	Anuradhapura-A Shrine of Buddha's Message	18	May	1957	709
5	The Relevance of the Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi	19	May	1957	711

6	The Democratic Way	19	May	1957	718
7	Joint Statement	19	May	1957	720
8	Press Conference	19	May	1957	722
9	Talks with S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike	21	May	1957	727

#### (iv) Myanmar

1	To U Nu	14	May	1957	728
2	To U Nu	17	July	1957	729

#### (v) Nepal

1	Investment of Indian Capital	22	May	1957	730
2	Cable to Bhagwan Sahay	31	July	1957	731

### IV. Other Countries

1	Attitude to the Eisenhower Doctrine	1	May	1957	732
2	Negotiations in Laos	5	May	1957	733
3	Talks with the US Ambassador	8	May	1957	734
4	Representation of the Arab League in India	22	May	1957	735
5	A Tribute to the People of Japan	23	May	1957	736
6	The Resurgence of Japan	24	May	1957	737
7	To Tunku Abdul Rahman	24	May	1957	739
8	Afghanistan's Stand on Chitral	27	May	1957	740
9	Aid to Egypt	28	May	1957	741
10	Relations with Indonesia	30	May	1957	742
11	Talks with the Soviet Ambassador	31	May	1957	743
12	To Raden Djuanda	5	June	1957	745
13	Cable to R.K. Nehru	5	June	1957	746
14	Establishment of a Soviet Consulate in Chennai	11	June	1957	748
15	To Louis St Laurent	6	July	1957	749
16	The Future of Cyprus	15	July	1957	750
17	People of Indian Descent in Malaya	17	July	1957	751
18	Israel's Outlook	17	July	1957	752
19	To C.S. Jha	30	July	1957	753

20	Opening of an Embassy in Chile	31	July	1957	754
21	To Vijayalakshmi Pandit	31	July	1957	755

## V. Disarmament

1	Nuclear and Thermonuclear Tests	10	May	1957	757
2	Resolution for the Lok Sabha	18	May	1957	758
3	Concern at Nuclear Explosions	22	May	1957	759
4	Interpreting India's Posture	25	July	1957	765

## VI. Other Matters

1	To M.D.D. Gilder	1	May	1957	766
2	To Suraj N. Gupta	13	May	1957	767
3	Representation of India's Policies by Non-officials	16	May	1957	768
4	Utilizing Specialized Talents	21	May	1957	769
5	To Mrs M.A.Rauf	27	May	1957	770
6	To M.K. Kidwai	11	June	1957	771
7	Sending Non-official Delegations Abroad	17	July	1957	772
8	The Headquarters of the IAEA	22	July	1957	774
9	To Vijayalakshmi Pandit	23	July	1957	774
10	To the Students of Chilwell Training School	29	July	1957	776

## 10. Letters to Chief Ministers

I		5	May	1957	779
II		12	June	1957	785
III		15	July	1957	791

## 11. Miscellaneous

1	To Harindranath Chattopadhyaya	1	May	1957	801
2	To C.M. Trivedi	7	May	1957	802



3	To K.K. Datta	9	May	1957	802
4	To Madan Atal	16	May	1957	803
5	Polish Edition of Gandhiji's Autobiography	28	May	1957	804
6	To Sri Prakasa	28	May	1957	806
7	The Leadership of Mahatma Gandhi	1	June	1957	807
8	To Vijayalakshmi Pandit	6	June	1957	809
9	To H.N. Mukherjee	9	June	1957	810
10	To Morarji Desai	10	June	1957	812
11	To John Foster Dulles	1	July	1957	814
12	To G.P. Hutheesing	5	July	1957	814
13	To Narendra Mehta	15	July	1957	815
14	To J.H. Adam	17	July	1957	816
15	To Abul Kalam Azad	18	July	1957	818
16	To Algurai Shastri	18	July	1957	819
17	To Jayaprakash Narayan	18	July	1957	820
18	To Krishna Kripalani	28	July	1957	822
19	To Harsha Hutheesing	28	July	1957	823



## ILLUSTRATIONS

With a vase presented by the Friends of India Society, Helsinki, 18 June 1957	<i>frontispiece</i>	
At AICC Meeting, New Delhi, June 1957	<i>between pp</i>	368–369
At AICC Meeting, New Delhi, June 1957		
At AICC Meeting, New Delhi, June 1957		384–385
At AICC Meeting, New Delhi, June 1957		
Addressing the Family Planning Board, New Delhi, 25 May 1957		448–449
With Rajendra Prasad and G.B. Pant at New Delhi airport, 14 June 1957		
With the King and Queen of Denmark, Copenhagen, 15 June 1957		464–465
At an Agricultural farm, Copenhagen, 16 June 1957		
With President Urho Kekkonen of Finland, Helsinki, June 1957		528–529
Admiring the Finnish countryside at Mantta, 19 June 1957		
With Mrs Hjordis Lie and Trygve Lie, Oslo, 22 June 1957		544–545
With school children, Oslo, 22 June 1957		

- With Swedish Prime Minister Tage Erlander  
and his wife, Stockholm, 24 June 1957 576-577
- With the daughter of a Swedish worker,  
Stockholm, June 1957
- With Queen Juliana of the Netherlands,  
Soestdijk, July 1957 592-593
- At a civic reception by the Colombo Municipal  
Council, Colombo, 17 May 1957
- With Indira Gandhi,  
Colombo, 17 May 1957 720-721
- Admiring the Samadhi Buddha,  
Anuradhapura, 18 May 1957
- In Colombo, May 1957 736-737
- With Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi,  
New Delhi, 23 May 1957



## ABBREVIATIONS

AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
AITUC	All-India Trade Union Congress
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
COAS	Chief of the Army Staff
CSO	Central Statistical Organization
CWC	Congress Working Committee
DDPA	Delhi Development Provisional Authority
DIG	Deputy Inspector-General
FS	Foreign Secretary
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCI	Galvanized, Corrugated, Iron (sheets)
I&B	Information and Broadcasting, Ministry of
IAF	Indian Air Force
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
ICS	Indian Civil Service
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
NEFA	North-East Frontier Agency
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum & Library

O&M	Organization and Methods
PC	Planning Commission
Pepsu	Patiala & East Punjab States Union
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PM	Prime Minister
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
P&T	Posts and Telegraph
RAF	Royal Air Force
SEATO	South-East Asia Treaty Organization
SG	Secretary General
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee
TA	Travelling Allowance
TC	Travancore-Cochin
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations Organization
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UPCC	Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee
US/USA	United States of America
WH&S	Works, Housing & Supply, Ministry of

## GENERAL PERSPECTIVES





## 1. The First War of Independence<sup>1</sup>

Sisters and brothers,

....I am appearing before you after a long time to mark a special occasion. I would like to draw your attention to some issues which are especially relevant today.

The newly constituted Lok Sabha met today at 11 o'clock to take the oath of office to serve India honestly and sincerely within the parameters of our Constitution. Though it is a formality, it is of great significance because when someone takes an oath with honesty and integrity, he moves on to a higher plane from the mundane, day-to-day life. It is a coincidence that the second Lok Sabha was sworn in today on the 10th of May, exactly a hundred years from the day on which the first war of independence, or the mutiny as some people call it, began in the city of Meerut. We did not choose this date deliberately. But since it has coincided with that historic day, it adds to the importance of this occasion. The Lok Sabha observed a two-minute silence in memory of all those who laid down their lives in 1857.

The real work of the Lok Sabha will begin from the 13th of this month with the Presidential Address. As you know, the President has been re-elected for another term. According to our Constitution, the President addresses both Houses of Parliament every year. That will be on the 13th of this month. Again, by a strange coincidence, the 13th also happens to be a special day for Buddha Jayanti falls on that day. You will notice there is a striking coincidence in our newly constituted Parliament being sworn in on the hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the first war of independence and in the actual commencement of the work of Parliament on the Buddha Jayanti day. We must keep both these things in mind. It is not enough to think of either in isolation.

You must have heard about the war of independence which broke out in Meerut, Delhi, Lucknow and many other parts of India though very few people perhaps know the details. Almost all the earlier books and accounts of the events of 1857 were written by Englishmen. Therefore they are naturally biased: while the role of the Englishmen is praised, the Indians are dubbed as traitors and mutineers. It is true that some Englishmen have also accepted that the movement

1. Address at a public meeting, Ramlila Grounds, Delhi, 10 May 1957. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.

could have another aspect and praised the leaders of the movement. Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi in particular has been praised by the English officers of those days. Indians of course did not dare to write anything because during the period immediately following the events of 1857 great atrocities were committed and the people were crushed with a brutal hand. So they were afraid. Even the accounts written by Indians a little later were not very balanced historical records. They tended to lean the other way.

The time has come when we can view the events of a hundred years ago objectively and without heat. A new genre of books is now beginning to be published. One was released today.<sup>2</sup> It was commissioned by the Government two or three years ago and is written by a very well known historian. Yet another book has been published, giving graphic details of the incidents of 1857.<sup>3</sup> It goes into the question of whether what happened in 1857 can be called a war of independence or not. Opinions differ on that. Anyhow people must read these books.

I remember that when I was a child, which was a long time ago, there were still people around who had seen or heard about the incidents of 1857. When I was nine or ten years old, I used to listen to the tales of those old people about what happened in 1857-58 in Allahabad, Delhi, Lucknow and other places. They were real stories and the people recounting them had experienced them at first hand. As you know, such things make a deep impression on a child's mind. It made a deep impression on me and filled me with anger.

Historians now write treatises full of complex arguments which is all right. We must read their works no doubt. But I have often wondered what impact the events of 1857 made on the minds of the common people in India. Later, when I had the opportunity of visiting Awadh and the rural areas of Allahabad district, I often heard tales of 1857 in those parts. People still talked about whole villages being burnt down as punishment. What I mean to say is that I found even the minds of the peasantry filled with the events of 1857. So there is no doubt about it that the events of 1857 did make an indelible impression on a very large part of the country. It is true that it was not the whole of India but the northern belt, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Bihar, Delhi, and a part of Calcutta, Barrackpore, which was affected.

What led to this great outburst in 1857? It is obvious that it was an expression of the people's anger against the British takeover of the country, and an attempt to get rid of them. Who was responsible – individuals or groups? As far as it is

2. S.N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*, Publications Division, Delhi, 1957.

3. *1857, a Pictorial Presentation*, Publications Division, Delhi, 1957.



known, it was not a coordinated movement. But there was a general feeling of resentment spread over the whole of north India and one spark was enough to ignite a whole conflagration. There was an attempt at some coordination and you must have heard stories of chapatis being distributed, to spread the message among the people, to be prepared. But as far as it is known the movement was not organized. It was more a question of everyone taking advantage of the widespread resentment among various sections of society, particularly in the upper classes, the princes, zamindars and jagirdars and to some extent among the masses. If you say that it was an expression of deep-seated resentment against British rule and an attempt to oust it, you would be absolutely right. There is no doubt about it.

You must think a little of the circumstances which led to the establishment of British rule. That is a strange story too. It did not happen with a bang, after a great military victory, but came about gradually. People did not even realize that it was happening. The British came in search of trade and gradually acquired other rights. They bided their time for almost a hundred years and called themselves vassals of the Mughal emperor. Even their coins were issued in the name of the Mughal emperor. For almost a hundred years they kept up a pretence of allowing things to go on unchanged. It was under the cloak of commerce that the British set themselves up in India. Ultimately a time came when the Mughal emperor was virtually a prisoner in the Red Fort at Delhi and his empire had diminished to just that Fort. It did not extend even to the city of Delhi. It took a long time for the common people to realize that someone else was in power. It was the same in Bengal too. In the beginning, the British were given *diwani* and gradually they assumed control over the state and established an empire. Just a short while before the events of 1857, they had annexed Awadh, ousting the Nawab, thus revealing their hand openly for the first time. The people were shocked to realize who their real rulers were. Until then, the British had remained in the background.

Anyhow, whatever the reasons, there can be no doubt about it that the revolt of 1857 was an expression of the people's emotions against the establishment of British rule in India. It was not an organized movement when it began. But incidents in one place triggered off a chain reaction. But none of it would have been possible if a great deal of resentment had not already existed among the people.

I want you to bear in mind one thing in this context which people often fail to realize. India was attacked by foreign invaders, time and again, during her long history. It is believed that the Aryans came to India four or five thousand years ago crossing the mountains and settled down in this land. Then came invaders from other lands, the Huns, the Scythians and others. But all of them settled

down in India and adopted it as their own country. Irrespective of their religion and their status as conquerors they came to regard India as their home. The Arabs came, though in small numbers, to the borders, and settled in Sindh. Then came the Turks, the Afghans and the Mughals. But in a very short while they had intermingled with the local people. They had no homeland except India. So they learnt to live in amity with the others. The establishment of British rule in India is of special significance because for the first time in the thousands of years of Indian history, the foreign invaders owed loyalty to another country. India was merely a country over which they ruled. It made a great difference. In a sense, before the coming of the British, no matter who ruled India, it was independent. It had an Indian government with its roots in India's soil and which owed no allegiance to anyone else. So, in a sense, in spite of the great upheavals which took place from time to time, India remained an independent nation. For the first time in thousands of years the trend was reversed. A nation which lay thousands of miles away ruled India through its representatives. This was the great difference which the coming of the British and the establishment of their empire in India made.

When the other invaders marched into India, there was fighting in the beginning, but gradually they settled down and mingled with the people. India became their home. The races and cultures intermingled and influenced one another, and gradually learnt to live together in amity. The British however, came and stayed here for a certain length of time and went back. They did not mingle with the local population. You must bear in mind that the India of today is the product of the intermingling of various races and cultures over thousands of years. There is Scythian and Hun blood in the great Rajput clans. They came to conquer India two thousand years ago and within a generation or two, assumed Indian clan names and settled down. They realized that their stature was enhanced by claiming descent from the Sun and the Moon. It is absurd to think of ourselves as being of pure blood, separate from other races of the world. India has evolved as a nation through the intermingling of various races and cultures.

It is only the British who refused to mingle. If they had no other home to go back to constantly as it happened with other races, they too would have been absorbed in the melting pot of India. But their loyalty was to Britain and moreover the differences between the two cultures were great. So they could not mix. So India was for the first time conquered by a people which ruled us from a distant land.

It is obvious that the British came and conquered India because they were advanced in modern science and technology. They were tougher, more inquiring, disciplined and had the quality to work in unity. India had become stagnant and the people were divided into small compartments. So we became backward and



weak. Individually, there were people of high quality. But as a nation we had become stagnant. So, as was inevitable, the more advanced and stronger nation with superior weapons came and conquered us. They had great courage and the spirit of adventure, which is evident from the fact that they had to cross thousands of miles of ocean to come to India. It required great courage and endurance. Hundreds of people died on the way yet the others did not give up.

In India, on the other hand, things had become so bad that it was considered foreign to leave one's own village. Crossing the seas was considered destructive of one's religion and those who dared to do so were ex-communicated. It was extremely stupid and all the emphasis was on rituals and shibboleths. How could a people whose attention was constantly absorbed by such trivial matters hope to progress? Casteism grew more and more rigid and people lived in small compartments. So the fact of the matter is that though the feelings against British rule were strong, the spirit of nationalism amongst Indians was not strong. Few people thought in terms of India as a whole. Indian society in those times was extremely feudal, consisting of princes and talukedars and zamindars. Even the leaders of the revolt were the princes. Not that there was anything wrong in that. I am merely pointing out the kind of social organization that prevailed then. The peasants followed their leaders. But in the India of those times only the princes and big landlords could be the leaders. They revolted because the British were gradually reducing them in stature. Some revolted in the name of their state or religion and others for personal benefit. All these factors came together in 1857.

I shall not go into its history. There are two or three broad facts to be kept in mind. One, there is no doubt about it that whatever the causes behind it may have been, it was an Indian struggle for independence. It was an expression of resentment against the yoke of foreign rule and an attempt to get rid of it. What might have followed if the movement had succeeded is a different matter. Secondly, it is true that the religious sentiments of the Hindus and the Muslims were hurt by the suspicion that the British were forcing them to use bullets which had pork in it. But it is wrong to say that that was the cause of the revolt. The real reason was people's anger against British rule and other factors including religion were part of it. You will find that throughout those two years, there was no communal disharmony of any kind in spite of our ingrained habit of internecine feuds. Both Hindus and Muslims participated in the movement and in victory as well as in defeat, they marched shoulder to shoulder. This is something noteworthy.

But, when the British entrenched themselves strongly on Indian soil, a rift between the Hindus and Muslims developed. Is that not strange? Before the coming of the British, Muslims ruled over most parts of India. It is true that in the later years, Mughal power had weakened. Shivaji had dealt a great blow to it

and weakened it considerably. When the British arrived, the Marathas ruled over many parts of India. Yet the people accepted Muslim rule. In fact for years after the British had entrenched themselves fully, they had to take the shelter of the Mughal rulers. They did not dare even to mint coins in their own name. They continued to use the Mughal emperor as the figurehead. The memory of the power of the Mughals was very strong both among Hindus and Muslims.

So the events of 1857 proved that by and large, except for stray incidents, there was communal harmony. The rift appeared only later and widened because the British followed a policy of divide and rule in order to maintain their hold over the empire. So they adopted the policy of deliberately fomenting communal passions and religious antagonism. They had separate regiments of Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs because they did not want them to develop a spirit of nationalism. This went on for years.

About twenty-eight years after the revolt of 1857, the Indian National Congress was born. For nearly twenty years or so after 1857, the people were too afraid to raise their heads. Then gradually they regained their spirit and the Indian National Congress was born in 1885. There were Hindus, Muslims, Christians and people of all other religions in it. It had small beginnings but within two or three years it began to worry the British because Hindus and Muslims were uniting under one banner. Immediately they started a policy of intimidating the people in the Congress, most of whom belonged to the upper classes then. Their effort was mainly to prevent Muslims from joining the Congress. As a result, the Muslims were kept apart at many levels.

Some more years passed and, for the first time, the question of elections to the assemblies came up in 1909 and the Minto-Morley reforms were introduced. It was a very small step towards giving local autonomy. The concept of separate electorates for Hindus and Muslims was introduced then. You can see how the whole thing progressed from 1857 onwards. The British realized the havoc that the two united communities could cause. So they thought of separate electorates. The interesting thing is that the Viceroy called a few of the top Muslim leaders and zamindars and asked them to come to him in a deputation seeking a separate electorate for the Muslims. He indicated that he would agree to it. So a delegation under the leadership of the Aga Khan<sup>4</sup> went to the Viceroy<sup>5</sup>—the very same

4. Aga Khan III (1877-1957); spiritual head of the Ismaili Khoja community. Aga Khan III, founded the Aga Khan foundation, an international philanthropic organization offering educational and other services.

5. A delegation headed by the Aga Khan was received by the Viceroy Minto, in Shimla in October 1906. The delegation asked for guarantees that the rights of Muslims should be protected and that in any case the Muslims should not be relegated to a position of a helpless minority by the assertion of the numerically superior Hindu population.



gentleman who is alive to this day but has grown very old. Well, he declared that the Muslims would be suppressed unless they were granted a separate electorate. You can appreciate the cunning of the Viceroy. Having instigated the demand, he made a pretence of considering it and eventually accepted it.

This is how the seeds of communal hatred and bitterness were sown. Then it gradually spread among the Sikhs and others. Even today it is extremely dangerous to bring religion into politics and elections. I have tried to show you how, in spite of all the difficulties, there was complete harmony between the Hindus and Muslims in 1857. The rift appeared later, at the instigation of the British. This is one thing.

On the other hand, there is something else about 1857, which must not be forgotten though it is not very pleasant. We pay homage to the memory of the great men who gave their lives to free India from the yoke of foreign rule. But we must also remember that ultimately their efforts were foiled with the help of Indians themselves. Many of our countrymen helped the British against their own kith and kin. No nation, particularly a vast country like ours, could be defeated except through its own weaknesses. It is only when one's own countrymen turn traitors and stab their own brothers in the back that a country falls. You will find innumerable instances in Indian history, on the one hand, of courage, sacrifice and bravery and, on the other hand, of treachery, disunity, deception and helping the enemy.

The story of Mir Jaffer and Umi Chand is famous in Bengal. If you read history, you will find that British rule was established in India not because of the superior might of the British except in some cases but by the cunning and the treachery of some Indians. Many big provinces were created as a reward for treachery. Zamindaris and talukedaris were given as a reward for siding with the British. Is there some special weakness in us as a people that a few of us strike at the very roots of the nation's existence by our treachery?

Well, very few people deliberately resort to treachery. But there are many people who are more than willing to foment disunity and create dissensions. That is almost commonplace. I will not call it treachery but the effect is the same for it weakens the nation and strengthens the enemy's hand. This is a great shortcoming in us, lack of unity and the habit of getting carried away, of internal dissension and fissiparous tendencies, whether it is in the name of religion, province, language or caste. I am not saying anything new. These are very old habits of ours.

However, as far as the revolt of 1857 was concerned, though there were grave shortcomings, like the absence of one central leadership, the lack of proper arrangements or resources, there was no disunity. We as an independent nation are much more prone to give in to this weakness. Perhaps we have become

complacent after getting freedom and feel that we can behave as we like. But that is absolutely wrong. Freedom can never be consolidated absolutely. It is always in danger and threats abound on all sides to submerge it. If a nation is not prepared or lacks unity, it is bound to flounder. This is the lesson that our entire history teaches us. If we forget the fundamental rules and become complacent or talk vaguely in the air, our freedom will be in peril.

This is what I am chiefly concerned about and I want you to share my concern because we are living in dangerous times. Not a day passes without a mention of nuclear weapons and missiles in the newspapers. You can destroy a city a thousand or two thousand miles away with the help of a missile. Experts believe that even the nuclear test explosions, which are undertaken regularly, pollute the atmosphere and increase the danger of atomic radiation. Nobody knows how many millions have been affected by it already. If the level of radiation increases even slightly the atmosphere could become poisonous. Radiation is an extremely dangerous thing.

You may have heard that one atom bomb could destroy the whole of Delhi. What can you do to escape? Some people may be able to escape into the jungles. But the city will be finished. Today there are more powerful and lethal weapons in the arsenals of the nations of the world. A direct hit is of course lethal. But the effects of radiation are more long lasting and dangerous. It affects everything all around including food and water. It can cause cancer and other skin and bone diseases even four or five years later. If a hydrogen bomb is exploded 5,000 miles away, it may not affect us directly. But radiation permeates the atmosphere for thousands of miles and persists for years to come. If a nuclear explosion takes place in the Soviet Union or the Pacific we could be affected by its fallout in Delhi. Anyhow, many people believe that unless nuclear tests are banned, they will harm the world greatly. You cannot escape the consequences of nuclear fallout. If there is a nuclear war, of course, it would mean total annihilation.

What is the course open to us in such a dangerous situation? We do not have the strength to take on the responsibilities of the whole world. It would be absurd for us to make tall claims. Our first priority is to make India economically strong so that our voice is heard with respect in the world. We must foster national unity and progress quickly through industrialization. For one thing, it would mean economic betterment for the country and, secondly, we will acquire the strength to defend ourselves. I do not mean that we can escape the consequences of a nuclear war because nobody is safe from that. But we can do a great deal to make India economically strong.

On the other hand, though there has been tremendous progress in the field of science and technology in the world, what of man's intellect and emotions?



Einstein, one of the greatest scientists the world has produced, took the first great step towards the atomic age by discovering the way to split the atom. Mankind has acquired a great source of energy. But it has now become a genie, which threatens to go out of control. In his last years, Einstein was filled with remorse for what he had done. He said repeatedly that atomic power could not be kept under control by yet more nuclear weapons. It is such a lethal thing that a totally different kind of strength is necessary to keep it under control. The great scientist felt that ultimately it is only when there is a change in human nature for the better and mankind is rid of the feelings of hatred and bitterness and violence that atomic energy can be brought under control. Einstein was no religious person.

We have reached a point in history where, unless the whole of mankind adopts the right path and eschews violence, feelings of revenge and bitterness, whatever the leaders at the top do and say will be of no consequence. Even today, the great powers are not willing to give up nuclear weapons. They talk of partial test ban and what not. Such half measures are of no use. I want you to think about this. It is a strange thing that the power to wreak violence has increased to such an extent with the invention of nuclear weapons that it can no longer be kept under a leash by moving further down that path. The world needs something else. So we come around once again to the path shown by the Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi. I do not know if the world will ever follow that path wholeheartedly. But I have no doubt whatsoever in my mind that there is no alternative. I am not saying this as a religious dogma though every religion in the world, whether it is Islam or Christianity or Hinduism, advocates peace. I mentioned the Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi because they were born in India. But Jesus Christ and Hazrat Muhammad also preached the same ideals. It is difficult to live up to those ideals in this world of harsh realities. It is now an imperative to prevent the impending doom.

We have just had the general elections. What I am going to say now is not limited to any one party. I am naturally partial to the Congress for I belong to it and I feel that it is very essential for the Congress party to remain at the helm of affairs to maintain India's unity. But I am not referring to any party in particular. Apart from a few setbacks here and there, the Congress has won with a thumping majority. So I can have no complaint. But I have been perturbed by these elections, not in regard to any party but the trends, which have come to the fore, of narrowmindedness, casteism and disregard for the larger national interests. I would like to tell you that these evils are to be found in all the parties, including the Congress. I do not absolve the Congress. I dare to say this because I am not trying to exempt myself or my party.

We must pay attention to this aspect because there is a grave danger that the country may be split up and weakened under the pretence of democracy if casteism and narrowmindedness became more rampant. This is an extremely serious problem. As I have often told you, India is one entity on the map, with one government and one law. But India can become a nation only when there is complete emotional integration. We talk of nationalism and patriotism and there is no doubt about it that we do have these feelings, for otherwise we could not have won freedom. But behind that thin veneer of nationalism, you find a strange hollowness and weakness.

Last year there were riots in many parts of India over the question of language. Every Indian language is a precious heritage. But why fight over it? There were riots and fighting and the language issue has coloured people's thinking even in these elections. We are living in an era when the world is facing a grave crisis because if there is a nuclear war, it could lead to complete annihilation of human civilization. We do not wish to go to war with anyone. But we cannot escape the consequences if there is a war. Internally, India is at a crucial stage of its development and there are tremendous problems. We are in the middle of the Second Five Year Plan. Now that we have taken the plunge, we cannot retreat in midstream. We have to go on somehow. India is in the middle of a great adventure just now with the Five Year Plans, industrialization, community development schemes, etc. We have taken on these great tasks with confidence and from Kashmir to Kanyakumari, the country is brimming with activity.

You must bear in mind that these activities do not bear fruit immediately. For instance, take the steel plants that we are building. A poor country like India is investing 400 crores of rupees on three steel plants. We have taken loans and aid for we could not have gone ahead without that. But it will take four to five years before they go into production. Until then we have to tighten our belts and carry a heavy burden.

I can give you many more such examples. We have decided to set up a machine-building plant in India because until we do so, we will remain dependent on Germany, Japan, the Soviet Union, England and others. We want to be able to build the heaviest machinery in our country. Once we have the infrastructure we will become free and self-reliant. We do not have to go to anyone. We have decided to do this. But all this requires vast sums of money. The machine-building plant will cost ninety or a hundred crores. The machines will become available only six to seven years later. At the moment we have to invest the money which casts a great burden upon the nation. But there is no alternative. We will reap the benefit later. Unless we take these bold steps, we will continue to stagnate in the mire of poverty. So we have to keep a balance between two things: we have to ensure that while the future is bright the present should not be too burdensome.



We have no choice. The burden of taxation has to be borne. On the one hand people's expectations are rising which is a good thing. On the other hand, we can raise their standard of living only by laying strong foundations for the future, which means that we will reap the benefit only a few years hence.

It is in this context that I said that we took a great plunge when we started the Five Year Plans. Now we cannot stop midstream for we will be neither here nor there. We have to finish building the steel plants whether we have to invest a hundred crores or four hundred crores. Only then will we reap the benefit. Similarly, we have to complete the river valley schemes, like the Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud, Tungabhadra and Nagarjuna spread all over the country. We could have decided right in the beginning that we do not have the strength and determination to do all this. But that would have meant continuing to be poor, weak and downtrodden. A great nation like India could not have taken such a decision. So we decided to wage a war against poverty which has meant shouldering a heavy burden. We are trying to achieve in a few years what the West did in 150 years and the Soviet Union did in thirty or forty years since the Russian Revolution. Naturally the burden upon us is great and we have to go ahead against tremendous odds. We want India to have a strong economy and we want to raise the standard of living of the people. In short, we have dared to take the plunge and now we have to swim to the other side.

So we have to pit all our energy into the task of completing the great projects that we have taken up. It means that we should strengthen the structure of our society by fostering unity and by engaging the attention of the people in the task of nation-building instead of frittering away their energy in futile squabbles. A disturbing trend during these elections was the stone-throwing indulged in by our youth in many places. What is the kind of education that we are giving them that they stoop to such things? The people of India are strong and brave. But they are easily misled and often do wrong things. That is why I am drawing your attention to all this.

Violence has always been bad. But I have reached the conclusion that the capacity of mankind to inflict violence has increased so much that violence can no longer be combated by violence.

Let me give you an example. If the great powers possessing nuclear weapons wanted to destroy India we would have nothing to defend ourselves with. We are not going to produce nuclear weapons. For one thing, even if we try we cannot acquire this capability for years. Secondly, we do not wish to go in for nuclear weapons. We will certainly produce atomic energy for peaceful purposes, not for war. There are only two or three great powers in the world which possess nuclear weapons and we have nothing to fear from them. But I am giving you an example to show that if one of them were to attack us or threaten to do so, it is obvious that

we do not possess weapons to combat nuclear weapons. What can we do against a hydrogen bomb? But I have no doubt whatsoever that no country, no matter what powerful weapons it may possess, can overcome us if we are strong and united as a nation. We have an army, navy and air force for India's defence. Our young men in the armed forces are excellent and it gladdens one's heart to meet them. But I know that we cannot compete with the great powers in armed strength. It would be like combating guns and cannons with bows and arrows.

We have friendly relations with the great powers. That is not the question. I am giving you an example to show what we can do to defend our country. We cannot bow down before aggression and accept slavery no matter how great the other power is. Then what do we do? We must have the inner strength to be able to withstand any attack, whether we have the weapons or not, and not to bow down to aggression. Ultimately, if necessary, we will fight with sticks. But we will not tolerate aggression. I am telling you what our attitude ought to be. It is not a question so much of weapons but of emotional strength and unity. If we have that no power on earth can overcome us. We must not allow ourselves to indulge in hooliganism and violence. It is absurd to indulge in stone-throwing and other wrongful acts. It is positively dangerous.

As I said, by a strange coincidence, exactly a hundred years ago today on the 10th of May, our war of independence began in Meerut and shook up practically the whole of north India to its foundations. At no time after that can it be said that the people of India fully accepted foreign domination. It is true that the British rule went on for a long time after that. But the flame of freedom burnt bright at all times. Then the nation took another turn and, as you know, a great movement began under the banner of the Congress, particularly under Gandhiji's leadership. A unique movement began which eschewed weapons completely. It is true that when I was in school, fifty years ago, there was a wave of extremism and bombs were thrown on English officers. But India could not shake off the yoke of foreign rule by stray bomb-throwing incidents. That was merely the expression of anger and the frustration of some brave youth. Even then those of us who condemned it admired their courage. Everyone was frustrated and angry for there seemed no way of freeing the country. Gandhiji showed a new path which required great courage and dignity and promised results—the nation followed him wholeheartedly. Ten, twenty and then thirty years went by and ultimately we succeeded by following the path of peace and non-violence. India acquired great fame not merely because we became free but because of the unique manner in which we had done so. It was our own personal experience. As you can imagine, that was before the dawn of the atomic age. That path is even more relevant now in the atomic age with its potential for unimaginable violence. Violence is stupid and the violence which nuclear weapons can inflict



makes any other kind of violence completely meaningless. As I said, it would be like combating cannons with bows and arrows. It has become more than ever necessary to follow the path shown by Gandhiji. I am not talking of principles but of real strength. That is the only way in which we can protect our freedom with dignity and courage.

The 10th of May is a landmark. Three days hence falls Buddha Purnima, which is yet another landmark. They are reminders of two different ways of life and we will have to choose one in this age of nuclear weapons. An arms race is not the solution. Until the world opinion chooses the other path, the danger of nuclear weapons will continue to hang over our heads like the sword of Damocles. The nuclear weapons powers say that they are only for purposes of deterrence. But in the meantime the fate of the earth hangs in the balance. Since the path of violence is obviously wrong, the only alternative before the world is to take the other path.

Therefore, I appeal to you to think of all those brave warriors who had lit the torch of India's independence. That torch continued to burn for a century until India became free. Let us pay homage to those brave heroes and the others who came after them and carried the torch. Let us think of Gandhiji and remind ourselves that unless we see reason and defeat violence, it will bring ruin to mankind. Enmity cannot be countered by enmity. The lesson of non-violence has special implications for us who fought for our freedom with that unique weapon. If we forget it and foment disunity and quarrel over petty matters we would be betraying the sacrifices and courage of all the people who fought for freedom, and betraying Gandhiji, Gautam Buddha and, finally, ourselves. *Jai Hind.*

Let us stand up and observe two minutes' silence in memory of all those who laid down their lives in 1857 and since then for India's freedom.

## 2. Issues Facing the Nation<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: In the debate that has been going on for the last two days many veteran speakers—and some new members also—have spoken and I am

1. Intervention during the debate on the Address by the President, 16 May 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. 1, cols. 576-605. Original in Hindi and English.

very happy to see that all kinds of new ideas have been presented. Acharya Kripalaniji<sup>2</sup> has, as is his usual custom, shot his arrows all around. Our friend Brajeshwar Prasadji<sup>3</sup> has hurled his bombs here and there and the speech made by a new leader from the Opposition party seemed to me slightly theatrical. From his speech it appears that electoral fever has not yet left him fully and his address seems as though he was speaking at an election meeting. We have yet another gem in this House who took us straight back to the olden days—this is a princeling<sup>4</sup> who sits on the opposite side—and he is so engrossed in the past that he does not seem to have realized fully that India has become independent. In fact he even said that India is not independent and that it is a tool of the British Government. Now I would not like to comment on this because the mindset of the member is so mired in the old ways that it is beyond me to get him out of that. We have to look at the world of today, and not keep repeating the old slogans or old lessons learnt by rote. We are living in a new age, in India and outside too. The world as it existed twenty, thirty or even forty years ago has changed. This is a fact of history, and those who want to read about it can do so. We are doing a job of great responsibility in this House—the job of governing India and building the India of tomorrow.

The President's Address mentions some issues. Some people complain that the Address does not refer to some issues like Goa or something else. That is true and their objection is also correct. But at the same time the President's Address should not be a list of issues. You will find that it addresses the issue of foodgrains, and attention has been drawn specially to the distribution of foodgrains. I think it constitutes the biggest part of the Address—because it is a very important issue before us. Most of the people who have spoken in the last two days have also referred to the subject because it is a fundamental issue. Therefore, the President has referred to it in detail.

Acharya Kripalaniji has said that the President's Address is very formal. That is true and my idea was that the President's Address should be so. It is not possible for the President to become emotionally excited like some of our members do. The Lok Sabha is also aware that the Presidential Address is not his personal speech though it is delivered by him. The speech is prepared by the Government.

There is something else which has troubled me a bit. Shri Dange,<sup>5</sup> referring to the President's Address, has said that it was tainted by provincialism and

2. PSP member of Lok Sabha from Guna, Madhya Pradesh.

3. Congress Party member of Lok Sabha from Gaya, Bihar.

4. Mahendra Pratap, Independent member of Lok Sabha from Uttar Pradesh.

5. S.A. Dange, Communist Party of India member of Lok Sabha from Bombay central south.



parochialism, because he has mentioned Bihar and the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh and forgotten about the rest of India. I feel that what Shri Dange has said is wholly inappropriate and not only that, it is completely divorced from reality. What the President has said is a simple straightforward thing that these two states have been affected most and there is no doubt about it that that is so. That does not mean that there are no problems in other parts of India. Those are certainly there. The most crucial question before us today is that of increasing the production of foodgrains and making sure that it reaches the people. I do not want to say very much because my colleague, the Food and Agriculture Minister<sup>6</sup>, will address you in detail about this. It is obvious from the President's Address, that this issue is of fundamental importance, not only for the moment—though that is there—but for the future too. Our entire progress in the future depends on how much we are able to produce from our land. Therefore there is no doubt about the great importance of this issue.

I cannot immediately provide an answer to the question as to why we are facing these difficulties. I do not deny that somebody somewhere has been careless or that mistakes have been made. It is possible that all that has happened but this is not an issue which is peculiar to ourselves. Other governments are also facing the same problems. But I want to draw your attention to one fact and that is that India is not alone in facing this acute, unprecedented scarcity of foodgrains this year though we may have had similar problems earlier. Take for instance, China, our neighbouring country which is a huge country and is undoubtedly very well governed. Even China is facing a similar problem at the moment. Now, our colleagues in the Opposition will not criticize the governance in China because it is undoubtedly first rate. But even China is in this serious difficulty and they are not able to bring it under control. I agree that we have made some mistakes and we should get a hold over the situation. I would like our honourable Members to tell us what are the things that have gone wrong. We would like to consult them and try to control the situation with their advice. But we must all understand that this is not a situation which can be brought under one hundred per cent control immediately, though I hope that we will gradually do so. China is also a country which is largely dependent on agriculture, which in turn is dependent on rainfall and other natural factors. It is possible to devise ways and means of providing better irrigation which will help to bring this problem under control. We can increase the outlay on agriculture and we shall do so but there is no magic formula available to resolve this question suddenly.

6. Ajit Prasad Jain.

All of you know that Bihar has faced tremendous scarcity and so also Delhi and all the crops were affected by hailstorms. I do not wish to draw a veil of secrecy over all this. If mistakes have been made we should carefully consider and you are well within your right to point out these mistakes and tell us what we should do. We will benefit by this. After all the task before us is not limited to a particular party, either in power or in the Opposition. All of us have to resolve these major problems that India faces and I would like to request all of you that while you criticize us you should also try to cooperate with us in resolving these problems.

I have given you the example of China. I can give you other examples also of countries which are facing difficulties because of a fall in production from agriculture. The communist countries in Eastern Europe are in great difficulties and are trying with their might and main to get out of them. But only recently they have started trying to overcome the problems gradually. You will be surprised to know that about a year ago when food scarcity affected one of the bigger communist countries of Eastern Europe, the eminent economists of that country advised their government to follow the pattern of planning adopted in India. This does not mean that I am trying to condone the mistakes that we have made. I am merely trying to show you the picture and you are free to criticize. But it is important to look at the bigger picture too. Ultimately what are the major problems which afflict India and Asia? Their most crucial question is how to take these countries out of the mire of poverty that they are stuck in. Now, there is no magic formula for this especially when a country like India has such a huge population. No matter what revolutionary methods we may adopt, it takes time and ultimately we can get out of the mire of poverty only when we start producing new wealth in the country.

One of my colleagues from the Opposition said that socialism cannot be ushered in merely by shouting some slogans or making speeches. I am fully in agreement with him that socialism is not merely a matter of slogans or speeches and I want that he too should remember this. We have to build a huge edifice from the lowest rung, to uplift millions of human beings and mould their thinking and to change an entire social structure. There are hundreds of tasks to be done as we start producing more and more wealth in the country and while we can take advantage from that we must ensure that it is properly distributed. We want to usher in socialism and ensure equitable distribution of wealth but so long as the country remains poor what can we distribute except poverty? Is that how we are going to usher in socialism here? The same colleague has pointed out that India is poor and day by day the number of people who are in the unorganized sector peddling goods or pulling rickshaws is growing. I cannot understand how the fact that there is an increase in the number of peddlers and rickshaw-



pullers proves that India is in a bad way. People engaged in such occupations are respectable people. Therefore, I want that all of you should look at these issues, both domestic and foreign, in their totality before looking at each issue separately. I do not deny that we have made thousands of mistakes and the country is paying the price for all these mistakes.

I do not want to talk about the food situation but I fully realize its importance and our President has also given it great importance. In this context we often face one problem which is that there are many states in this country and there are always differences in the policies being pursued by each one of them. There is no uniformity and this creates many difficulties. We should make an effort to have one policy through the Planning Commission and other means. Let me tell you one more thing. I am myself grieved that the policies that we have framed in this regard have not been fully implemented in all the states and I shall agree with anyone who complains about this. Today we have to see that those policies are quickly implemented and, I do not remember but I think my colleague has talked about examining the issue in greater detail. It is our intention to find ways and means for gathering data on how much we are producing and to ascertain the reasons for the production in certain areas being below expectation. Now, improved methods, which make the use of statistics, are available for the purpose. Earlier we had to depend on the statements by the *Patwaris* which were not reliable and there were other difficulties too. Now we are better equipped to gather this data.

Now, let us leave this aside and consider the issues which are before us. Many of you must be thinking of the budget speech that you heard last evening. This is not the time for me to comment on the budget. There will be plenty of time for us to deliberate and consider the various aspects of the budget and hold consultations with one another but I have mentioned it because I want you to think about the problems which our country faces and why it is extremely essential that we should take some stringent steps however difficult these may prove to be. We have to do that because we have undertaken enormous tasks of planning for India's progress for otherwise we will remain stagnant and fall and take the country also into the abyss. We are midstream and there is no alternative. We must take a leap and reach the other side. Otherwise we will flounder and go under. The Budget is a statement of our intention and an expression of our firm conviction that we will reach the other side no matter what hardships we have to suffer.

You can imagine that no government would like to increase the burden on the people. In general any government would hesitate to do so. If we have had to impose a great burden it was not done willingly. And we are presenting this budget for your consideration because we are helpless and at the same time in

the belief that until we take stringent steps we can go nowhere. We shall take the steps with some modifications—that is up to you. But the fact of the matter is that these things cannot be done if we continue to maintain the status quo. For instance there is a demand—and rightly so for I have no objection—that agricultural labourers' wages should be increased and that a new pay commission should be appointed. I do not say that all this cannot be done. There is much to be said for increasing the wages of certain sections of wage earners. Who can deny that? It would not be a wise thing to take any steps just now for momentary advantage and in the effort strike at the foundations of our Five Year Plans. You can yourself understand that. Yes, we should help wherever possible and try to increase wages but should not pass the heavy burden on a nation which is engaged in the task of uplifting itself through its own resources. This is a complex question and you will deliberate on this. But, what I would like to urge you, very politely, is that you should keep the complete picture before you and see how other countries in the same situation are dealing with these problems. You will find that the enormous problems which are afflicting us today are afflicting those countries also though their social organization and other conditions are completely different. The problems remain the same whether it is China or India or some countries of Europe. So, there is no point in merely being critical. It is our desire and that of the Opposition too that India should progress. I would like you to tell us where we have gone wrong. I would like to urge all the honourable Members that, apart from the work you are doing in Parliament like asking questions or drawing the attention of the House to certain issues, if you have any complaints against any Ministry then you should go straight to the Minister with your complaint. You have our invitation to do this. You should give your complaints, written or oral, so that you can be appraised of the facts and if you are right then we would be able to rectify the matter. In short, we want that there should be a relationship of cooperation. We do not feel that we can implement everything but there should be a healthy competition in the tradition of the parliamentary form of government, and, at the same time, we should also cooperate with one another in the areas on which we are agreed. That too is a parliamentary tradition and who would not agree that India has to progress.

Acharya Kripalaniji has said that this time the President's Address has paid more attention to the domestic situation than to foreign affairs. That is true. In fact, as I said, the maximum attention has been paid to the food situation because that is the major issue before us. It is obvious that it is your job and mine and that of the Lok Sabha to pay attention to the condition obtaining in the country. After all we are legislating for this country, not for any other country. Even as far as foreign affairs are concerned we can be only as powerful as we are domestically strong. That is a fact. Foreign affairs are of course important. I had



said previously too that it is not the intention of the Government to get embroiled in foreign affairs. But there is the compulsion of circumstances. All of you are aware of this and most of you talk about it from time to time but since I am concerned with the Ministry of External Affairs the situation obtaining in the world casts a burden upon me. I am always concerned that nothing untoward should happen in the world which would bring our work within the country to a halt or create obstacles in our path or that we should also be drawn into the affairs of the world willy-nilly.

We face the danger of nuclear weapons. We need to have a deep grasp of the situation to realize how close the world is to ruin today. The slightest mistake could lead to total annihilation. Therefore obviously we are interested in this issue and we have to pit our strength on the side of peace. I do not say—and if anyone thinks so, they are wrong—that we are a great power. We are a small voice, we cannot put pressure on anyone or make a big noise. But we will pit our strength on the side of peace. Therefore we have adopted a policy of non-alignment which means that we are friendly towards all nations but will not join any group or military alliance. We want to keep ourselves aloof from such alliances. This has been our policy and I think the Lok Sabha has endorsed this again and again. Now, if anyone in the Opposition is against this policy or they feel that we should adopt a different policy, they should state clearly what should be done. I would like to know. They may say that we should join one camp or superpower or the other and then they will support us. They feel that nobody supported us in the Security Council over the Kashmir issue. I agree, though the Security Council does not constitute the world. But what do you gauge from all this? Do you wish that we too should tie ourselves down to one armed camp or the other like our neighbour Pakistan has done and get involved willy-nilly in its activities?

This is the broad reality which has to be understood clearly. If we are not willing to align ourselves with any one camp—as I feel we should not—then we will have to put up with the outcome. I feel that ultimately even that will be to our benefit, not merely as a principle but even from the practical standpoint. If you agree with us in principle as you have repeatedly said, then the result is that we are at a disadvantage temporarily; the big powers who are in great military alliances are annoyed with us and often express views against us. But I am of the firm conviction that there is no other alternative to the path that India has chosen. In fact I would say that we have done ourselves a favour by adopting this policy, our stature has been enhanced and we have been able to do our mite in helping to maintain world peace. There have been at least three or perhaps more occasions when we have made a difference in the cause of peace by throwing our weight on the side of peace. We have to do our duty, no matter what the



outcome may be, and choose a policy for ourselves where we do not get into a position of bargaining for temporary benefits with one camp or the other. No great nation can progress by doing that. My anxiety and effort is that whatever India does must be of a high standard, dignified and far-sighted so that it may progress very far.

Some Members have pointed out that there is no mention of Goa. Shri Goray,<sup>7</sup> who has personal experience of Goa, stated clearly what our basic policy about Goa is. We have said that we will not use force in Goa or try to take it by military force. I will take you into the reasons for that. We cannot use force because it will go against the policy that we have followed in foreign affairs so far. Leave alone policy, it will create a thousand complications. We will lose the stature that we have acquired in the world. Our voice will be weakened in world affairs. We will be drawn into a vortex from which it will be difficult to pull ourselves out. So, apart from the matter of principle, there is also the question of the practical consequences of using military force.

There is nothing unique about what India is doing in this matter. As I mentioned earlier, China has exactly the same problem in Macao, which is also under Portuguese occupation. China is a big power and there is no doubt about it that it can intervene militarily at any time it wants. Why are the Chinese not doing so? It is because they are far-sighted. They too do not wish to face an enormous loss for a momentary gain.

I have tried to show you that it is not a wise thing to get emotional and do something now and get into difficulties later. I have repeatedly said that Goa should merge with India. You have accepted this and every Indian feels the same way and I have no doubt about it that it is going to happen. It is a matter of time. We should not take any hasty action. We must be clear in our minds about what the results of our actions could be. Are we to intervene militarily in Goa and, if so, could we allow it to escalate into a major conflict? What would be the consequences of such an action? People often do not know what they have been saying. First, they said that they were trying to force us to intervene militarily. If you consider this approach carefully, you will realize that we will be drawn into a great difficulty. Goa is a painful issue, a constant headache, not merely because the Portuguese Government behaves badly, and does wrongful acts against India and its dignity, but also because of the atrocities being committed on the people of Goa. Let me tell you quite clearly that I am facing a major dilemma. The actions that we have taken, especially the economic sanctions that we have imposed, have undoubtedly had an impact on the Portuguese Government. But it affected the common man too and there was much suffering, much more to

7. N.G. Goray, Praja Socialist Party member of Lok Sabha.

the people than to the government. I do not want the people to suffer. They are already suffering a great deal under the Portuguese regime and if our actions make the situation worse then it does cause us concern. Therefore we are in a dilemma about what we should do.

I had said once that there were three or four reasons why we do not wish to resort to military action. Nobody knows what chain reaction it will cause in the world. It is not a small matter. So what should we do? We would like to do only what is in consonance with our principles. Ultimately, the matter concerns the people most closely, whether they are living in Goa or outside Goa. Nearly one lakh Goanese are living in Bombay and I regret to say that they often keep fighting among themselves and live in the hope that the Government of India will help them. I regret to say that they have made no effort whatsoever to stand on their own feet. I want to meet members of the Opposition and consult them about what we should be doing in this matter. If they agree we will join in the talks. I would like those of you honourable Members who are interested in this matter to join in and cast some light.<sup>8</sup>

I want to draw your attention to one thing more about Goa. The Portuguese Government has registered a case with the International Court of Justice and you can imagine what it is all about. It is about Nagar Haveli.<sup>9</sup> That issue too does not remain isolated. Other complications arise. We have placed our reply before the Court. The Portuguese have asked for more time. The dispute is about whether the Court has the jurisdiction to consider this matter not. I wanted to place all these complex issues before you.

There has been a great deal of debate on Kashmir and I do not think it is appropriate for me to say anything more in this regard. Recently Dr Jarring had come here and presented his report.<sup>10</sup> I think there will be a debate in a few days—in a week or two—in the Security Council. Therefore I do not consider it appropriate to say very much more on the subject.<sup>11</sup>

Mr Speaker, Sir, I am always glad when this House discusses these broad questions of policy, whether domestic or international. We want as much criticism as possible on governmental policies: We want honourable Members, whether

8. See *post*, pp. 447-448.

9. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, pp. 229-230.

10. Gunnar Jarring, Swedish diplomat, was the UN appointed mediator on Kashmir. He visited New Delhi from 24 to 28 March 1957 for discussions with the Indian Government. In his report, submitted to the Security Council on 30 April 1957, Jarring asked both India and Pakistan if they would be prepared to submit the question of whether, Part I of the UNCIP resolution of 13 August 1948, had been implemented or not, to arbitration.

11. The original speech in Hindi ends here. From here onwards Nehru spoke in English.



on this side or on the other side of the House, to help us with their views, criticisms, etc. Because, in spite of the fact that there are various parties opposing each other—there is the government party, there are opposition parties, and naturally we have occasion to oppose each other in this House—I have always in mind that this Parliament has to function as a whole for the good of India; and while we may criticize each other, as we should when that is necessary, we have always to remember that we are engaged in a common undertaking. So I welcome criticism. Sometimes, of course, when the criticism is, to my thinking, irrelevant or far-fetched, then perhaps my welcome is not quite so warm.

It is a fact that we are facing, in India and the world, problems of tremendous significance. It is a trite saying that we are passing through grave periods of transition, in the world or in India. It is often repeated. But I rather doubt that, although we repeat this very often, we quite realize the crucial nature of this period through which we are passing. These days, months and years that pass, whether in the international sphere or in our domestic sphere, are of the most vital importance. In the international sphere we have lived, during these past terrible years, almost on the edge of disaster and catastrophe. The fact that it has been avoided thus far need not make us complacent; we still live on it. It is an extraordinary state of affairs, what you read about daily in your newspapers—what is happening elsewhere, whether it is the hydrogen bomb, the test explosions, the piling up of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. They are being spread to other countries too; they are being given to other countries. It is a terrible prospect.

We talk of disarmament, and sometimes one feels that the world is making some progress towards disarmament. And then we come back to the hub and realize not only that we remain where we were but we have perhaps gone back a little. Honourable Members opposite said that the fault lies with a certain group of nations, not with others. Now, it is not our function to find fault with any nation. We have to express our opinion—sometimes even though they might be disliked by some country—but we avoid finding fault with nations or quarrelling with nations. We want to be at peace with them. If our opinions differ, naturally we have to express them. But it is a somewhat extraordinary state of affairs: take this question of the building up of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. Almost every intelligent person knows and says that if there is a war in which these weapons are employed, it may mean the extinction of humanity or a large part of it. That being admitted, what is done to prevent it? They build up these very weapons and go on experimenting with them. So far as experimenting is concerned, it is admitted that there are known dangers with each experiment. The extent of danger is argued about. True. But, the fact that nuclear weapons are dangerous is admitted by everyone. Whether we have passed the extreme danger point or not may be argued about. Then, there are the unknown



dangers about which nobody knows. Yet, this thing goes on. Most countries say that there are at present two major blocs in possession of a large number of these bombs and a third, namely, the United Kingdom, which presumably, has some atomic bombs and is in the course of experimenting with hydrogen bombs. I should like this House not to just consider this merely on the intellectual plane, important as that is, but just try to understand this picture of great countries, respected countries going ahead with their preparations for what can only end, if this thing continues, in world disaster on a tremendous scale. I am not referring to the amount of money that is being spent or wasted over this tremendous armament race. I was told only yesterday that our Five Year Plan with our thousands of crores of rupees is just a few months expenditure on the military budget of a great country. Eighty days, I believe, was the figure. Our Five Year Plan with all this development work and everything included in this country is eighty days' military expenditure in peacetime. In war, of course, it will be much more. Here is this world hungering for development, Asia, Africa, etc., and these vast sums of money are being spent not on building up anything but on weapons of destruction. It is an extraordinary state of affairs.

There is another aspect. We see in the Middle East today a number of very odd developments taking place—since last year all this has been happening: first in connection with the Suez Canal, then intervention in Egypt, invasion of Egypt and other matters, then Jordan. Once I said in this House, I remember, though I used the word unthinkingly at that time, that the various changes in the Middle East have led to the creation of a temporary power vacuum there.<sup>12</sup> I did not think then that my words would lead people to think that people should come from outside and try to fill the vacuum. Surely, if there is so-called power vacuum, the only way to fill it is by the people of that country and not by the imposition of some external agency. I think it is a very dangerous theory of nations, whatever nation it might be, whether it belongs to one bloc or the other bloc of these great powers. But, this idea of thinking that the world has to be in some way under their sphere of influence and they have to fill the vacuums which are created by the withdrawal of old colonial powers, obviously, so far as our thinking goes, is entirely opposed to our way of thinking. Apart from our thinking, I submit it is not a practical approach. It does not lead even to the results aimed at. It creates difficulties and fresh problems. If one person tries to fill the vacuum, others try to do so and a place, which should develop peacefully, becomes an arena of conflict as we see it happening. We cannot, I submit, afford to ignore the international scene because it affects our own development, Five Year Plan and everything.

12. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, pp. 431-432.

Having said that, I come back to our main work. Our main work is the building up of our country and not interfering with other countries. Our main work has broadly been stated in the Five Year Plan. Honourable Members can, I am sure, criticize our Five Year Plan and give us ideas, where it is wrong, where it should change. It is not a rigid Plan. We decided even at the time of the framing of the Plan that it should be a flexible Plan. We have changed it since then; we may have to change it again. But, we do intend to continue with the basic framework of the Plan and the basic idea. Because, I do not think there is any other way out of it. If we give it up, then we give up every major scheme of development in this country and we are not likely even to remain where we are. We will get submerged by the various forces, economic forces and other forces that our own activities have produced in the world. So that, we have to go ahead with this Five Year Plan.

Some honourable Members opposite may think that the Five Year Plan is not adequate or is weighted wrongly. That is a matter for discussion. The adequacy of it reflects on the adequacy of our resources. The House has some idea of the effort that this Government is making to find these resources from the Budget statement of the Finance Minister yesterday; that is to say that we are going to do our utmost to go through with this Plan—minor things apart—major things in the Plan. Because, the whole future development of India depends on the success of that Plan. An honourable Member said, why not extend it to six or seven years. Minor matters may be extended or left out even. So far as the basis of the Plan is concerned, the House should remember that extension is not such an easy matter. Because, the more we extend it, the more difficult it becomes to deal with the situation. Suppose we delay, let us say, our iron and steel works, we delay production, we delay the growth of industry in this country, we delay every process that would help us to deal with the situation, and the situation meanwhile gets worse. It is not a question of delaying something by a year or two. We lose all the productive capacity of that year and thereby we permit the situation to worsen and become much more difficult to handle later. That is the problem. It is easy enough to say, stretch it out by a year or two. We may stretch out some relatively less important thing; but we cannot do so in regard to major things; we cannot in regard to the machine-building plants. We have to build machines here. How long are we to depend on machines from outside? There are so many other things which we cannot stretch out; we cannot, above all, in regard to agriculture and agricultural produce, which is of the highest importance. Because, however important industry might be, industrial growth will depend on a stable agrarian economy, on a stable food position in the country. Therefore, agriculture will now and always be number one, however much stress we may lay on industry. Yet, we may lay stress on industry, heavy industry. Because if



this country is to be industrialized, it cannot be industrialized without the growth of heavy industry. That is a patent thing, and an obvious thing.

Building up heavy industry means a great burden. It means a burden which the country has to bear without recompense till that heavy industry begins to produce. For three, four, five or six or seven years, you spend hundreds of crores of rupees in building up a steel plant, a machine-building plant, with nothing coming out of it. Yes, after that, much comes out of it; after that, wealth flows from it. That is why we build it. But in these initial years, any country that has to go through this process, whether it is India or China or any other country of Asia or Europe, must necessarily go through that process. There is no way to escape it. You have to pay the price for industrialization, for development. And it is for us to determine whether we are prepared to pay that price or not.

In other countries, which may be termed authoritarian, they have to pay the price too—do not imagine they do not—and sometimes a heavier price. Only, perhaps, they do it by a decree, and they can do it even without the consent of the people. Anyway, we cannot do it that way. Whatever planning and whatever activity we may indulge in, we have to carry our people with us. We have, first of all, to have the goodwill of this House, of Parliament, secondly, the goodwill of all the State Assemblies and the State Governments, and finally, of our people right down to the panchayat level.

I have talked about heavy industry and other matters. And yet, I do think that, perhaps, the most important thing that is being done in India, whether from the point of view of food production, agriculture or from the point of view of small industry—not heavy industry—is the community development scheme which has spread now, as the President has said, to about 220,000 villages. I do not mean to say that these 220,000 villages are all up to the mark. But I do think, and I do say with some confidence, that the average level of this community development is high, remarkably high, considering that we started just a little over four and a half years ago. This community scheme will, we hope, change, and is, to some extent, to our knowledge, changing, the face of rural India, and changing the people of rural India.

Acharya Kripalani said that India was a slum. It is very largely a true statement. Of course, it is a slum. A poverty-stricken nation is a slum. There is no doubt about it. But how do we get over this difficulty? How shall we convert rural India? Leave out the slums of Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay; how do we convert the face of rural India? No purely governmental effort or governmental expenditure can do it. It can only be done by the people of those villages being organized and helped to do it themselves, by getting that spirit in them to do it. I believe that spirit is coming in them. I have seen it with my own eyes how villages are changing. It is not so dramatic a change, obviously. But, it is dramatic,



if you compare it to what it was. And it is through these community development schemes, I think, that ultimately our agricultural production will really go up. It went up in those areas.

Frank Anthony,<sup>13</sup> I think, threw some doubt on statistics. I can quite understand that feeling. But I think I can say with some confidence that the statistics we are getting now through our sample surveys are fairly accurate and reliable. Of course, we are making them more and more accurate. And we propose, and we are, developing our statistical apparatus to get accurate statistics of every crop as well as other matters, of course.

There is no doubt about it that in these community development areas, food production went up by twenty-five per cent, that is, in the First Five Year Plan, not in all the areas which are now under the community development scheme, because they have not had a chance yet. Now, twenty-five per cent, to my thinking, is a substantial increase. I think it should go up much further; that is a different matter. But if we can go up to twenty-five per cent too, that is a fairly substantial increase. I shall leave the figure fixed at twenty-eight per cent for the next Five Year Plan, because we shall cover much more land. I think we can do it.

May I say that I agree with the criticism made by some Members that in a number of States, land reform legislation has been slow, much too slow? It should have been much faster, and I hope it will be speeded up.

This is what the Planning Commission has laid down, and, I believe, this House has approved of—I do think that the way for progress in agriculture is through agricultural cooperatives, agrarian cooperatives. I do not believe in very large cooperatives. I think probably the best size would be a village cooperative. I do not mind if there are two in a village, because I want intimacy, people knowing each other, the personal factor—not the impersonal one.

Take even this matter of agrarian cooperatives. It can only be introduced, naturally, by consent, by the democratic method. We cannot force them down. But I do think that that is necessary in our country, where holdings are so small; we cannot take advantage of many modern methods, modern techniques with a holding of one acre or two acres. We do not want large holdings. We want to limit those holdings. The only way out, therefore, becomes the development of cooperatives in this field.

And yet, I am surprised that in spite of the Planning Commission having said so, in spite of this House having agreed to it repeatedly, doubts are raised, and people say, "Oh, this kind of thing may be good enough for other countries, but is not suited to India." I can understand someone like our friend Mahendra

13. Nominated member of Lok Sabha.

Pratap saying that, because he lives in some distant vision of the past, where *raths* used to go about and work and so on and so forth. That one should challenge this fact surprises me. Agrarian cooperatives are necessary for the development of our peasantry, and our villages, and our production. I recognize that we cannot develop them by a decree, and we cannot develop them very rapidly, because we have to convince people, we have to bring them round, and we have to get their agreement. Maybe, we shall have to start in a relatively small way and as results come—as they are bound to—others will follow, because, fundamentally, I think, the Indian farmer, the Indian peasant, is a wise person. If we approach him rightly and explain things, I think he will accept this.

Now, there are so many things that we try to do. There were questions today about oil and other matters. Here is oil extraction going to take place, which, in the course of a few years—two years, three years, or four years, I do not know—would make a fairly considerable difference to us, because oil is vastly important. The mere fact of our non-dependence for oil on foreign countries would make a great difference, apart from the other benefits that will come to us.

I would beg, therefore, this House to consider these matters in this broad perspective, and to remember that we have undertaken this great burden, and we have to discharge it; we have to keep the promise we have made to our people and to ourselves, and to go ahead with it, even though this might involve carrying a heavy burden for some time. And I would beg of Members here to criticize anything to their hearts' content, but to approach every question in a constructive spirit.

Acharya Kripalani mentioned something about corruption, and in this connection mentioned two cases connected with my Ministry, namely, the Ministry of External Affairs. The first was about money being borrowed for three consecutive years for the purchase of cars. It was very improper. But we do not lose any money thereby; if it is borrowed, it is paid back. But, nevertheless, it was a very improper thing. And other improper things—one or two were mentioned by him—also came out. That is what the Public Accounts Committee and other Committees are for, and we want the help of Members to deal with such instances. But I would beg of the House to remember that because a number of such instances come up and are dealt with—and should be dealt with—we must not imagine that this kind of thing is prevalent everywhere, that everybody does it.

Let us take our Foreign Service. There are hundreds of officers serving abroad. If something bad happens, we take steps. Let us punish them. I do not say that everybody is above error or above doing wrong things. But I do know that a great number of them, these young men and some young women who are in our Foreign Service, are a fine lot of people.



J.B. Kripalani: May I interrupt for a moment? It is not that such things do not happen. They happen. But the unfortunate thing is that nothing is done about them and the persons who are responsible for those things occupy the same position or even better position.

JN: If the honourable Member tells me of a case where action has not been taken, I will look into it. But I think that whenever such things happen, steps are always taken and where it is proved, punishment awarded. It may of course be that in a particular case the honourable Member may think that the punishment ought to be heavier. That is a different matter. The difficulty is that our procedures are so complicated: Enquiries—departmental and otherwise—go on. Then there is reference to the Public Service Commission. It takes years really to get over these. Sometimes, in order to avoid this complicated procedure, we take some steps and award some punishment which is lighter but which is sudden. That is done. Otherwise, for the heavier punishment, we would have to wait for two or three years and it goes backwards and forwards.

This is a matter for this House to consider.

S.L. Saksena:<sup>14</sup> Is there a proposal to simplify procedure?

JN: The matter has been considered. The House can consider it. I shall welcome it if procedures are simplified.

Anyhow, as I was submitting, we are wide awake as far as we can be. We want the help of this House, we want the help of the Public Accounts Committee and other Committees to deal with these matters. But in dealing with these matters, the House should remember that we should not try to tar everybody with the same brush. We are being served, I think, faithfully, by large numbers of our public servants efficiently and honestly. I think our public services can compare with the public services of any country. I do not say that everyone is good. But the general standard is a high one. Anyone who knows about the public services of other countries will probably agree with me in this. Those who have come from other countries and have compared their public services with ours have generally formed this opinion.

In connection with this debate on the President's Address, may I repeat that it is, of course, not a personal Address by the President? It represents broadly the Government's policy. Acharya Kripalani stated that it was too formal an Address. It has to be formal; it is its function to be formal. It cannot be informal. We can be informal in the House. The President has to be formal and has to deal with major matters. Maybe we may have left out some matters, because we cannot

14. Independent member of Lok Sabha from Maharajganj (UP), 1957-62.



deal with every matter there. We try to bring up some major matters. I submit that whatever statements are made in the President's Address are factually accurate. For instance, in regard to the food situation, they are absolutely accurate. There is no attempt to slur over the situation. In fact, grave concern has been shown in regard to that situation in the President's Address.

Then Acharya Kripalani said that it did not tell us what legislation there was going to be for this session. As a matter of fact, there is going to be very little legislation in this 15-day session. Apart from the two debates—Railway and General—there are going to be three or four very minor Bills which will be brought before the House, and, I hope, passed. Because there was no major legislation, it was not mentioned. It will be mentioned in future, whenever there is any major legislation. That is all I have to say.

### 3. Socialism by Consent<sup>1</sup>

I have been asked to speak on socialism. This is a good topic and people generally have no clear notions about it. One aspect of the question is related to the welfare of society and the well-being of the people. The object is to remove the difficulties of the people and to provide opportunity to everyone to lead a good life. The objective is to remove the inequalities in society. All these are the accepted tenets of socialism, which are obviously good. Difficulties, however, come when one comes to the realities of the situation. The difficulties arise when you come to deal with the complicated questions of society. How should one proceed? What steps should one take so that the present problems may be solved?

It is generally accepted by all that it is easier to propound an idea but it is difficult to implement it. I want everyone to develop, and nobody will come forward to say that it should not be so. But many people advocate that for general well-being it is of the utmost importance to remove the differences between the high and the low. There are some people who say that the wealth of the rich should be taken away from them and should be distributed so that the inequalities may disappear.

1. Address to women legislators of the Congress Party from Rajasthan, Punjab and Delhi, New Delhi, 29 May 1957. From the *AICC Economic Review*, 15 June 1957. Original in Hindi.

All these questions are, however, related to the second aspect of the problem, namely, how are we to proceed about the business. All the complicated questions, which face us today in society, are interrelated in numerous ways. There are peasants and there are the petty traders. They have mutual relations. Someone comes to sell his goods, others come to buy the goods. In these transactions some make undesirable profits, some make due profits. The problem is how to cover all of them. And so all these are serious problems, which cannot be tackled in a childlike manner. Deep thinking is needed to find out the way of solving these things. These problems cannot be solved merely by taking out processions or by shouting slogans. Slogan shouting, etc., are sentimental exhibitions.

The predominant feature of our national situation today, as indeed of the whole world, is that there exists utter poverty. And this is not a feature of today only but such poverty has obtained for hundreds and thousands of years. It is difficult to be very specific about what were the conditions in the world in bygone days, but so far as we know the majority of the people in the world have been poor and very few were prosperous and affluent. Poverty does not necessarily mean that they were not getting any food. They were getting food—they used to cultivate and eat—but apart from filling their belly they hardly had any surplus and if the season was bad or if the rains failed, the entire economy was upset. And during those days there used to be no railways. Nor was it possible to get food from thousands and thousands of miles away across the seas, and, therefore, in times of food scarcity it was not possible to supply food from other areas. So there used to be almost no way out, and so in a hungry state they would consume whatever was available and then they starved and died. However, in those days the population was scarce compared to the population today and so the pressure on land was not so heavy. From this the general conclusion is that in those days people used to produce enough for their sustenance. The population was less and land was plenty. As the population increased new areas were brought into cultivation by clearing the forests. Ultimately, however, the area of forests was very much reduced, and as the population increased, pressure on land grew because, ultimately, the total land available was limited and it could not be indefinitely expanded.

As a result, the problems became more and more complicated. It may be said, very roughly speaking, that for about a hundred or hundred and fifty years, the world has not been producing enough for the proper maintenance of all human beings. And today if all the wealth of the world is collected and redistributed that will not necessarily lead to the prosperity of all. It might make some difference, but cannot make any appreciable difference.

Now, let us see the situation today. The population of the world has increased considerably. Consequently, the pressure on land has increased much more



than it used to be, but the problem today is not merely of food. Today's problems include provision for housing, for people's health, for education. Along with this, however, another thing has registered a tremendous advance. The capacity of human beings to produce more has increased tremendously. Today one can produce much more than what was produced before. In fact, today it can be safely said that the world is capable of producing so much that everyone can become happy and prosperous. It could not be said of the world which existed a hundred years ago. When I say prosperous, I do not mean that everyone should become a millionaire. What I mean to say is that, with the help of science and the innumerable machines, we can produce enough for all. We can certainly produce much more from mother earth today than before, and, of course, there are machines with which we can produce much more than in those days when there were no machines. In other words, while formerly we did not have enough resources at our disposal to produce enough for the well-being of all, today we have those resources in the world and have enough of everything.

If in spite of this people are not happy and prosperous and affluent, the reason is to be traced to the system of social management which obtains today. And the responsibility rests not upon us alone—we are after all a poor country—but on the entire human society. There are very many rich countries—I mean America, or the countries of Europe—which became rich during the last 150 years. These countries became rich on account of the development of science and by building up numerous machines and factories. The machines and factories produce goods and the rate of production is very much more than through production by hand.

And so if we want to make India prosperous we have to produce more. In fact we have to increase the production of everything. Undoubtedly, we have to produce more food, but apart from food we have to increase the production of all other goods which are needed in India today. If we purchase things from outside we have to pay for them. Production within the country will reduce the total amount that we are required to pay to foreign countries. It will be still better if we produce something in excess and then exchange it with those goods which are produced in other countries. In short, for the prosperity of India and for banishing our poverty, we have to produce more wealth. By wealth I do not mean gold and silver, but goods—goods which are useful in everyday life. The more goods we produce in the country the more wealth we shall add to our nation.

Along with this, however, there is a related question. We have to be careful that the additional wealth we produce should not go to fill the pockets of a handful of men, for in that event this wealth will be of no particular use. So the primary task is to produce the maximum wealth and, at the same time, to make



such arrangements for its distribution that it reaches all the people and does not accumulate in a few pockets. Thus, there are the aspects of production and distribution. Every government is faced with this problem, be it a capitalist, socialist or communist government. No government today can turn its face from the problem of distribution. Even capitalist governments today accept that they have to work for the well-being of all. They, however, say that the solution lies in maximum production. One can criticize the capitalist system, but the capitalists themselves admit that they want to bring about the well-being of all and for this they lay faith in producing the maximum possible. Take the case of America, which is a capitalist country. The production there has reached tremendous proportions and this has meant that today it is the most prosperous country—and nobody is poor over there. Even the poorest man of that country would be, by comparative standards, much better off than a poor man in India.

The socialist system does not, however, believe that mere individual production even on a maximum possible scale will lead to the well-being of society. This will result only in making the rich richer and maybe the poor may improve their conditions a bit, but it cannot improve their lot to any considerable extent. The developments in America are regarded as a typical case of a country, which became industrialized a hundred years ago. It was a vast country but the population was scarce. The same thing cannot be true for other countries, and so this is a great point of controversy. The socialist system makes bold to declare that a country can produce the maximum when the distribution arrangements are on a just basis.

There are some people who ask why should not we take over in India the wealth of all the rich people and all the factories and distribute it. They say that this will mean much good to the country. Maybe if we take to this method we shall have some surplus money at our disposal. But the other aspect has also to be borne in mind. Such a step may upset the entire scheme of production in the country today and may seriously reduce the amount of goods that we are producing at present. This may lead to a crisis, and even to bankruptcy, for let it not be forgotten that the wealth of a country cannot be regarded as that which is lying accumulated over there. The wealth of a country is what is actually produced from year to year.

Take the question of food, for example. Even if we accumulate some food it will serve us only for some time, not for any considerable length of time. It will rot and waste. We have ultimately to rely on our agricultural produce every year. We may accumulate one lakh, two lakh, five lakh or even fifty lakh maunds of grain, but that ultimately will not help. However much we may accumulate, if you take some steps as a result of which some difficulties arise then agricultural production is hampered. One may draw satisfaction from the

fact that one has been true to a certain ideology, but it may severely affect the production. Remember the year 1947. We won our Independence but as a result of the turmoil in the Punjab, our agricultural production was very much reduced. For about two years it was at its lowest level. People were running away and nobody was there to produce food. And this non-production in one agricultural year caused us tremendous difficulties.

In brief, we have to remember that our production from year to year is the real accumulated wealth. The gold and silver are of not much use. The real thing is what we produce in the country every year, and the more we increase this production the more we shall gain in strength and the more we shall be in a position to bring about equitable distribution. These things we have to bear in mind. If we equitably distribute all the wealth available in India we might considerably impair our productive capacity and this might give us a shock for many years to come. Therefore, whatever steps we take, we have always to be careful that they are on the right lines, and we have to be cautious that they do not result in such things as to impair our production. This has particularly to be borne in mind when we deal with land or with factories. We have constantly to bear this in mind because very often we come across people who talk of big things without keeping in view their consequences. We cannot afford to take any such risks.

So when we talk of socialism, we mean maximum production in the country. And the most important things are food, cloth and housing. Then there are other things as well. Everyone must have the facility to get his education and every citizen's health has to be looked after. Further, every citizen has to be provided with work. Work is most important because it is human work which produces wealth. Wealth is not produced by itself. Wealth is produced when man works with tools.

We have also to remember that our population is increasing by about fifty lakhs every year. In other words, we have to provide for fifty lakh extra mouths every year. At the same time, however, do not forget that if we make adequate arrangements to provide work every year, fifty lakh new hands will be engaged in productive activity. Thus, while on the one hand, the number of those who need food will increase, on the other, those who produce wealth will also increase in number. And everyone has to produce much more than what he consumes. If a man consumes more than what he produces, he becomes a burden, and no surplus is left. In fact, a nation's progress can be measured by what it produces and what it consumes and what is left as surplus for further use. If a country produces a surplus every year it means that that country is advancing, and if it does not produce a surplus it means that the country is not advancing. It is a very simple thing that a man who spends more than his income is always in trouble.



And so this is the dilemma which faces our nation. Ours is a poor country and what we are producing is not enough to feed our people. How can we march forward unless we also produce a surplus? We have to come out of this vicious circle, and the alternative that presents itself before us is to tighten our belts, to go in for a period of self-denial and austerity in order that we may save, remembering always that this additional burden that we would be lifting today will tremendously help us in the coming years and the succeeding generations.

We are building three huge steel plants these days, and we have to spend huge sums on them. Roughly, we are spending Rs 125 crores on each factory. Thus, all told, we will be spending nearly Rs 400 crores on these plants. For the present, however, we are not likely to get any quick return from this investment. In fact, these plants are not likely to give any return during the next three or four years. It is true that once they are built up, they will give us great benefits and shall be of great use. In fact, they will give us many times more than what we are spending today. But for the initial three or four years, we have, in any case, to bear the burden. This is true of all countries where industrialization takes place. In the beginning, industries consume money and yield profits only afterwards—sometimes after a year or two years, sometimes after five years and sometimes even twenty years. Building huge factories, digging canals, etc., are some of the big jobs we are doing in India today. We have spent lots of money on Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley, etc., but we have not yet had any profits from them. The Bhakra-Nangal is consuming Rs 8 lakhs per day on wages of workers, purchase of materials, etc.

Finally, we dig out long canals, which will irrigate Punjab, Rajasthan and a part of Himachal Pradesh and this will lead to greater production of food. And then we shall not be helplessly depending upon rains. This will benefit our countrymen for many years to come. Bhakra-Nangal will also yield electricity. All this is true, but for the present it has already consumed Rs 100 crores. So, the nation has to bear this burden without any immediate return.

What I wish to emphasize is that when nations advance in this manner and huge amounts have to be spent, it is of necessity done by curtailing the present needs. The benefits are reaped later, but when once the process commences, the progress is fast. So, we have to realize that at the present moment we are passing through a situation where our entire strength has been diverted to the building up of huge projects and the expenditure of crores of rupees is undertaken, but we are hardly getting anything in return. No doubt, we shall begin to reap the benefits after some years, and once the process commences our difficulties will be considerably eased. Then our income will be more than our expenditure, and the general masses will also benefit and the country will prosper.



If you bear all these things in mind, you will realize the futility of shouting slogans. The real problem is how to produce more and thereby reduce the burden on the people and march forward. Suppose that in order to please the people we reduce our taxation and earn general praise, but the net result shall be that we shall have to stop all these activities on which we pin a lot of hope and which are bound to be very profitable in future. And once production in the country is reduced, the value of money will fall resulting in general dearth. We have before us examples from history. There is the case of Germany where the value of money fell unimaginably after World War I. They have a currency called the mark, and, at one time, for postage stamps on one letter one lakh marks were needed which were less than a rupee in value—about 10 annas. And so when it came to this that one lakh marks had to be put over a letter, everything went wrong in the country.

I would like you to think over these problems. All these are complicated questions. No purpose is served by taking out a procession and talking big things. As it is, nobody could say definitely as to what would be the final outcome of all these efforts. We have to take work from innumerable human beings—the carpenter works on the wood, the iron-smith works with iron, the engineer builds a bridge—in short, not one or two individuals are engaged in activity, but it is the collective efforts of 37 crores of human beings. Nobody can easily gauge the power of 37 crores of people: how many of them work with vigour and what is the capacity of work of each of them. In fact, the entire question is hinged on a hundred and thousand considerations. As a result, it is not easy to lay down any clear-cut guidelines. It is, however, clear and experience shows that benefits accrue when people themselves engage in activity.

Let us come back to the question of socialism. Socialism essentially aims at making people prosperous. This concept originated in England 150 years ago where big industries and factories were being built up. For a considerable time feudalism was dominant and was oppressing the peasants. With the building up of these factories, however, a new idea swept the society. In the initial stages it was called utopian socialism. This was more or less a sentimental idea wishing equality to all. This thought continued for about thirty or forty years, whereafter it turned towards what is called scientific socialism. Many people began to work on the question, and among them Karl Marx was the most prominent. He is very famous and is acknowledged as the prophet of communism. His books were read with great interest and respect. He laid the foundation of scientific socialism about a hundred years ago. He clearly analyzed the capitalist system and pointed the way for changing the system of society. His is a complicated philosophy and I am not going into details just now. Remember, however, that Marx was a German and the world he had before him existed a hundred years ago. At that time no

country had a real democratic system of government and adult franchise was not the general rule. There was the British Parliament, but only the rich could then have access to it. And these rich people discussed all sorts of problems but the interests of the common man were ignored. Then there was the huge country of Russia. It was ruled by an autocratic ruler, the Czar. In Germany also similar conditions existed. What I wish to point out is that Marx was undoubtedly a very great man, but whatever he wrote was based upon the experiences of his times and it was quite correct for that period.

What we have to remember today is that now, a hundred years after Marx, this world has undergone tremendous change. And so many things which he rightly said about those times are not true today. I am confident, if Marx were alive today, he would have thought in a different way and written a different book. And so the difficulty arises when what Marx wrote a hundred years ago is regarded today as the absolute, immutable truth. This is wrong and by so acting one does injustice to that great man. You look at the world today and also look at the world, which existed a hundred years ago when Marx's book was written. Our communist friends talk a lot, and even though some of the things they say may be good, in many matters they completely close their eyes. What Marx wrote a hundred years ago could certainly not be appropriate for India after a hundred years, or for China, or for the matter of that, for the whole world. In these hundred years, a thousand and one things have taken place and the whole world has changed. Science has brought about great changes. Today we have the telephone, the telegraph, etc. We have the radio and what one says immediately reaches the whole world thousands of miles away. These conditions did not exist before. And so the world has changed and when such changes occur in the world, it is natural that the system of society must also change, and this change benefits the society.

For instance, when the motor car moves, the horse-and-buggy and the rickshaw and the cart remain behind. We might feel sorry for it but the cart cannot compete with a car. Car is more costly and cart is cheap. But the work, which a car can do can hardly be done by fifty carts. This, however, results in unemployment on the one hand and more output on the other. Wherever new industries have grown, the total output has increased and also opportunities for work have increased. Industrialization, indeed, opens many new avenues for employment.

Now, look at India. The British came here 150 years ago. It is well known that at that time the common man in India was prosperous and had enough to eat and lived comfortably. There were very many cottage industries. Every village was engaged in useful occupations. In the villages, as also in cities, people were engaged in small industries. We had great arts. With the coming of the British, these cottage industries were destroyed and the arts disappeared and hundreds



and thousands of people became unemployed. And where could these unemployed go? They turned towards land, resulting in heavy pressure on land. This resulted in poverty. It was only natural, because the net production went down.

We have to change this state of affairs. It is clear that we have to increase our wealth by a thousand methods. We have to produce more, we have to work harder. People should get jobs and we should have more goods. We have to draw people away from land. At present thirty people work where actually ten people would be sufficient. The land has to provide for thirty people whereas it is meant only for ten people. And so when we talk of socialism, we have to understand all these aspects of the question. Socialism is a very good sentimental idea, but you have to understand what is the reality behind this sentiment. You have to realize how a highly complicated system of society has to be changed. If you go about a business in the wrong way, then you break a thing without creating a new one in its place.

The fundamental aspect of socialism, which we have to bear in mind is the fact that socialism is a system of social organization, is a type of economic organization. Basically, however, socialism has to enter the people's minds and hearts. If we do not imbibe the spirit of socialism and if we do not increase our capacity of working in cooperation with others, but on the contrary try to harm others, that would not be socialism. The success of socialism will, to a large extent, depend upon the human beings in society. The law undoubtedly helps, but laws cannot change society.

Sometimes the idea is put forth that present day capitalism itself has to a large extent become socialistic. Capitalism, however, is essentially an acquisitive society, that is, a type of society in which everyone tries to snatch the maximum from others. In this society, everyone wants to earn more than others, and usurp the position of others. So, essentially capitalist society and acquisitive society are the same. The philosophy to justify it, however, says that everyone has to exert his maximum effort, which will lead to the progress of the country. As against this concept, the principle of socialism is cooperation of all in the society. This cooperation must be in the human heart. When people do not have the capacity to cooperate but engage in cut-throat competition, it is not possible to bring about socialism even with the best of laws.

The problem is how to change men's minds. We have to draw our thoughts away from cut-throat competition and look at the benefits of cooperation. We have to achieve it gradually. Such a change in men's minds cannot be brought about all of a sudden. Today, our children are taught high principles in their classes, but when they see cut-throat competition all round, it leaves a bad impression on their minds. There are many things which cannot be achieved



through laws. Through legislation on the one hand, and through education of society on the other, we can bring about changes.

I told you just now that we have to deal with human beings and not with iron and steel. Now, before us is the example of Russia. With very good intentions, they did their best to benefit their masses. But for this purpose they used force and coercion. In other words, the government of the day sincerely felt that a particular programme would help the people, but the programme was executed by the use of force. For example, the peasants never wanted to part with their land but they were never consulted. Land was forcibly taken away from them, and they were organized collectively. So, this collectivism was brought about through force. It is true that every law has an element of coercion in it, but gradually, people come to accept it. For example, look at our Hindu Law. We have introduced certain changes and everyone has not necessarily accepted the changes. Nevertheless, it cannot be said of us that we have forced a certain measure upon the people. In Russia, however, progress was brought about through force and coercion, and it resulted in great harm and hardship. Nevertheless, they pushed through the programme and bore all the difficulties. These, no doubt, brought them to the peak of success and considerable achievements in later years.

The question that poses itself before us is: Should we use force for the achievement of our objectives or is it possible to march towards our goal with everyone's cooperation? We believe, and our Constitution lays down, that we should not use force and coercion for the achievement of our objective. We have got a democratic system of government and it is evident that if anyone takes recourse to force, this system of government would end and another system of government may be ushered in. It follows, therefore, that we cannot copy some other countries like Russia and get things done through force and coercion. If we take recourse to these tactics, it will only invite resentment in the country.

When we enact a piece of legislation, we have to bear in mind the strength of the government. And whenever we take up that legislation, there is much discussion and controversy. Through such discussions and controversies, however, the proper shape of things emerges. And thus those things come to be ultimately enacted which are generally acceptable to the people at large. So, this is our method of work and once we do this we get the cooperation of all. No doubt, this takes more time. We, nevertheless, believe that this method of advance is much better. Thus we seek to march towards socialism gradually, taking the entire people with us. Our object is to make people think themselves and to create self-confidence among them. We believe that this is the best method of achieving socialism.

## NATIONAL PROGRESS





## I. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

### 1. To Mauli Chandra Sharma<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

May 5, 1957

My dear Mauli Chandraji,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd May which I have read carefully. I agree largely with what you have said, and we should try to work in that direction. It is interesting to observe that the kind of difficulties that we are having in the implementation of our Five Year Plan, etc., are remarkably similar to those that the Chinese Government is having. In spite of the authoritarian apparatus of propaganda and publicity which they have, they are complaining of the same difficulties. The principal reason, I suppose, is that in planning for the future, present benefits have to suffer to some extent, and a burden has to be borne by the present generation for the sake of future generations.

But the Community Development Scheme is something that has present significance and should certainly be tackled in that way.

Ever since the recent elections, our minds have been much troubled with various aspects of our organizational and public work. The question is a difficult one, and we are trying to think about it from various points of view. What you have suggested is one approach which, I think, should be undertaken.

I was sorry to learn that some technical difficulty came in the way of your becoming a Member of the Rajya Sabha. We would have welcomed you there. I hope that later you can come in.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. He resigned from the Jana Sangh and joined the Congress in 1954. He was also Vice-President of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at this time.

## 2. To V.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 20, 1957

My dear V.T.,<sup>2</sup>

I find that there is an important resolution in the Lok Sabha dealing with nuclear weapons and the like tomorrow afternoon at 5 p.m.<sup>3</sup> I have to be present there and I may not be able to come to the Planning Commission meeting therefore tomorrow.

There is one matter, however to which I should like to draw your attention. When the Planning Commission was constituted, the idea was that it should work as an integrated body and not after the fashion of the Government of India with large separate ministries. More particularly, in regard to all major questions of policy, it should be discussed, even in the initial stages, by the Members of the Planning Commission. These members consist of some full-time Members and some Cabinet Members. It is possible that the Cabinet Members cannot always attend frequent meetings. Nevertheless they can try to do so whenever an important question arises.

It appears to me that the tendency has been for the Planning Commission to build itself up on the lines of the Government of India with separate sections, departments, all working on their own lines, though of course there is a measure of coordination at the top at some stage. The work of the Planning Commission has grown so much that it was perhaps inevitable that its staff should grow.

Nevertheless, I think that we should try to avoid, as far as possible, this separate and decentralized working. Also the tendency for a great deal of noting. If a project has to be considered in detail, necessarily it has to be carefully worked out. But the first step should be, I think, that the whole Planning Commission should consider it broadly and then give directions as to how far it should be worked in detail. The point is that all the members of the Planning Commission should consider these matters jointly before detailed separate consideration is given to them.

I feel that an attempt should be made to keep the numbers of the staff more or less limited. The more they grow in numbers, the more difficult it becomes for that kind of homogeneous working and consideration of problems that is required.

1. File No. 17(190)/56-59-PMS.

2. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

3. See *post*, pp. 758-764.

The Planning Commission should not duplicate what ministries do. It is a kind of a brains trust, which should apply its joint mind to major problems and their coordination and phasing.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

PS: I now find that the Lok Sabha resolution is on 22/5 and not tomorrow. So I shall try to attend the P.C. meeting.

### 3. Reorganization of the Planning Commission<sup>1</sup>

...2. The Prime Minister observed that duplication in the Planning Commission of work done by the ministries should be avoided...<sup>2</sup>

4. The Prime Minister emphasized the need for taking an integrated view of schemes and suggested that the Members of the Planning Commission themselves should look at proposals forwarded by the ministries and wherever necessary give directions to the staff regarding the further studies to be undertaken. The Prime Minister said that there should not be any unnecessary expansion of the staff of the Planning Commission; the very object of taking an integrated view would be defeated if the Planning Commission developed into a large organization...

6. The Prime Minister suggested that the ministries should be requested to consult the Planning Commission regarding their schemes even before

1. Summary record of the meeting of the Planning Commission, New Delhi, 21 May 1957. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. At the outset, Secretary, Planning Commission, referred to the note circulated about reorganization of the Commission and said that the important points which required consideration were the staffing of the new Divisions, the expansion required in some of the existing Divisions and the proposal to have a Joint Secretary in the Finance Ministry to keep liaison with the Planning Commission and the States.



formulating them in detail.<sup>3</sup> The Planning Commission should consider the broad aspects of the schemes with a view to coordinating them with other schemes and determining the relative priority to be accorded to the schemes. This consideration should preferably be done at an early stage in a full meeting of the Planning Commission, without waiting for examination at the staff level. The Prime Minister suggested that there should be no duplication in the Planning Commission at the expert level of the work done in the ministries...

8. The Prime Minister said that he would himself write to the ministries<sup>4</sup> regarding the need for consulting the Planning Commission even before the project stage giving only broad details of the scheme. For the rest, he would request the Members of the Planning Commission along with their Advisers to look into the staff proposals and come to conclusions on them...

3. V.T. Krishnamachari had stated that often the ministries worked on elaborate schemes without the knowledge of the Planning Commission and made a reference to the Commission only at the stage of referring the proposal to the Cabinet. He suggested that the central ministries might associate officers of the Planning Commission concerned with the formulation of the schemes at an early stage.
4. See *post*, pp. 60-62.

## 4. The Economic Situation<sup>1</sup>

The implementation of the First Five Year Plan showed a significant rise in production in the agricultural and industrial sectors, and the targets laid down in regard to foodgrains were exceeded even in the first three years of the Plan resulting in prices coming down appreciably. While progress in agricultural production was maintained subsequently, the overall effect of the Plan helped towards a general rise of national income and prosperity, and prepared the way for the Second Plan.

The Congress accepted broadly the targets of the Second Plan and laid down that this Plan should proceed in the direction of establishing a socialist society

1. Resolution drafted on 31 May 1957 for the AICC meeting held in New Delhi on 1 and 2 June 1957. JN Collection. On 2 June, Gulzarilal Nanda moved the resolution at the meeting.

and the economic structure should be progressively adjusted to achieve that end. In the course of five years, the national income is to be increased by twenty-five per cent and additional employment opportunities are to be provided for eight million people outside agriculture. The Plan aims at strengthening the industrial structure of the economy by favouring heavy industry and, at the same time, keeping in view the needs of the consumer and protecting and fostering cottage, small-scale and medium industries. The role of the private sector in the field of consumer industries is recognized, but stress is laid that the main purpose of the Plan, that is, the establishment of an egalitarian society, has always to be kept in view.

The successful implementation of the Plan necessitated increases in our resources in various directions. The gathering momentum of the Second Plan leading to heavy imports of capital goods, increased consumption and, at the same time, various natural calamities have produced certain shortages which have contributed to accentuating the difficulties of a developing economy. In particular, the problems of an adequate supply of food and of foreign exchange are the principal problems facing the country.

The principal targets of the Second Plan are the minimum necessary to strengthen the economy of the country and to offer better living conditions for the common people. It is essential, therefore, to implement the Plan without toning down these principal targets or lengthening the period of the Plan.

The Committee recognizes that the budget introduced on behalf of the Government of India recently<sup>2</sup> has taken these various factors into consideration and has provided measures in the direction of meeting them. It approves of this general approach of the budget and, in particular, welcomes the new turn that has been given to the tax structure of the country by the proposed taxes on wealth, unearned income and expenditure, with a view to give the fullest incentive to work and earn, and to remove progressively the ill-effects of large blocks of capital in a few hands.

The Plan needs the utmost cooperation from every individual and organization, so that the targets laid down in it should be attained and should lead to the improvement of the living conditions of the vast majority of the people both in the urban and rural areas.

2. The Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari, while presenting the general budget on 15 May 1957, expressed the hope that the proposed tax on wealth, together with the surcharges he recommended in respect of income tax on unearned incomes, would contribute towards a more effective taxation of the richer classes without diminishing incentives to earn in the process.



It is essential, however, that every effort should be made both by the Government and the people to economize in expenditure and to avoid waste. Savings should be directed towards Government loans so that the cumulative effect of these efforts would help to find additional resources for the Plan.

The AICC therefore resolves that:

1. The determination to implement the Plan should not be slackened, and the Plan must be implemented within the period allotted, so that the commencement of the Third Plan would not be delayed.
2. Any re-phasing of the Plan must be made consistent with the aim of the Congress, that is, the achievement of a socialist society and the building up of an economic structure on a progressively egalitarian basis.
3. The core of the Plan, namely, the production of steel and coal, the development of transport and power, must be implemented.
4. Attempts must be made towards the provision of better living conditions for the lower income groups in rural and urban areas and for the rehabilitation of refugees, more especially from East Pakistan.
5. Government should make every effort to prevent waste and to ensure the utmost economy in administration in the Central and State Governments and local bodies and all other Government institutions.
6. The public generally should also avoid wasteful expenditure and should increase savings for the successful implementation of the Plan.
7. All Congressmen should work wholeheartedly for the success of the Plan and should assist in its implementation directly as well as by creating public opinion.<sup>3</sup>

3. The AICC unanimously passed this resolution on 2 June with an amendment moved by Shriman Narayan. The amendment suggested: in para 2, before the words "The Plan", add "While rebuilding the agrarian base of the economy of the nation"; in para 5, after the word "earn", add "for the sake of increased production"; and in para 8, sub-para 3, before the words "core of the Plan", add "industrial".



## 5. Role of the National Development Council—I<sup>1</sup>

In his opening remarks, the Chairman welcomed the Members of the National Development Council and said that this was the first meeting of the National Development Council after the elections. He pointed out that planning for a big country like India functioning under a federal system of Government, with a large measure of autonomy for the States, was a difficult task. It was not possible to plan really unless there was broad agreement and cooperation among the States and between the Centre and the States. The whole purpose of the National Development Council was to achieve a measure of unity and uniformity so that delays which might prevent proper functioning were avoided. The First and the Second Five Year Plans were considered by the National Development Council and approved by it. The Council was not a debating body but a working council. While it was inevitable that each State's Chief Minister was concerned with the affairs of his State, the main object of the Council was to develop an all-India outlook. Normally particular schemes of the States were not discussed in the Council but in the Planning Commission. The Chairman added that the proper subjects for discussion in the Council were issues affecting all the States and sometimes specific issues which were of an important character.

### Rehabilitation of displaced persons from Pakistan

2. The Chairman mentioned that the problem of displaced persons from East Pakistan could not be treated as a problem of West Bengal, Assam or Tripura. It should be treated on a national basis and everybody should help in the solution of the problem. Many States had been helpful in the past in this matter.

3. The Chairman mentioned that in regard to rehabilitation, a remarkable piece of work had been done. Taking the West and the East together, the work done in the field of rehabilitation could stand comparison with any rehabilitation work of refugees anywhere else in the world. India had rehabilitated about nine million displaced persons with her own resources. The whole burden was cast on the country and she had borne it because it was her duty to do it. The problem was a serious one in the western region but it was faced and a great deal of it controlled and largely solved. The real problem now was in relation to people coming from East Pakistan. There seemed to be no end to the influx even though,

1. Proceedings of the meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi, 3 June 1957. JN Collection. Extracts.

during the recent months, the rate of exodus had somewhat declined from the level of 30,000 persons a month and a considerable number of people from East Pakistan had been rehabilitated, though perhaps on a somewhat low level. There were a large number awaiting rehabilitation apart from those who would continue to cross over to India. The intention now was to view this problem on the basis of settling these people on a permanent basis rather than making temporary arrangements. It was clear that more of them could not be settled in West Bengal. Help had been offered by many other States but there were difficulties as the people did not like to settle in areas where there were difficulties in understanding the language and habits of the people or the climate was unsuitable or there were other factors. The displaced persons should be settled in fairly large communities so that they might form social units...

8. The Chairman observed that the two suggestions made by the Minister of Rehabilitation<sup>2</sup> were: (1) setting up of a committee under the Chairmanship of the Home Minister<sup>3</sup> for allotting quotas of displaced persons for settlement by the States which would be responsible for formulating the schemes of settlement and (2) development under a Central Authority of the area called Dandakaranya...

20. The Chairman observed that there were undoubtedly difficulties in the matter of rehabilitation of displaced persons. It should, however, be remembered that these people came away under great pressure, they were uprooted from their homes and should be treated with consideration and understanding. They should not be pushed about and an endeavour should be made to get their cooperation. The Chairman observed that given proper facilities and a friendly and cooperative approach, a great deal could be done...

31. The Chairman then invited Prof Mahalanobis<sup>4</sup> to give his general views regarding the food situation and also inform the Council how he proposed to get better and more correct statistics about each crops. The Chairman observed that one of the difficulties in dealing with the situation was the absence of correct statistics...

38. The Chairman observed that every effort should be made to improve the statistical methods in regard to these three points, namely, acreage, yield per acre and population. Consultation should take place between representatives of the States and the Central Statistical Office and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. The information collected by the *Patwari* and *Kanungo* could not be very accurate and there should be checks to remove any discrepancies that might be found in such information...

2. Mehr Chand Khanna.

3. Govind Ballabh Pant.

4. P.C. Mahalanobis, member, Planning Commission, 1955-73.



43. The Chairman enquired whether it was true that in some places in Bihar the available water supplies were not being fully utilized. The Chief Minister, Bihar,<sup>5</sup> said that the tubewells became unpopular as a result of an upward revision of the water rates. The rates have now been reduced and the water from the tubewells was now being used on a larger scale. In some places irrigation water could not be utilized because the channels were not constructed for bringing the water. The Chairman remarked that the building of major canals and not digging the channels brought to light a defect in planning. The whole thing ought to be considered together...

44. The Finance Minister, Madras (C. Subramaniam), said that the problem in his state was mainly that of rice. He thought that while considering the food situation, the problems of wheat and of rice should be separated. The South particularly Mysore, Andhra, Madras and Kerala was a rice-eating area and the availability of wheat did not affect the position...

46. Shri Subramaniam said that the main problem for the people in the South was that they did not know how to use wheat as food. If some process could be adopted for converting wheat into bread in a cheap way it would be possible to popularize consumption of wheat...

The Chairman enquired whether people in Madras had any experience of utilizing what was called *dalia*. Shri Subramaniam said that he would try it. In answer to another query by the Chairman, he said that the artificial rice made from tapioca had not been tried...

49. The Chairman remarked that the utilization of the water of Tungabhadra should have been planned in advance and that after having spent crores of rupees it should not have happened that people had to wait for utilizing the water...

57. The Chairman referred to the question of substitution of wheat for rice and observed that it was thought by eminent doctors that from the health and nutritive point of view, it was desirable to encourage people gradually to take to mixed diet. As regards control there were two alternatives, either there was full control, rationing and all that or there was control on movements without, however, extending the control to the individual person. One was control from the stage of procurement to the consumers and the other was regulation of movement of supplies to the deficit areas...

61. The Chairman mentioned that it was obvious that the basic factors were more food production and building up of reserve stocks. The question was how to tackle the problem until there was adequate production and sufficient reserves were built up. Import of foodgrains, especially rice, would throw a heavy burden



and a time might come when in spite of the desire to import, the foodgrains were not obtainable. There would then be no alternative but to devise better distribution of the available supplies. If the common trade channels were allowed to operate in distribution, the result would normally be that only people in Calcutta and Bombay could buy food. Some steps had, therefore to be taken to ensure that other areas did not starve. Therefore, quite apart from any controls by way of procurement and distribution, some steps had to be taken to regulate the flow of foodgrains from place to place...

### **Minimum prices for agricultural commodities**

66. The Chairman explained that there was the suggestion to offer an assurance to the effect that Government would be prepared to buy certain agricultural commodities at a stated minimum price so that the cultivator might be assured of getting at least that price. He assumed there was agreement on the part of all concerned so far as the general principle was concerned. The question then was the fixation of the actual price. The price was being offered as a kind of incentive but it could not be fixed at too high a level. The Chairman mentioned that it would be useful in the operation of the minimum price scheme if there were marketing cooperatives.

67. The Chairman mentioned that it would be desirable to announce the price fixed fairly early before the next season. He suggested that the officers who had come with the Chief Ministers might discuss it the next day with the Cabinet Secretary and the Principal Finance Secretary along with the officers of the Planning Commission, Ministry of Food, Ministry of Finance, etc...

### **Papers on specified items forwarded by Dr B.C. Roy<sup>6</sup>**

74. The Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission (V.T. Krishnamachari), said that so far as the Central assistance was concerned, the position indicated by the Planning Commission held good. As regards market loans, the Planning Commission had not accepted any responsibility in regard to the amount. This was a matter for the State Government to consider in consultation with the Reserve Bank of India and the Ministry of Finance.

75. The Chairman suggested that the question of loan might be discussed separately with the Finance Minister so that the position might be explained. The position would depend on so many factors which could not be decided straightaway.

6. Chief Minister of West Bengal.

76. The Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, said that the Planning Commission was not satisfied with the procedure adopted last year for the annual plan and the officers of the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance were examining it in detail with a view to improving the procedure. The matter was proposed to be discussed with the officers of the State Government on 5th June, 1957.

77. The Chairman observed that having framed the Second Five Year Plan, it could be really said that the budgets of the Central and State Governments were fixed for the next five years. Actually, however, many things had happened since then and they had to face a more difficult situation. While they were determined to carry through what was called the industrial core of the Plan, adjustments would be needed elsewhere. The Chairman suggested that a better method than what was adopted last year might be followed this year for the scrutiny of State Governments' schemes and that an attempt should be made to avoid frequent references backward and forward.

## 6. Role of the National Development Council—II<sup>1</sup>

The Chairman referred to the discussion on the previous afternoon during which Dr B.C. Roy raised the question of procedures for considering Plan projects. He emphasized the need of evolving procedures which would avoid delay in taking decisions between the Planning Commission and the State Governments and the Government of India. The Chairman suggested that this matter might be looked into by the Finance Ministry and the Planning Commission as well as by the State Governments. The aim should be to avoid delays and facilitate quick decisions. The Chairman suggested that the Council might take up for consideration item No.3 of the agenda which was intimately connected with items 4, 5 and 6.

### Review of Economic Situation

...The Minister for Planning (Gulzarilal Nanda) said that employment potential in terms of the budget provision had been worked out for a number of States,

1. Proceedings of the meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi, 4 June 1957. JN Collection. Extracts.



but as the Finance Minister had pointed out it was not clear how the changes would affect the employment potential. It would be possible to work out the modifications in the picture of employment when information was available regarding the changes which were going to be made.

17. The Chairman observed that the calculations made for the Second Five Year Plan could not be considered to be accurate or precise. From time to time attempt should be made to find out what was happening to the paper calculations and check them with the actual results, probably through sample surveys. The information collected should also be checked through accurate surveys. This applied not only to employment but also to the results of development works...

18. The Union Minister for Planning, Gulzarilal Nanda, said that the employment figures obtained through the Employment Exchanges showed a disturbing trend, with a rise in registrations and shortfalls in placements. The position was not bad with regard to skilled personnel but on the whole, the employment situation had been worsening.

19. The Union Minister for Finance said that so far as semi-skilled people were concerned, except perhaps in some areas, there was a terrible shortage. He mentioned that in the steel plants, they were not able to get semi-skilled or skilled workmen.

20. The Chairman referred to the remarks made by the Union Ministers for Planning and Finance regarding the employment situation generally and the shortage of skilled and semi-skilled workmen and said that an attempt should be made to obtain more accurate figures to facilitate judgement regarding the trends in employment. He suggested that in the sample surveys, these matters should be especially borne in mind...

51. The Chairman pointed out that foreign exchange was not available for allocation to anybody and obviously it was not possible to make any fresh commitments...

74. The Chairman said that Orissa deserved the sympathy of the rest of India. The condition of the people in the State was very pitiable. Certain major schemes like Hirakud dam would not yield results immediately. Obviously, however, some big steps had been taken for the development of the State and though they might not yield immediate results, in the long run they would prove to be very useful.

### **Constitution of a Standing Committee of the National Development Council**

75. The Chairman said that it would be useful to set up a Standing Committee of the Council. When the Chief Ministers came for meetings of the Standing Committee, it was not necessary to bring officials and others. It would then be possible to discuss major policies without the fuss of having a big meeting.



After further discussion, it was decided that a Committee of the National Development Council, consisting of the Chief Ministers, plus the Planning Commission, should be constituted and meet from time to time between meetings of the Council.

### **Certain matters relating to the levy of sales tax**

82. The Union Minister for Finance (T.T. Krishnamachari) said that there was not much progress since the last meeting of the Council regarding the levy of sales tax. The question was referred to all the Chief Ministers and the reactions which were obtained made him somewhat nervous about proceeding further. Except for Bengal and Assam, all the other States had more or less accepted the scheme but the conditions imposed were somewhat onerous... His intention was to levy a small surcharge on excise duty on cotton textiles, sugar and tobacco so that the total amount collected would be of the order of Rs 62 crores which he thought would be equal to, if not a little higher than, what the States were making on account of the sales tax on these commodities. But the States' claims were 50 per cent more than his expectations. In these circumstances, the Finance Minister said, he was inclined to withdraw the proposal altogether.

83. The Chairman observed that when the matter was discussed on the last occasion, it appeared that there was general agreement about the principle because it obviously brought a measure of uniformity and also relief to the person who paid. The only question that arose then was how the money was to be distributed. The first point was that every State would get at least what it was getting or possibly more. Secondly, this matter might be referred to the Finance Commission. At one time, it appeared that the Finance Commission were not anxious to deal with this matter but the matter had now been referred to them. It appeared that Madras and Punjab had fully agreed with the scheme while Andhra, Bombay, Mysore, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh generally agreed with it. The States which had disagreed were Assam and West Bengal.

84. The Union Minister for Home Affairs (Govind Ballabh Pant) said that the proposal to replace sales tax by a common surcharge on excise duty by the Centre was hailed with satisfaction by the consumers and traders alike. Under the existing arrangements, the trader whose turnover was below a specified figure did not have to pay sales tax and any attempt to lower the limit would be resented. If the duty was levied by the Centre, there would be uniformity and larger coverage. Apart from this, undoubtedly there was considerable leakage and this would cease when the tax became part of the excise duty. There would also be a saving resulting from one agency instead of two agencies collecting the tax. He did not see why there should be any objection from any quarter to

this arrangement which would be beneficial to the traders, consumers and all concerned. He, therefore, expressed the hope that the Finance Minister would not be compelled to withdraw the proposal. But it could be implemented only with the willing cooperation of the States. The Union Minister for Home Affairs appealed to the States to accept the scheme as they would profit by it, the people would welcome it and the scheme would avoid many of the complexities and difficulties which were arising under the present system...

86. The Chairman said that it would be necessary to agree to accept the advice of an independent authority. Otherwise after going through all the processes the whole thing would have to be dropped.

87. The Finance Minister, Bombay,<sup>2</sup> said that with the imposition of the inter-state sales tax, the chances of evasion were relatively less. If the proposal was dropped, it would not, therefore, make much difference to most of the States.

88. The Union Minister for Home Affairs said that the Finance Commission might be requested to take the proposal regarding distribution on the basis of consumption also into consideration in making its recommendations. It would really be unfortunate if the proposal was dropped as it was in the interest of the traders and consumers. Sales tax had provoked widespread discontent and even resentment. He suggested that even if a particular State did not like the scheme, it should come in if the large majority of the States wanted it

89. The Chairman said that the average taxpayer was more worried about the manner of paying the tax and the harassment involved than the actual sum he paid. The proposal to replace the sales tax by a surcharge on excise duty was a simple way of avoiding this. There were often major agitations on sales tax in various States. He thought it would be worth introducing the scheme even if they lost money but actually they would get more.

90. Prof Mahalanobis suggested that the principle of distribution on the basis of consumption was quite equitable. Special methods would have to be developed to find the consumption. Such methods might not be absolutely accurate but the problem was not incapable of being solved. If it was accepted in principle that the distribution would be on the basis of consumption then some kind of estimates of consumption would have to be made

91. The Union Minister for Home Affairs said that a reference could be made to the Commission that they should take consumption into account while determining the share of each State. Any inaccuracies in the estimates of consumption could be corrected on the basis of the figures obtained after a year's operation of the scheme.



92. The Chief Minister, Assam,<sup>3</sup> said that on reconsideration the Assam Government would not have any objection to the proposal...

94. The Union Finance Minister said that he had suggested to the Finance Commission that distribution should be on the basis of consumption. The Commission could not commit themselves but they did not say that consumption would not be taken into account.

95. The Chairman said that the Finance Minister might go ahead with the reference to the Finance Commission. The allocation might be based on a certain figure representing the total collections, the figure being revised, if necessary, at a later stage depending on the rate of surcharge.

96. The Chief Minister, Bihar, referring to the question of inclusion of foodgrains, fertilizers and edible oils in the list of "declared goods" said that it was difficult for the State to give up a revenue of Rs 50 lakhs which they collected as sales tax on foodgrains. He requested that the matter be considered at a later date or in a meeting of the Finance Ministers.

97. The Union Minister for Food and Agriculture<sup>4</sup> said that it was anomalous that while Government of India were making every effort to bring down the prices of foodgrains and other commodities and were subsidising the sale of foodgrains in certain regions, the State Governments should do something which would raise the prices of foodgrains. The incidence in certain States worked out to about ten per cent which was very high. The Union Food and Agriculture Minister requested the States to agree to forego this sales tax until the prices of foodgrains came down to a reasonable level. So far as fertilizers were concerned, the Union Minister for Food and Agriculture said that they were in the nature of raw material for the production of foodgrains and for that reason it should be included in the list of declared goods. All oilseeds were included in the list of "declared goods" and it was anomalous that edible oils were not included.

98. The Chairman said that it was very odd that on the one hand the sale of foodgrains were subsidized and on the other hand a tax was levied. There was no logic in it...

100. The Chairman, referring to the proposal to exempt all books from sales-tax, suggested that books should be exempted from sales tax. Books were much too expensive in the country and the reading public for books in the country was small.

3. Bisnuram Medhi.

4. Ajit Prasad Jain.



#### **Fourth Report of the Programme Evaluation Committee on Community Projects and National Extension Service**

102. Dr V.K.R.V. Rao<sup>5</sup> referred to a number of suggestions which he had put forward in the note circulated to the Members of the Council. The first suggestion was regarding the desirability of reviewing the contents of the Community Projects and National Extension Service programme. There were many categories of activities under the programme and a large number of items under each category. When the resources in terms of funds, personnel or technical skill were exceedingly limited, energies would be dissipated if they were spread over a large number of items. A suggestion had been made, therefore, that instead of concentrating on so many items, only a few important items need be taken up during the Second Plan period and the rest might be taken up in the Third Plan. So far as the Second Plan was concerned, it was obvious that priority should be accorded to production, both agricultural and industrial. It was clear that for the next two or three years, an all out effort had to be made in the country to increase production of food and the output of cottage and small-scale industries. Dr Rao added that agriculture was the main field where popular participation, non-official leadership, administrative efficiency and enthusiasm could be effectively utilized. A good deal of emphasis should be laid on manurial items, agricultural techniques and improved seeds...

103. Dr Rao said that the whole object of the National Extension Service and Community Project programme was to bring about a revolution in the country, a change in the attitude of the people which would initiate a process which would be self-accelerating. It was, therefore, important that action should be cooperative rather than individual...

104. The National Extension Service was only an agency for ascertaining local requirements, eliciting local cooperation, communicating Government's ideas to the villagers and the ideas of the villagers to the Government and thereby bring about cooperation between the administration and the people...

105. Dr Rao said that if the panchayats were to be utilized, it was obvious that their financial resources should be improved. It was also important that there should be more education amongst the people in the principles of cooperation. Dr Rao also suggested that the village workers and block officers should not be merely agency for rural development but missionaries for the concept of planning.

114. The Chairman said that they must all agree with most of what Dr Rao had said. It was obvious that they should concentrate on certain aspects of the

5. V. K. R. V. Rao was Director, Delhi School of Economics. He was appointed Vice Chancellor of Delhi University on 10 July 1957.

work, production of food grains, small-scale industries, cottage industries, etc. The second aspect was also important, namely, the development of local initiative through panchayats, cooperatives, etc. In the early stage of the Community Projects movement, it was necessary to do something which would interest the people and which would draw them out and arouse their interest.

115. The Chairman emphasized the point made by Dey<sup>6</sup> that it was unreal to expect the best of the officers to deal with the entire rural population. Therefore, the goodness of an officer should not lie in what he did but what he could make the people do. The Chairman said that he was glad that the Programme Evaluation Committee had gone into these matters and drawn attention to a number of failings. At the same time it should be remembered that the Community Development Scheme started only on the 2nd October 1952. In this short period of less than five years the programme had spread and the results, in spite of the deficiencies pointed out, were just amazing. As the movement spread, more problems and more difficulties might be coming but the people should be made to solve them. Otherwise there was the danger of being crushed by the weight of the hopes and enthusiasm raised in the people.

### **Family Planning**

116. The Members of the Council agreed with the recommendations made in the paper. The Chairman observed that all the problems discussed in the Council ultimately turned round to the number of people to be fed, clothed and found work. The greater the number, the greater the difficulties. The most effective work in the field of family planning was done by women. It would be useful to have some kind of Advisory Board attached to the Planning Commission or the Ministry of Health consisting mostly of women workers. He suggested that the States which had not taken steps to appoint family planning officers and set up advisory boards should do so without delay.

117. The Chairman expressed his thanks to the Chief Ministers and the other Ministers for coming to New Delhi to attend the meeting of the National Development Council. The discussion during the two days was extremely useful. Previously they had not met at a time when they had to face a very difficult economic and financial situation. He was glad they were facing difficulties because no people could really wake up to a big task unless they faced difficulties. They had got into the habit of thinking that things happened automatically and that they could live on without any special effort. In the next two years, they had

6. Surendra Kumar Dey, Minister for Community Development.



to make a special effort at every step. After that, it was hoped, that there would be a turn in the tide which would bring in the more important results of the peoples' labour. There were many people in the wide world who were interested in what India was doing. It was important that the basic element of the Plan must get through and at the same time the economy should be built up and given the right direction. Obviously this could not be done by the Central Government alone. It could be done only with the closest cooperation between the State Governments and the Central Government and of the people. This meant that the people should understand the problems; every effort should be made to explain to them the Plan and the difficulties which were being confronted. The Chairman expressed the hope that the Members would go away not only with the realization of the big job they had undertaken but also with a stout heart to face and overcome the difficulties.

## 7. Prioritization of Schemes<sup>1</sup>

I am venturing to address my colleagues in the Cabinet on a subject which is no doubt very much before them. I have already addressed them<sup>2</sup> pointing out the urgent need for economy and avoidance of all expenditure that is not necessary.

2. This is, however, a negative approach, important as it is. The positive approach is concerned with the policies we adopt. These policies can no longer be considered in an isolated manner by different ministries. A decision of a ministry might well have consequences and repercussions. Also something that a ministry may wish to do may well be desirable in itself, but, looked at from a larger point of view, it may not be given any high priority.

3. At a meeting of the Panel of Economists, held today, among other matters referred to, great stress was laid on a strict observance of priorities. Indeed there is no other way to meet the situation that has arisen. We began by framing our Second Five Year Plan for 4,800 crores. Owing to various developments,

1. Note to Cabinet Ministers, 8 June 1957. File No. 17 (245)/57-59-PMS.

2. See *post*, pp. 99-102.



notably the rise in prices, this has already gone up to 5,500 crores. There is every possibility of a further rise to 6,000 crores or even more. It is manifestly not possible for us to attain these heights of expenditure. When we talk about our determination to fulfil our Second Five Year Plan, this means that we shall fulfil the basic industrial core of it. We shall have regretfully to postpone some other items which, though important in themselves, cannot be given priority over others.

4. Therefore the question of priorities becomes one of vital importance. It is not possible for any single ministry to consider this because, in the nature of things, the whole picture has to be seen before a decision can be taken. This picture can only be seen fully by the Cabinet or the Planning Commission or all the Secretaries meeting together. The Cabinet should only consider this matter at a stage when it has been thoroughly examined by others.

5. The proper authority seems to me to be the Planning Commission to deal with this matter in consultation with the various ministries. Their recommendations may be put up before the Cabinet. It is important however, that this overall consideration should be made by the Planning Commission.

6. If this applies to commitments already made, it applies all the more to any fresh proposal. It often happens that a ministry spends time and labour over some proposal and, in a sense, finalizes it so far as it is concerned and then sends it up to the Planning Commission or the Cabinet. Sometimes even the Minister concerned has taken a decision about it. For the Planning Commission to consider it at this stage is not easy. It is obviously desirable, therefore, that the Planning Commission should be consulted for every proposal at an early stage of formulation and before any decisions have been taken in the Ministry itself. This consultation with the Planning Commission may save a good deal of labour and it may also help the Ministry in formulating the proposal in a manner which might fit in with our broad policy. I suggest, therefore, that every proposal initiated by a ministry should be subjected to a consultation of the Planning Commission at an early stage from the point of view, which is so essential now, of the working of the Second Five Year Plan.

7. This procedure applies even more to any matter concerning policy. In such cases it is obviously essential for the Planning Commission to be consulted at the earliest stage. Often papers meant for the Cabinet or the Economic Committee of the Cabinet are sent to the Planning Commission a day or two before they might be considered by the Cabinet. This does not give enough time for consideration and also it is too late a stage when the paper has already been finalized by the Ministry.

8. We have laid great stress on the foreign exchange position which is causing us so much trouble.<sup>3</sup> At least as important, and perhaps much more important, is the internal price level. This is largely affected by food prices. Thus, in a sense, this whole picture of our Plan revolves round these internal prices and more especially on food prices. This question will be considered by the Cabinet soon. It is essentially a type of question which should be considered by the Planning Commission at an early stage.

9. The point is that we have to view everything now from the overall point of view of working the Plan. A Minister or a Secretary cannot think only of the needs of his Ministry but of the Plan as a whole. In fact, the Secretary becomes not merely a Secretary of the Ministry but a Secretary of the Government of India looking at all questions from the all-India point of view and more particularly from the point of view of the success of the Plan.

10. I would beg your consideration to this.

3. According to a note prepared by the Finance Ministry on 3 June 1957, there was a precipitate decline, in the preceding weeks, in the foreign assets held by the Reserve Bank. These stood, at the end of May 1957, at the level of Rs 457 crores. The Government was required to maintain a minimum reserve of Rs 400 crores, leaving the Government with a modest working balance of Rs 57 crores. A serious problem confronted the Government, as the balance of payments deficit during the second half of 1957 was estimated to be of the order of Rs 220 crores. Even if it took the emergency measure of running down the reserves below the statutory minimum of Rs 400 crores to Rs 300 crores, as provided for under the law, the Government would still face shortage of no less than Rs 120 crores. The Government could not contemplate taking the extreme step of letting the reserves fall below Rs 300 crores without risking the strength of the rupee and India's creditworthiness, the note observed.

## 8. Appointment of the Second Pay Commission<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Deputy-Speaker,<sup>2</sup> Sir, my colleague, the Finance Minister will deal with this Resolution and this subject on behalf of Government presently more adequately. I am not dealing with this subject as a whole but I thought that

1. 19 July 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XII, 15-26 July 1957, cols. 4372-4383.

2. Hukam Singh.



perhaps it might be advantageous if I ventured to draw the attention of the House to certain aspects of this question.

The proposer of the Resolution referred to me as having said something to the effect that there should be no Pay Commission. I did say that, but there is something more that I said too; not that only. That was some months back. What I said then and would like to repeat now is that we cannot consider this question in some kind of a vacuum. All of us desire obviously, higher standards for our people, for Central Government employees as well as for others. There is no difference of opinion on that. In fact, the subject is such that, normally speaking, it should not be considered a party issue but an issue on which all sections should apply their wisdom to find out what we can do about it. Obviously, as the honourable Member Frank Anthony said, there are limits beyond which one cannot go, whatever our desires may be. It becomes either wishful thinking or a deliberate attempt to do something which might result in the breakdown of the economic structure. It is not a question of my arguing that it is bad and some one else arguing that it is good.

We all agree that this should be done to the greatest possible extent so that the standards of the people should rise. In fact, the whole object of the economic policy of the Government, the whole object of the Five Year Plan, etc., is that. That is not confined to the Central Government employees but applies to the people as a whole.

I agree with the proposition that the Government as an employer should be a good employer—obviously. So, there is a large measure of agreement and yet there may be a great deal of lack of agreement in the approach to this question.

The honourable proposer said, I think, that this must be done, whatever may be the financial implications. This is a kind of statement which, if I may say so, not only any Member of the Government, but even any Member of the Opposition cannot lightly make or accept. We have to see in whatever we do as to what are the implications. We cannot just forget the consequences and say, "Do it!" Therefore, one has to consider this whole question in the context of today. The context of ten years or eleven years ago when the old Pay Commission was appointed was completely different. That Government had no wide social outlook, no desire to industrialize the country or to make any big revolutionary or semi-revolutionary changes. They had to carry on, maybe doing good here and there. Now conditions are entirely different. Here is this country engaged on a vital and tremendous adventure. You may criticize that we go too far. That is a different matter. But it is a common ground that this Parliament and our people are engaged in this great adventure of trying to lift our people from bootstraps and give them higher standards—to all of them and not for a section.



Indeed, if I may criticize this resolution, this resolution says that something should be done. It says that a Pay Commission should be appointed to bring the employees in conformity with the country's ideal of a socialist pattern of society. I wonder what the honourable Member has in mind about the socialist pattern, as if socialist patterns are coming about to India by raising the salaries of various sections. It has absolutely nothing to do with socialism or socialist pattern, may I remind him? Therefore, for that purpose, the resolution is completely wrong. It is just not understanding the issue. Presumably the honourable Member wants a socialist pattern of society. But it cannot come about in this way. In fact, you put a bar to its coming by trying to proceed in this way. Let us, by all means, have proper salaries. Let us raise the standards of our employees in the Central Government and elsewhere. But above all, let us raise the capacity of the country to do this because otherwise you stop somewhere.

Therefore, we come back to the question of the capacity to do these things — production, productive efforts, etc. Some honourable Members talked about salaries and wages going up in other countries. It is perfectly true. Recently I had been to a number of countries in Western Europe.<sup>3</sup> There I noticed, with some surprise, how they had recovered from the effects of the war. Broken down places which had been bombed out of existence are huge flourishing towns and factories today. They are paying higher salaries and higher wages because they are producing much more than they ever did. Whether you go to Germany or even France—I do not wish to criticize it with certain curious state of its politics—it is producing more....

Yes, certainly we are producing more and we hope to produce more. But the whole question, as has been often said, and I may repeat it, is this that these countries, roughly speaking, of Western Europe and the Soviet Union were industrialized, went through an economic revolution, that is to say, were industrialized largely before the political revolution came in a big way. Therefore, they were strong enough to meet the demands of the political revolution, the economic revolution having come earlier. In the Soviet Union, of course, conditions were different and they brought about the economic revolution in certain ways and suffered a great deal of hardship to achieve certain results. Now we had to face in this country a big political revolution coming, preceding the economic revolution. Now we are trying to bring about the economic revolution. The whole process has been put in a different way here. Not only in India, I mean, but in all those countries, so-called less developed countries; that is the difficulty. The political revolution produces political consciousness, demands, etc., legitimate demands, of course, without adequate means of

3. Nehru was on a visit to some Scandinavian countries in June-July 1957.

supplying those demands, unless there is an economic revolution to do it. And, it does not matter whether it is a socialistic, capitalistic, communistic or any other way; you have to produce enough in order to satisfy the demands. If not, you cannot go ahead. In order to bring about that system of production, to produce much more, you have to go through the pains of labour, tremendous pains, austerity and what not. It does not matter whether it is a communist way of approach or capitalist, one has to do that till you arrive at a stage when production rather automatically increases.

When we are going through these transition periods, we have to face that difficulty. Always we have to pick and choose as to what we can give for increasing the standards in the immediate present. We want to give it; we must give it, I agree, but to what extent? Because, the moment you go a little further, every bit further that you go means less supply for future advancement, less supply for future investment and so on and so forth. That is the difficult choice that governments in every country have to make. So, that is a basic question which has to be faced in the context of today and not in the context of the British Government in 1946 and what they said then; it is completely different.

Then, again, if that is the basic question, we have to consider it. Suppose we do consider it. There can be no objection from my part or the Government's part to any enquiry provided an enquiry takes into consideration every aspect of the question. It will be a totally irrelevant and unrealistic enquiry if you ask some people, as you did in 1946, "Look at this limited subject here and give us your views". Anybody can give his views; they may be very good views for the limited subject but totally unrealistic from the larger context of things. Therefore, whatever enquiry there is, we must keep in view this larger context. We are going through this tremendous adventure, call it Five Year Plan or whatever you like. There will be many Five Year Plans; I do not say that the Five Year Plan is sacrosanct that it cannot be changed, varied or amended. That is a different matter; but today, whether it is this Plan or a varied Plan, we must go through it. Otherwise, we remain where we were. Honourable Members remind me that our production is going up. I am glad about it, but I want it to go up even faster and I want to supply the results of what you produce, maybe the surplus, for further investment. Whatever our difficulties are at the present moment, whether of internal finance or external finance, or the difficulties of a dynamic progressive economy, remember that these are difficulties for the country which is moving forward and not for countries with a static economy. Therefore, although they are giving us headaches, in a sense they are good difficulties, difficulties of progress and not of stagnation and inaction. Also remember, we want internal finance, foreign exchange and all that; what for? Some people talk vaguely about our spending spree. What do we spend money on? On machinery, which



is an investment. We have not spent it away; we have got something solid out of it. It is in this context that we have to consider this question. Otherwise, you only really get going in the sense of providing enough for an ever rising standard of living for our employees and others.

Of course, other matters have been mentioned. We cannot now, as the Central Government might have done in the old days, ignore the considerable difference between Central employees and State employees, sometimes equally good. Sometimes two men work in the same place and do the same job and yet, as I think Mr Anthony said, or someone else, you cannot just lift all these people, because we have not got the strength to lift all of them. What are we to do? Then, leaving out the whole question of Central and State employees, what about the hundreds of millions of others? Obviously we cannot lift all of them. The process of lifting them up is the whole process of our planning, development and everything. This process, whether it is industrialization or community development schemes or whatever they are, is one big process. To do that, therefore, one has to see these things in a proper perspective. If you have an enquiry, it must be an enquiry keeping in view the economic condition of the country, the Five Year Plan and all that, because if that fails, then the whole structure fails, and the very thing that we want to happen does not happen. That is why often when such a situation arises in a country, people have talked about what they call wage freezes and profit freezes. I am not at the moment suggesting that, although eminent people have talked about it in India too. Broadly speaking, one has to realize that one cannot in such circumstances go on, much as one might want to go on, in this direction. One simply cannot, because apart from other things, higher wages in these circumstances may lead to more inflation and, therefore, the capacity to produce more becomes less and less. In fact, you do not get the higher wages; only they remain where they were. Only the country suffers; all your planning suffers; maybe the value of your currency goes down and so on. So this complicated thing occurs. It is not a question of, let us say, a labour tribunal with a very eminent judge sitting and deciding whether this should be paid or that. The judge sees only certain things. He does not see, in that limited matter, the ultimate economic consequences which a country has to face, more especially when we are dealing with millions of people. Therefore, these are the important considerations that have to be borne in mind.

One thing, of course, I will say and there can be no doubt at all. I think Mr Anthony said something about anomalies. Obviously these have to be dealt with and should be dealt with. And, not only these. I felt personally, apart from this, the real advance should be made much more in the way of providing amenities. It is a better way, a more social way and the money that is spent upon it goes much further than otherwise. Amenities, better living conditions, better health,



cheaper or free education—these are the things which immediately lessen the burden on an individual or a family and I think it is the duty of the State to provide them. It is only our incapacity at the present moment to do it that prevents us from doing it and ultimately all kind of things that the State should do. They should be provided for from birth to death. I am prepared to accept that maxim, but only I cannot give effect to it today.

So that it is in this context that I should like this question to be looked at. Further—I hope I am not unnecessarily censorious—I do get an impression sometimes that these demands, etc., for higher wages, this, that and the other, justified as they may be from time to time, somehow, at the present moment, are more in the nature of a political approach than an economic approach to these problems...

Nevertheless, why I say so is this. I do not say that there is no economic reason for it. I admit that. I agree there are economic reasons for it, and let us consider what we can do about it. Nevertheless, all this business of slowing down and constant threats and the language used is not economic language. It is a very different language. It is extraordinary.

Now, I must say that this mentality of slowing down that is taking place sometimes is a most dangerous mentality, dangerous for the country today. The one big thing that I find when I go whether to communist countries in Europe or Asia or to non-communist countries, the one good thing that I find is hard work. Everybody working hard. During the leisure hours, play hard, if you like. But during their working hours, they work hard.

You go to Germany. One is amazed at the work of the German. Or take the Dutchman or the man of any other country. But I am simply amazed at their recovery through sheer hard work. They went through this—having been a defeated nation, the Germans—and worked hard. It was something amazing. They do not mind nine hours, ten hours because they felt that they had to bring themselves up.

Sadhan Gupta:<sup>4</sup> The wages are also amazing there.

Hem Barua:<sup>5</sup> When the walls of the stomach are burning, it is cruel to ask them to work harder.

JN: I have not quite heard that. However, it is immaterial.

4. (b. 1917); Bar-at-law; member, Indian National Congress, 1935-39; Communist Party of India member of Lok Sabha from West Bengal-Calcutta East.

5. (1915-1977); freelance writer in Assamese and English, pioneer in modern Assamese poetry; Principal, Barroadi College, Gauhati; 1945-47; left the Indian National Congress in 1948 and joined the Socialist Party; Praja Socialist Party member of Lok Sabha from Mangaldai, Assam, 1957-62.

But this business of slowing down is, apart from the essential harm it does, that is, less production, less of everything, psychologically and spiritually a fatal thing to do in this country, when we have to make people think—ourselves, yourselves, everybody—in terms of concentrated, cooperative hard work.

Therefore, I say it is spiritually something which eats into the vitals of our being, of our public life and community life.

Take another instance, a very positive instance. Today one of our big problems is the unloading of ships at Calcutta and Bombay harbours. Every day's delay in unloading them means demurrage. We are paying, I believe, Rs 1 lakh a day—maybe more—just because we are not unloading ships in time, and Rs 1 lakh in foreign currency which we can ill afford. Why? Because there are delays. I am not blaming anybody in this matter, and I hope things will be better.

But here it is. Here is the slowing down business, deliberate slowing down, which creates tremendous difficulties for us. It weakens the country, it weakens our position to improve the lot of those very persons whose lot should be improved. I agree their lot should be improved, but we cannot improve it beyond our capacity to do so. It is obvious. Or we improve it at the cost of somebody else. At whose cost? Some of our friends may say: "Oh, stop the privy purses and the rest": Well, I agree.

Renu Chakravarty:<sup>6</sup> Stop the profiteering of the stevedores and you will get a lot more for your plans.

JN: Stop the profiteering. Certainly. I am sorry I do not know enough about them. But I agree with the honourable lady Member completely—stop the profiteering. Certainly stop profiteering—I repeat—but one must recognize that all this business of stopping profiteering, the privy purses, etc., which may be desirable in its due time, does not really affect the situation basically. It does not; it may make a slight difference, and it should be done (interruption).

Hem Barua: What about the psychological affect?

JN: I accept that—psychology is certainly there—but the realities are that only by hard work and production we could produce the necessary stuff for advance and for increasing standards of life. There is no other way, and every process, whether it is strike or go-slow movement or anything which stops production or delays or lessens production, is harmful to the interests of the country and to the interests of the very people who are doing it, unless they want to profit at the expense of some other section of the community.

So I do submit that this constant threat of strike and go-slow is a very unhealthy

6. Communist Party of India member of Lok Sabha.



sign in India or anywhere, more especially here in India today. It is almost an attempt to hold up the community and to make the community do something, which normally the community cannot afford to do or may not do or can only do at the expense of others.

That is not a right approach. It is a completely right approach for workers, employees, etc., to discuss in an organized way their demands and their anomalies. There is no doubt that many of them suffer and, surely, whatever our faults may be, nobody can say that we, the Government or any of us, do not want them to get rid of their anomalies or sufferings or that we do not want them to better their condition.

We do want to do as much as possible, but we must, I think, realize that the way to do it in present conditions is not by conflict—whether it is industrial conflict or whether it is a conflict directly between government employees and the Government.

Now, honourable Members have often suggested what is called nationalization. I have no doubt that, as we have done already, important industries ought to be nationalized. We have made lists of what should be and what should not be.

But I should like this House to remember what nationalization means today. I am not talking in terms of cost. The moment government has to deal with an industry, politics intervene and they are incited and there are anti-government strikes.

Therefore, if a government has always to face this kind of problem, it becomes a bar or something, which comes in the way of nationalization. If nationalization means simply conflict, which otherwise would not occur then nationalization loses much of its charm and benefit.

Hem Barua: Is it because of anticipated strikes that Government does not proceed in that line with progressive measures?...

JN: I do not know what the honourable Member says. But in future, Government will certainly not go in that way if strikes are going to occur. I can assure the honourable Member that this will be an important consideration in future in this matter. Because our object, at present moment, is not some doctrinaire or theoretical object; it is to build up this country. There must be greater production and more equitable distribution. Greater production is the first absolute essential. We cannot move otherwise. There must be greater production for greater surplus for investment for greater progress, thereby lifting up standards all round. If that cannot be achieved one way, then some other way has to be sought.

Therefore, I submit that all these aspects should be kept in view by this House. Let us consider this matter not in any narrow party way, because large numbers



of people are involved. We want to do them good. At the same time, no Government, obviously, can be held up in this way to stand up and deliver, nor can the community be held up to stand up and deliver or "we shall strike."

If in spite of all this, strikes occur, then any government worth its name will face the strikes whatever happens. It is quite an impossible situation, with the kind of language that is used and the kind of threats that are issued all the time, for the Government to submit to it.

But we have taken steps. In regard to the Posts and Telegraph matter, my honourable colleague, the Minister of Transport and Communications,<sup>7</sup> made a statement yesterday showing how far they had gone to meet the demand, showing that in other matters they are discussing. They want to go ahead.

These are complicated matters and we want to meet them; the postmen and the like are the most valuable members of the community. We want them to prosper. But they do not help in the solution of those problems by gestures of defiance all the time and words of defiance. That is not the way a community should function, more especially when we are engaged in this big adventure of building up India.

7. Lal Bahadur Shastri.

## 9. To B.V. Keskar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 29, 1957

My dear Balkrishna,<sup>2</sup>

...As I mentioned to you the other day, I think that our AIR broadcasts should deal more with our Plan publicity. We have occasional broadcasts on the subject. I think they should be better organized and perhaps deal with subjects separately. I have no particular suggestions to make, but many people have told me that they would like to learn more about the Five Year Plan, its achievements, its objectives, its social approach and its difficulties. I think that this matter should be considered more fully by some of your experts with the Planning Commission

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

as well as with some others who would be able to offer suggestions. Thus, Dr V.K.R.V. Rao might be consulted.<sup>3</sup>

In this connection, the Community Development schemes and programmes should be specially dealt with. This work is growing rapidly in many directions and is of great interest to people. The discussion in Parliament also shows how much MPs are interested in it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 6 May, Nehru wrote to Keskar that V.K.R.V. Rao had told him that he had come to know about the pamphlets and other publications of the Information & Broadcasting Ministry and found them very useful and worth distributing to colleges and schools. Nehru observed that very few people in India seemed to know about these publications, while these were sent to foreign countries, given to distinguished visitors and circulated to some extent in India. Nehru noted: "I think this is a pity, and we are not taking full advantage of what we are doing. An attempt should be made to reach our intelligentsia..." He also asked Keskar to "work at some scheme of sending selected publications, more especially dealing with our various activities in the country, to universities, colleges and even high schools."

## 10. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad<sup>1</sup>

...people in India seemed to know about these publications, while these were sent to foreign countries, given to distinguished visitors and circulated to some extent in India. Nehru noted: "I think this is a pity, and we are not taking full advantage of what we are doing. An attempt should be made to reach our intelligentsia..." He also asked Keskar to "work at some scheme of sending selected publications, more especially dealing with our various activities in the country, to universities, colleges and even high schools."

## To E.M.S. Namboodiripad<sup>1</sup>



letters rather hurriedly. I may reply to you more fully later. For the present, I am just dealing with some of the points you have raised.<sup>4</sup>

It is true that from a financial point of view we are facing a very critical situation. This is difficult so far as internal finances are concerned, but our chief worry at the present moment is that of external finances and foreign exchange. During the last six months we have had a heavy and continuing demand for foreign exchange. We have met this from our resources as well as from the Sterling Balances in London, which have been considerably reduced. In fact, they have arrived at a stage when we cannot draw much more without recourse to legislation permitting us to do so beyond a certain limit. Even so, that is, if we can draw upon the Sterling Balances fully, our problems will not be solved, because the demand for foreign exchange is greater. We have cut down our imports to the barest minimum, and only unavoidable articles, consisting chiefly of machinery, are now being ordered. It is the past orders, both public and private, that are bearing down upon us. Oddly enough, this crisis that we face is a result of the progress that we have been making as well as our desire to go ahead as fast as we can possibly manage it. We are not the only country that is facing this type of crisis. In fact, it is a common feature today in many other countries, both communist and other.

This crisis has been accentuated by two factors—food and defence. Although the food situation has not been very bad, it has nonetheless compelled us to import a considerable quantity of foodgrains from abroad, which means payment in foreign exchange. The burden of defence depends always on our judgment of possible dangers. From all the accounts that we receive, the situation of Pakistan vis-à-vis India is dangerous and Pakistan is not only heavily armed, chiefly through foreign aid, but is in the mood for trouble. Whether this trouble materializes in a big way or not is a matter for conjecture, but the risks are certainly there and almost all our information points that way. Because of this, we cannot afford to take risks and we have had to add to our existing burdens by fresh expenditure on defence, which again is mainly foreign exchange.

4. Setting forth his ideas on how to make the process of planned development more effective, Namboodiripad pointed out that the prevailing conception of planning was faulty and it ought to be corrected. He said that people generally were more concerned with economically non-productive, though beneficial, measures like road development and educational facilities, and were most reluctant to reduce investments on these heads, making it extremely difficult to increase investments in the productive spheres relating to the industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy. Though he agreed with Nehru about the need for people to make sacrifices for the sake of a more prosperous future, Namboodiripad stated that this could not work out unless the Government took some vital decisions in regard to such matters as the pay structure of all government service personnel, and the taxation structure.



It is obvious that we can only build up our productive capacity by investment in various ways which takes some time to yield results. At the same time, there is, as you point out, the continuing demand for better living conditions. One can understand that demand, but it comes in the way of the more basic long term improvement that we seek and which will enable us more easily to fulfil that demand. There is that conflict, and every country that wants to go ahead fast, has to face it.

Our approach has been to balance the two, that is, while trying to raise standards of living and amenities to some extent, at the same time concentrating on the basic advance in our capacity for production. All this, of course, cannot be calculated exactly, and sometimes some gap periods appear when the burden on one side is greater than on the other. At the present moment also there is the difficulty of inflationary situations in other countries which have led to an increase in prices of the goods, especially machinery, that we import. Other factors have intervened which have added to our foreign commitments.

We can and should ask the people for certain sacrifices, but there is a limit beyond which we cannot go without impairing the machinery of production as well as casting too great a burden on the people. We can and should economize in our expenditure. We are trying to do that, but it is clear that this does not make a very vital difference from the financial point of view. Its effects are more psychological. Taxing the rich is a natural reaction of many people.<sup>5</sup> But the taxes that we have and that we propose already go a very long way in this direction. Some people think that they go too far. This is not a question of justice or equality, but rather of doing something which encourages and gives incentives to the productive apparatus and does not tend to slow it down.

You refer to the appointment of a Pay Commission.<sup>6</sup> You must know that we have, in fact, decided to appoint a Commission of Enquiry into the pay structure,

5. Namboodiripad wrote that if people were asked to put up with the new tax burdens and to make sacrifices, they would naturally call into question the idea of allowing the rich people "to extract the huge profits and dividends which they are doing today." He suggested the need for proceeding further in the direction of introducing measures like higher rates of taxation on the rich "than was done in the recent budget", and called for addressing "the question of dividend and profit taking".
6. Namboodiripad suggested the formulation of a national policy of "pay structure going up from the village and panchayat employees to the highest officials of the Central Government—a policy of raising the pay scales of the lowest paid employees (and) reducing those of the highest paid employees." He rued the fact that "tens of thousands of government employees are working under intolerable conditions of service, while unconsciously high salaries are paid to the ICS, IAS and other top officials." If serious attention was not paid to the problem of pay structure, Namboodiripad said, "I am afraid we are in for a big blow up."

keeping in view the general economic situation, the Five Year Plan and a number of other considerations.<sup>7</sup> How far it is desirable or possible to extend this to every type of employee from the village upwards is not easy to envisage. In theory that would be right, but a complete overhaul, apart from casting excessive burdens on the State, might also otherwise have an upsetting affect not only on the Centre, but on all the States. You know that among the lowest paid employees are our rural teachers who certainly deserve more if we can manage it.

Take a different type of case, the salaries paid to University Professors, Readers, Lecturers, etc. They vary, of course, but, by and large, they are much less than State employees. I do not see why our Professors and others should be in any sense considered on a lower scale. Then, there are engineers, industrial experts and the like who, by virtue of their special attainments, can get much higher salaries. It is unfortunate but true that some of our very able men in science and technical subjects have drifted abroad.

So far as the proposed P&T strike is concerned, I must confess to considerable distress at it.<sup>8</sup> When I met the representatives of the P&T Federation and had a long talk with them, I came away with the definite impression that the idea of a strike would be given up and we could consider their complaints in a cooperative way.<sup>9</sup> I was, therefore, greatly surprised to learn later that they had confirmed their decision to strike.

You refer to the Congress Working Committee considering the situation in Kerala.<sup>10</sup> It is the practice of the Congress Working Committee, whenever it meets, to listen to a survey of conditions in various States. In this connection, Kerala was also considered. Shriman Narayan, who had been there recently, also gave his impressions.

7. The Commission of Inquiry on emoluments and conditions of service of Central Government Employees was set up on 21 August 1957.

8. Namboodiripad wrote that the impending strike by the Posts and Telegraph employees was unfortunate not only because of its serious consequences but "because of its implications on the organizations of other government employees—Central, State and local self-government."

9. See *post*, pp. 345-346.

10. Namboodiripad wrote that the Congress Working Committee had reportedly discussed the situation in Kerala, on the basis of a report by the Congress General Secretary Shriman Narayan, and that it seemed to be "very much concerned" with the law and order situation there and the State Education Bill. He alleged that, even before his ministry had settled itself in office, a propaganda campaign, under Shriman Narayan's "blessings", had been started about deterioration in the law and order situation in the State. "The effort seems to be to mobilize all those who are against the present ministry, somehow to pull it down and to bring the President's rule," Namboodiripad added.



Apart from what Shriman Narayan said, we have been receiving information from various sources about the deterioration in the law and order situation there which worried us. Pantji will, no doubt, be writing to you on this subject in reply to your letter, and so I need not say anything about it.

As for the Education Bill,<sup>11</sup> I am no authority on the subject, but I did look through it and while much of it was good, I thought that some provisions of it were not happy and were likely to lead to trouble.<sup>12</sup> I did not wish to interfere in this matter. I gathered from my Home Minister that he had written to you something about it.

I should like to visit Kerala,<sup>13</sup> but for the present I do not intend going outside Delhi at all and I have refused many invitations from a number of States. Work here is very heavy and difficult problems face us, and I want to remain at headquarters. You can, of course, always come to Delhi and will be welcome.

You mention that you would like Harsh Dev Malaviya<sup>14</sup> of the AICC Office to serve on a Committee.<sup>15</sup> The Congress President,<sup>16</sup> no doubt, will look into this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. Namboodiripad claimed that the Education Bill resembled, "in very many vital respects," the one which a previous Congress ministry headed by Govinda Menon had drafted.
12. The Kerala Education Bill, passed by the State Assembly without a division on 2 September 1957, declared that the Government would provide free and compulsory education for children throughout Kerala within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Act. Under the provisions of the Bill, the Government could take over the management of private-owned schools under certain circumstances; the Government could also take over, in public interest, any category of aided schools on payment of compensation on the basis of market value. The Bill debarred law courts from going into the validity of any such takeover.
13. Namboodiripad suggested that Nehru should visit Kerala. He thought Nehru's visit "may help us in that you can find things for yourself, tell us when, according to you, we have to correct our ways, and tell the local Congressmen when they have to correct their ways."
14. Secretary, Economic and Political Research, AICC; editor of *AICC Economic Review*, 1948-57; member, Administrative Reforms Committee, Government of Kerala, 1957-58.
15. Namboodiripad suggested that Malaviya might be released for two-three months to serve on a committee that his government proposed to set up for administrative reforms. He thought Malaviya would be helpful because of his knowledge of the village panchayats.
16. U.N. Dhebar.



## II. MOBILIZATION OF RESOURCES

### 1. To T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
2 May 1957

My dear T.T.,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd May<sup>3</sup> with which you have sent a note regarding the mobilization of hoarded gold. I have read this note and it appears to me that the proposal it contains is a feasible way of dealing with this matter. But I am not a very suitable person to judge about the public response to this proposal. It might be worthwhile for you informally to consult some of our colleagues, especially Pantji. Perhaps you might do so at our informal meeting at my house on Monday next, 6th May.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Finance Minister.

3. Following Nehru's appeal to people to deposit with the Government their gold and gold jewellery to help to carry on the Second Plan [see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 37, pp. 191-192], the Finance Ministry devised a scheme. Krishnamachari wrote that under the proposed scheme, a person who surrendered jewellery would be given a bond in terms of the gold content of the jewellery, and gold would be returned fifteen years hence in the form of gold along with three per cent interest to be paid on the basis of the official parity price of gold. The Government would also accept donation of gold and acknowledge it by the grant of an attractive certificate.

## 2. To Y.B. Chavan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
3 May 1957

My dear Chavan,<sup>2</sup>

You will remember writing to me on the question of replacing sales tax by a central excise duty. Your letter was forwarded by me to the Finance Minister. He has assured me that this question has not been shelved and steps are being taken. Some legal difficulties have, however, arisen which will no doubt be got over. I understand that our Finance Minister has written to you and to other Chief Ministers on this subject today.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37(50)/57-PMS.
2. Chief Minister of Bombay State.

## 3. To T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 4, 1957

My dear T.T.,

With reference to a note you sent me some time ago, I am trying to understand certain aspects of our taxation, etc. Could you kindly get your Ministry to send me some figures about income tax? I should like to know:

1. How many people pay income tax now?
2. Division of these people into groups: those paying the highest rate, two or three middle groups and those paying the lowest rate as at present fixed. There might perhaps be about five groups, as convenient.

1. JN Collection.



I understand that the exemption limit at present is Rs 4,200/-. If this limit is reduced to Rs 3,000/-, how many more income tax payers are there likely to be? And what would be, in general terms, the expected revenue from them? If the ceiling of tax free income is reduced still further to Rs 2,000/-, what would then be the additional income tax payers and how much would they contribute?

I suppose that if the ceiling is reduced, it will take some time for the full effect to be felt.

I should also like to have some information about the progress or otherwise of the Life Insurance business since it was taken over by the state.<sup>2</sup> What was the volume of new business just before we took it over? What has it been since then?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. In May 1956.

#### 4. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

Our Finance Minister, T.T. Krishnamachari, has shown me the telegram<sup>2</sup> he has sent you today. Our financial position is a grave one. So far as internal finance

1. New Delhi, 25 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. Krishnamachari informed Mrs Pandit, India's High Commissioner in London, of the Government's intention to explore avenues for obtaining credit from abroad, in view of India's difficult foreign exchange position. Stating that India "would like a line of credit from the UK", Krishnamachari said he had asked Defence Minister V.K. Krishna Menon, "in consultation with you, to sound the concerned UK authorities about the possibilities of arrangements to obtain Sterling requirements while maintaining necessary backing to our currency." The Finance Minister observed that if the reaction in the UK to this proposal "appears to be at all favourable" the matter could be further discussed during the Prime Minister's visit to the UK in June.

is concerned, Krishnamachari has put forward courageous proposals<sup>3</sup> which have raised a good deal of protest here because of additional taxation in various ways. We shall face this because we cannot permit our major development works to suffer.

2. External finance can only be met with by exports or by loans or credit abroad. We are trying to get such credit from various places. The amount required is considerable. In this connection, we wish to approach the UK Government also. Our case is a fairly good one, but naturally it is not easy to get such credits.

3. The matter is a peculiarly delicate one and we do not wish it to be talked about here or in London. Hence very few people here know about the step we propose to take and at your end also care should be taken to keep this secret.

4. It is desirable in the first instance for wholly informal approach to be made. In circumstances at present prevailing in United Kingdom, it appears that Macmillan<sup>4</sup> holds strings of every important activity there and he might have to be approached informally. Krishnamachari has fully explained technical details to Krishna Menon and briefed him. You should keep in close touch with developments so that later you might be able to deal with it in more formal manner. If opportunity arises, you might mention to Macmillan that Krishna Menon has been asked by us to discuss this matter informally with him. Part of this approach concerns Defence also, but this need not be mentioned by you to Macmillan at this stage.

3. In the general budget presented in Parliament on 15 May, Krishnamachari announced proposals involving extensive changes in the tax structure. His proposals included an upward revision of the excise duty on 13 items, the raising of customs duty on some 90 items, imposition of a tax on wealth, a tax on expenditure, and a tax on railway passenger fares, an upward revision of certain postal rates, adjustments in personal income tax and super tax, an increase in tax payable by companies and increased taxes on some consumables.

4. Harold Macmillan, British Prime Minister.

## 5. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 25, 1957

Nan dear,

I sent you a telegram<sup>2</sup> today in continuation of T.T. Krishnamachari's message to you.

A set of unfortunate circumstances and developments, both in India and abroad, as well as our attempts to push our Five Year Plan forward, have led to a very grave situation for us. The gravity is not only in financial sphere, but it might affect us in other ways. T.T. Krishnamachari's tax proposals are, we think, basically sound. Though we may vary them here and there in minor matters, we have to go ahead with them generally. The opposition parties, especially the socialists and the communists, are organizing big-scale demonstrations, strikes and the like. Probably they would have done that in any case, but these taxation proposals have given them a new handle. While on the one side we want to economize, demands come to us for higher scales of pay in our major establishments.

Thus, we are in for a great deal of trouble. Unfortunately food prices have tended to go up. In fact, the food situation is always the crux of the matter. We have to get our foodgrains from abroad and for this we want foreign exchange which we have not got. So we move in this vicious circle.

I am informing you of this so that you might have some idea and the background of the situation here. In addition to this, there is the continuing trouble of Samyukta Maharashtra, etc. No one quite knows what Pakistan might do in regard to Kashmir...

With love from,  
Jawahar

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. See the preceding item.



6. To U Nu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 26, 1957

My dear U Nu,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd May 1957, and the mangosteens which you were good enough to send with Premier Kishi.<sup>3</sup> We do not often have mangosteens here, though sometimes friends send them to me from South India. I am fond of them. Indira likes them very much. The mango season in India has been a very bad one.

Premier Kishi was here for just two days, and we had fairly frank talks. I think he was pleased with his visit. He renewed his invitation to me to go to Japan. This has been coming to me off and on for nearly two years. I have never been to Japan. I have now practically decided to go there, probably early in October.

We are having a very difficult time here, and our resources, both internal and foreign, are being strained to the utmost. There is a tendency for prices to rise, resulting in all round demands for higher salaries, just when we want the strictest economy. The result of pushing on with our heavy industry projects in the Second Five Year Plan is beginning to tell heavily upon us. Apart from internal developments, we have been hit by inflationary tendencies in other countries, which mean higher prices for our imports of machinery. Then there was the closure of the Suez Canal for many months. The result of all this is that we have to struggle on both fronts, internal and external. Our Finance Minister, in his recent budget statement, has acted with great courage and put forward many

1. JN Collection.

2. Prime Minister of Myanmar.

3. Nobusuke Kishi (1896-1987); Japanese politician; elected member of House of Representatives, 1942, 1953, 1955; Minister of Foreign Affairs, December 1956; Prime Minister, 1957-60; President, Liberal Democratic Party, 1957-60. Kishi visited New Delhi from 23 to 25 May 1957.

proposals for fresh taxation. Among these are two new taxes, a tax on wealth<sup>4</sup> and a tax on expenditure.<sup>5</sup> This is a new turn being given to our fiscal system, which I think is the right one.

The immediate effect of all these taxes is to create an uproar in the country, and all our opponents are trying to exploit this situation. No government likes to tax heavily, especially when our people have enough burdens already. But the compulsion of circumstances is upon us, and we do not want our Five Year Plan to be held up. I am afraid the next two or three years at least are going to be very difficult years for us. We hope to struggle through.

I paid a three-day visit to Ceylon to participate in the final ceremonies in connection with the Buddha Jayanti celebrations.<sup>6</sup> I was happy to be there on this occasion when politics were on the whole put aside and I lived in a different atmosphere.

I am going to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference next month. I shall take advantage of this visit to go to some other countries also. I shall spend a day in Syria, and then two days each in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. On my return, I shall spend a day or so with President Nasser in Cairo, and also pay a brief visit to Khartoum. Altogether, I shall be away from India for just one month, from June 14th to July 14th.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. T. T. Krishnamachari argued that taxation on incomes had to be supplemented by taxation based on wealth as income as defined by the existing income tax laws and practice was not a sufficient measure of tax paying capacity. The wealth tax would be payable by individuals, Hindu undivided families and companies; while values up to Rs 2 lakhs, Rs 3 lakhs and Rs 5 lakhs respectively would be exempted, the rate of taxation beyond the exemption limit would depend on the extent of wealth and assets. The new taxation system, Krishnamachari asserted, was more equitable and it also promised, over a period, to reduce to possibilities of tax evasion.
5. The Finance Minister also introduced an expenditure tax on individuals and Hindu undivided families whose income was not less than Rs 60,000. The tax would be imposed on all expenditure incurred in excess of certain sums which would vary with the size of the family, the rate of taxation depending on the level of expenditure. Krishnamachari added, "It is a tax which, given effective administrative arrangements, can be a potent instrument for restraining ostentatious expenditure and for promoting savings."
6. Nehru visited Sri Lanka from 17 to 20 May at the invitation of Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. See *post*, pp. 705-727.



## 7. Reducing Expenditure on Ceremonial Functions<sup>1</sup>

I have few comments to make about this note sent to me. I should like to say, however, that something might be added to it about reducing expenditure on ceremonial functions. Indeed every attempt should be made for the economy. In particular, lavish display at ceremonial functions and big feasts and banquets are apt to be irritating to the public when we make a call on them for austerity.

So far as flying a flag on cars is concerned, I would say that normally flags should not be flown; but on special occasions, such as national days, etc., they may be flown at the discretion of the Minister.

I think that an effort might be made to reduce the expensive parts of ceremonial functions in Raj Bhavans, etc. The President has indicated that this should be done in Rashtrapati Bhavan and I believe this is being considered.

1. Note to the Home Ministry, 28 May 1957. JN Collection.

## 8. The Budget Proposals<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker,<sup>2</sup> Sir, I am venturing to intervene in this debate and, perhaps, trespassing to some extent on the domain of my colleague, the Finance Minister, partly to make it clear that is not his private domain, and that the proposals<sup>3</sup> that have been put forward are the proposals, as the House must necessarily know, of the Government, and with the full support of every member of the Government. This is an obvious matter but, nevertheless, I thought it best to state that right at the beginning. We have put them forward not in any, if I may say so, limited sense, but trying to look at the whole situation as it is in perspective

1. 30 May 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, 23-31 May 1957, Vol. II, cols. 2935-59. Extracts.
2. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.
3. The reference is to the budget proposals presented in Parliament on 15 May 1957 by Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari.



and trying to meet this difficult situation in the best manner possible to our thinking.

I am not going to deal with all these matters because my colleague will deal with them. I only propose to refer to some particular aspects of this, and to some observations which honourable Members, chiefly of the Opposition or on this side of the House, have made. First of all, the honourable Member Shri B.C. Ghose<sup>4</sup> criticized the fact that the reports on the working of the First Five Year Plan and the first year of the Second Five Year Plan have not been placed before the House.

I entirely admit that his criticism is justified, because we had given an assurance that we will place those reports during this session. We have worked hard at them. In fact, they are in a sense ready, but not in a proper shape to put down. I could work all night and place some typewritten copies on the Table tomorrow, but I do not think that will be very helpful to honourable Members. So, if the House agrees, it would be better some days later, after some little time, in the course of next month to get printed copies and send them to every Member directly as well as issue them to the Press so that everybody may know. That is what we propose to do. But, if the House is particularly anxious, I can have some typed copies placed on the Table of the House by tomorrow afternoon. I do not think that will serve any particular and useful purpose, because I do attach importance to these reports coming before the House, Members looking at them, analyzing them and criticizing them. This whole question of the Five Year Plan has become basic to most of our activities; it is comprehensive; almost everything comes into its scope, and it is of the highest importance that this House should be kept in intimate touch with both our success and lack of success wherever it occurs.

The House may know that we appointed an Evaluation Committee in regard to some aspects of it. There is, of course, constantly some evaluation going on in regard to the Community Development schemes also. There is an Evaluation Committee which brought out an important report<sup>5</sup> which, I think, has drawn attention to certain aspects and will lead perhaps to greater stress being laid on some types of works. The whole conception of this Five Year Plan is something which can only be achieved with not only the full and continuing knowledge of this House but of the country.

4. Praja Socialist Party member of the Lok Sabha from Barrackpore, West Bengal.

5. The fourth evaluation report on the working of the Community Development Project and the National Extension Service Blocks was released on the eve of the Development Commissioner's Conference at Mussorrie. The conference began on 29 April 1957.

Unfortunately, in preparing reports, we have to wait for the reports from States. Otherwise, we can produce a report from our central headquarters here fairly rapidly, but we have to wait for reports from the States, and that takes sometime for the States to send them; and questions are asked, and the delay has been due to that.

Now, to other matters I might as well refer right at the beginning. The honourable Member, S.A. Dange, said something in connection with defence, about our purchasing expensive equipment and aircraft from the United Kingdom and not getting them from — not accepting, I think, he said, the offer of the Soviet Union for less expensive aircraft. Acharya Kripalani also referred to the question of defence and said that there was no point in keeping up any large armies or defence apparatus in these days of the atomic, nuclear warfare. Well, Acharya Kripalani was undoubtedly partly right, partly I say, because, I do not think that it is quite correct or safe for anyone to say that a nation, today, can rely completely on the absence of defence apparatus. I agree with him that war today becomes more and more of an anachronism in this nuclear age. But, I do not think there are many Members of this House who probably agree with Acharya Kripalani in saying that we should practically do away with our defence apparatus. As a matter of fact, ever since Independence, many of us connected with Government have constantly kept this in mind — how to reduce expenditure on defence, how to reduce the size of our army. I might tell this House that for several years we did reduce the size of our army gradually and tried our best to reduce expenditure. We did not succeed to any large extent to begin with, because the price of every kind of equipment goes up; because also there was certain capital expenditure and because we do not wish to buy things from abroad or build them up here. But in effect we did reduce the army till we arrived at a stage when our defence chiefs told us and strongly advised us against this continuing process. Theirs was the responsibility and so we had to accept their advice.

The House knows the reasons for this and why this burden of defence has grown on us, and those reasons continue. It is a fact that there has been a great burden and it is a fact also that we are not going to take any risks about the defence of India, whatever the burden. And so we have been forced by the circumstances to accept this burden within limits and spend fairly large sums upon it.

Now, as regards what Dange said, let me make it perfectly clear that at no time — and I say so not only because Dange has said it but it appears that a number of newspapers abroad have also referred to this matter a great deal — during the past few years or now has there been any offer from the Soviet Union or any request from us for the purchase of aircraft from the Soviet Union. What has



happened and what normally happens is that our Defence Ministry keeps in touch with developments in various countries, whether it is America, England or Soviet Union or France or any other country. We are supposed to keep in touch and we have kept in touch. We have sometimes enquired too about the type of some weapon or equipment or aircraft that is being produced to see how far it may be suitable for our purposes. That has happened. It is true that quite apart from defence we received some Soviet leaders who came here two or three years ago and they told us, not in connection with defence, but generally speaking, that they would like to cooperate with us and help us wherever they could. That broad assurance they gave, and the House perhaps knows that some months ago or a year back, I forget, there was a further promise of credit for our Five Year Plan, etc.,— a credit, I believe, of 500 million roubles, that is, about 60 or 70 crores in rupees. But this will take effect about two years from now.

This has been happening. There is nothing, obviously, to prevent us from purchasing Soviet aircraft or any other type of machine from the Soviet Union. The difficulty we often have to face is that it is not easy to changeover to a new type. Either one changes the whole basis of certain systems we have built up, whether it is army, navy or air system, or we have different types which produce confusion and which require entirely different servicing stations, different training and so on and so forth. This is the principal difficulty that we have had to face in this matter.

But, as I have said, it is open to us, when considering things in a balance, we feel that it is desirable from the point of view of our defence, taking everything into consideration, to purchase, we can certainly purchase, Soviet or any other aircraft from any other country. At present there is no such proposal, and all this rather loud shouting in newspapers abroad has no foundation whatever.

I referred to nuclear warfare in connection with Acharya Kripalani's point about defence. May I say something which is perhaps not 100 per cent relevant to this debate but which no doubt interests the Members? There have been these nuclear explosions. Now, scientists discuss them and sometimes differ as to the harm caused by them. We see reports. Some say that you are piling up poison and a time may rapidly come when it will be very bad for the human race. Others say that the danger for us is very, very far.

Now, one aspect of this is important so far as we are concerned. The House knows that the chief danger comes from what is called strontium 90. Strontium 90 is rather like calcium. It comes in, goes inside the bones and produces very harmful results. Now, strontium can come in like calcium in the same way and may come in through milk and through other sources. If there is a fallout, say, in the United States and in most countries of Europe, containing strontium, how does it enter into human food there? In countries where they drink milk a great



deal — as they do in Europe and in America — it goes to them through milk; that is to say, it goes through them, not directly; strontium does not go into the milk; strontium goes into the cow when it eats grass or something and then it is converted into milk, so that the human being gets it after various stages of distillation if they get it from milk. In areas where people get it directly from the vegetable, they get a full dose of it, whatever the proportion may be — it may well be eight or ten times as much. Now, therefore, the danger of strontium affecting the population is much greater in a community which lives chiefly on vegetables and not on milk. Meat, of course, does not come this way or that way. In a milk-consuming place like America, where they take calcium in large quantities through milk, the danger of strontium coming in is not much because it is distilled. You might say I am giving one reason. There are one or two other reasons why in a country like India, in like countries, not in India alone, the danger of fallouts is much greater than it is in Europe or America and the danger point might be reached much earlier than elsewhere.

In his very interesting speech Acharya Kripalani referred to many things, some very much to the point and some, if I may say so with all respect, not much to the point. But one thing that he said surprised me greatly. He referred to our National Laboratories and the scientific work done there with some, well, lack of enthusiasm, if I may put it so. May I suggest to him that one of the things in which we have done remarkably well is the growth of science and the work being done in these National Laboratories? The work done in these National Laboratories, the work in science including all this atomic energy business is something outstanding in the world today, not in India only.

J.B. Kripalani: May I say this work should have been done at a cheaper cost? The buildings that are put up are in the style of America and not that of India.

JN : Acharya Kripalani is a Professor and I respect his professorial knowledge. But he has not had, so far as I know, anything to do with science or scientific laboratories. Therefore, how far he can say as to how much it would cost us and how it could have been cheaper is a thing which I do not know. If he objects to big buildings being put up, I think his objection is not justified because the work done there is of such high importance; such big equipments, we cannot put them in small places separately. They have to be put in places where air conditioning is there. Without them all those experiments cannot be done. It will be very difficult. As a matter of fact, even from the point of view of money, the results that we are gradually obtaining and are likely to obtain are going to be profitable, I think, from the scientific and industrial point of view.

Another matter to which I should like to refer at the beginning when we consider these taxation proposals, and we criticize them or welcome them is obviously the other aspect of this question, which is equally important, and to

which many honourable Members have referred, namely, the aspect, the factor of economy, the factor of avoiding waste. Unless that is done, it would be unfair to the people, for us not to stop the leakages and, at the same time, increase taxation, which necessarily must fall heavily on many people, as taxation does. Therefore, it is of the highest importance; I agree. The criticism that many honourable Members have made is that we must make every effort to avoid waste in any way and bring about economical working as far as possible. Of course, some such effort has been made in the past and not without success. It has succeeded. But a greater effort should be made and all others should join in that effort. It is not a matter of merely government trying to do it, but I submit that it is neither a government matter nor a party matter; it is a matter in which all of us are concerned, whatever group or party we might belong to or whatever our functions might be. We should devise means to secure this and we should in this matter, as in others, consult each other and try to find ways and means to do that. It is not a very easy matter. Not only in this country but in all other countries the same problem comes up; whether the countries are capitalist or communist, the same problem comes up and the only difference is that in some of the communist countries there is no criticism for a time and then suddenly there is a burst of terrific criticism. When the lid is off a terrific criticism comes up and something is no doubt done and then the criticism again dies down while in other countries the criticism is more or less continuous. What I submit is that in these large scale works that a nation indulges in, in the many sided activity, there is always this danger. We have to fight it and we have to overcome it. So, whatever I may say, this should be remembered that it is of the highest importance that we should avoid waste and work for economy.

The honourable Member, Acharya Kripalani, gave certain interesting and rather amusing examples of what he thought were wastes. Well, I partly agree with him that pomp and circumstance are not necessary for the maintenance of dignity. But I would say that we as a people, normally speaking, are not very disciplined people, and discipline is necessary in our life as discipline makes for efficiency. A soldier puts on a uniform and he becomes immediately something slightly different from a person lounging in loose pyjamas or dhoti. It is a fact. Therefore, discipline is essential. Here in this House you, Sir, maintain discipline. Now it may be said: why waste all this time? Why should I go on saying "the honourable Member opposite" or "the honourable Member this" or "the honourable Member that"? It is a sheer waste of time. Why not just shout the Member's name? Well, it would save time, no doubt. But I don't think it would be desirable. There are certain methods of doing work which apparently will take time. But they introduce a certain discipline and a certain dignity and a certain grace in life which are worth having. Unfortunately, life becomes



progressively more and more devoid of gracefulness and tenderness and it is well, therefore, for us, even at some cost, to maintain certain institutions which instill certain discipline. But I entirely agree that this need not be associated with pomp and circumstance. I do not myself see why Acharya Kripalani objects to our President coming in a four-horse or six-horse carriage with an umbrella over his head – I am not personally attached to the umbrella – but otherwise I do think his coming in a six-horse carriage is something which is good.

J.B. Kripalani: It is a thing which reminds us of our slavery a few years back – a foreign carriage and foreign paraphernalia. I myself suggested that he could come in a *rath* which would at least remind us of Lord Krishna.

JN: I really do not know what there is foreign about the carriage in which he comes.

J.B. Kripalani: It is a fifteenth century carriage.

JN: I think these carriages were used here even before the British times. Another thing I should like to mention is this. Whatever taxes may be imposed, the thing that affects the people more than anything is the manner of collection, perhaps more than the tax itself; that is to say, the possibility of harassment caused in the process of collection. That is an important matter, a very important matter to which I would invite my colleague, the Finance Minister, and others concerned to pay full attention; because if the public are not harassed, and the way is relatively simple, then I think the tax itself becomes much easier. ...Some harassment, of course, there is. If people evade taxation, well, they cannot be allowed to get away with it. But, broadly speaking, this harassment should be avoided. And this becomes even more important when you broaden the base of taxation. The more you broaden it, that is, more people come in within that sphere, it becomes necessary to make the processes simpler, without harassment, of course always maintaining the right to take any step in case of somebody not behaving. That is a different matter.

Now, I beg the House to keep in mind – which it has, no doubt, to some extent – two major factors. One is the condition on this turbulent world of ours today, because that is a very important factor. We function in this big world, not by ourselves in a limited way. Many people seem to think, “Oh, let us tone down the Five Year Plan, let us spread it out a little more, let us do this or do that.” Well, I do not personally think there is much room for toning it down or spreading it out except in regard to minor matters. The Five Year Plan is not sacrosanct; nothing is sacrosanct except the good of the country. But if you examine the Five Year Plan, we are really tied up with major and other undertakings which we cannot just delay. If we delay them, well, we probably do harm to ourselves and we delay the time by which we can profit by those schemes. That would be

folly. But this plan and everything has to be seen in the context of this dangerous and turbulent world. We have little time to strengthen ourselves economically or otherwise productively, and we dare not waste any.

It has always been a matter of great regret and surprise to me that, having regard to the conditions in this world that we face today and having regard to the conditions in India that we face, some of our friends, losing sight of all these factors, get so involved in their local troubles that they devote their time and energy to them. Here, not far from Delhi, is an agitation being carried on, of the most extraordinary kind, the Arya Samaj agitation<sup>6</sup> presumed to be in favour of Hindi, and in fact probably causing more injury to Hindi in India than anything else. I have entirely failed to understand – I hope I am not lacking in intelligence to understand it. I can understand a viewpoint that is opposed to me. But here are intelligent people creating, well, a fair amount of trouble, directing the State's attention, other people's attention, to a matter which, I think, has been settled most satisfactorily – and if there are minor matters to be considered, let them be considered – and making it almost a religious issue. That is what we have to face within India, how we are swerved off from any path, political or economic, in the name of religion, community, caste and communalism. And I hope every Member of this House will appreciate this and try to avoid this kind of activities which, even suppose they have some virtue in them looked at in a limited way, have no virtue at all when you consider them in the larger context of things – all kinds of odd satyagraha. Surely, we are living in a world at a peculiar moment of history; and we may go wrong here and there, but let us not lose sight of this and let us not behave in this petty and small-minded and limited way.

Now, it is obvious that the processes of development bring burdens, heavy burdens. You cannot develop otherwise. Whether it is China or India or any other country, the country has to bear this heavy burden. The question is how to distribute those burdens. You cannot do without them. If you do without them, you do not progress. Therefore, it becomes a question of distributing this burden. The honourable Member, Dange, asked us what economic theory we pursue. Well, if I may say so, not the economic theory which he apparently pursues, and – I will add – which he pursues in error. I would further add this – I would not have brought this, but he mentioned it, he mentioned Marx. I think he does grave injustice to a great man like Marx by imagining that Marx, if he was alive today, would go on repeating what he himself had said a hundred years ago. He is much too big a man to be small-minded and unaware of changes that are happening in the world. So, we have to consider the world as it is today. We have to remember and profit by many things that Marx said, by his analysis of social

6. See *post*, pp. 209-224, 227-231 and p. 234 and 236.



situations, but we have to examine a situation which has changed enormously since Marx's day. It is a hundred years. Science has changed. A hundred and one things have changed. Here we are on the eve of – not on the threshold of—an atomic age which affects our thinking and our social organization. And I would beg of you to consider that countries which presumably follow the Marxian theory, economic theory, are also facing today almost identical troubles that we are facing...financial unbalances, lack of food, great difficulty in regard to food supplies in spite of every effort, agriculture going down, changes being made. In fact, many of them have gone back on many steps that they had previously taken. In some countries where land had been collectivized, they have gone back on it and gone back to the small farmer, gone back to the peasant proprietor, to other forms of cooperatives, not collectivization. It is not for me to commend or criticize what other countries do. I try to learn from them. Every country that wants to go ahead has to take risks. It is only the dead that take no risks. They are dead and there the matter ends. You have to take risks. You have to have the courage to take risks. Therefore, if any other country has followed a policy and varied it later, it is not for me to criticize it. They know their job best. What I am venturing to point out is whatever economic policy any country has followed, whether it is capitalist or communist or something in between, they have had to vary it from time to time because they were compelled to do so. There is no such thing as a rigid theory which remains rigid regardless of changing circumstances.

S.A. Dange: If you will permit me, Sir, has any country observing Marxism gone back to capitalism, to unemployment and other curses of capitalism?

An honourable Member: What happened in Hungary?

JN: No. So far as I know, they have not gone to capitalism. Why should they? There is no question of that. But they have gone back to large-scale unemployment, I may inform the honourable Member. They have gone back to extreme financial difficulties, unbalances, lack of food. All these are grave difficulties. Either the planning went wrong or whatever it was. I do not know the reasons. This has happened. It is no fault of theirs. Take even the great Soviet Union. They have had nearly forty years since the Revolution. They have achieved. I admire their achievements. They have paid a terrific price. Forty years have passed. In the course of these forty years, a great many things have happened which few countries would have borne: the sufferings they have gone through, the burdens they have carried. We talk about burdens here. Infinitely greater burdens they have carried. They were brave enough to carry them. I do not criticize. I am only pointing that so much is said of the burdens we are carrying. If it is hinted that under a different economic system, the burden would be less, I think that is not correct. The burden might be even greater apart from another basic factor that is something that we value, that is, individual freedom.

So that, I submit that our attitude today is one of trying to learn from our own experience and the experience of others whatever the experience may be of whatever countries and then trying to enunciate or create our own policy having regard to the circumstances in India, the background in India – all kinds of background – our past thinking and our history. You cannot isolate this. We are trying to do that. That does not mean that we are going to succeed every time. We will stumble, fall and make mistakes. But I think that is a safer way of doing things than merely blindly trying to adopt a certain theory regardless of circumstances in India. After all, if you read the Second Five Year Plan report, it does contain some discussion of our theoretical approach, not theory in the sense of dogmatic theory, but our broad approach to these problems which is a developing one. If you read the First Five Year Plan, you will find a certain development, a development which comes from greater experience of other countries, of our country, consultation, thinking, facts, everything. I think that is a sounder foundation than any kind of purely dogmatic and theoretical approach.

We have, therefore, to deal with a situation in India where we have decided to push through this Five Year Plan. Again I repeat, the Five Year Plan is not sacrosanct. Nevertheless, there is a great importance in doing things that we have decided upon. Otherwise, we slip from our moorings, from our anchorage, if, because of some difficulty of the moment, we agree to do something today forgetting the results of our doing the day after tomorrow. We have given enough thought to this Plan. This House has accepted it. You may cut it down here and there. But you cannot cut down the steel plants and the big machine plants which are there. They are there not because somebody said that or because of some romantic conception. There is nothing romantic about it. It is a basic fact that if you want to progress, you have to progress by having more steel and by making machines yourself. There is no getting away from that. Unless you think in terms of two or three generations ahead of you quietly functioning and quietly building up this and that, you have to do that.

It is true that if you go in for heavy industry, it tends to create certain unbalances. You have to create balances for that. But it is absolutely essential for us to go in for that. The big mistake that we made is that we did not partly at least go in for that in the First Five Year Plan. We admit it. We ought to have gone for a steel plant in the First Five Year Plan. It would have been better if we had borne a portion of the burden even then. It would be easier now if we had done it then. For us not to do things in a really big way now is a fatal error. People talk about spreading out: spreading something like a swimming pool or something like that. How can you spread something big that you have undertaken, the iron and steel plants? The spreading out process itself becomes terribly costly



and wasteful. Wasteful in two ways: originally wasteful and, secondly, wasteful that you lose production. We are looking ahead with faith to the time when steel flows out of these big plants, wealth comes out of them, for our own construction, for our export and for using it in so many ways. Therefore, the sooner we get it even at a heavy cost, the better it is. Delaying it adds to our burden and makes it a somewhat longer burden. We have to continue that. In other minor matters – there are many minor matters – we may postpone, we may delay them as we are doing. But the basic structure of the Second Five Year Plan has got to go on.

Tyabji<sup>7</sup> said something about community development. He did not think that it had done so well. It is absolutely difficult, to generalize about this because there are about 230,000 villages involved, a terrific number. Some are good, some are bad, some are middling. I think that, by and large, this Community Development Scheme is an amazing thing and by and large successful and essentially something which is revolutionizing our countryside, the people of the countryside. I do believe that. In the final analysis, if I may say so, although it is difficult to compare these things, I attach more importance to them than to our big plants even. They are building up our peasantry and taking them out of the ruts they have been in, ruts of habits, old methods and all that, just waiting for others to do things. We are putting some faith in them, some self-reliance in them. Of course, if you go and examine it, you will be enthused and at the same time you will dislike many things, that is, you want things done quickly and you find they are not making good enough progress. That always happens.

So, you cannot really push aside the Second Five Year Plan. You may make minor adjustments. We are constantly making minor adjustments, and in fact, we decided to make it flexible, but calling it flexible, you cannot have a steel plant being built flexibly, you have to build it – otherwise things being flexible. We have taken a five year period. We have divided it into annual plans so as to change. On the other side, we have to look ahead, have a longer perspective over a period of ten, fifteen years as to where we are going.

Many of the things which we take in hand take much more than five years. If we begin them now, they will go on to the next five year plan. If we have to do this, we have got to find the money for it. One among other of the virtues of the proposals put forward by the Finance Minister is that it indicates to the country and to the world our determination to go ahead; even though it may be hard, we propose to go ahead; we are not going to slacken and just sit down to rest because we feel tired. It is an important thing to make it clear to ourselves and to others that we are determined to go ahead and to fulfil the pledge we took to our people.

7. Saif F.B. Tyabji, Congress Party member of Lok Sabha from Jalna in Bombay State.

The second aspect is that in spite of our arguments, and in spite of these Five Year Plans, most people, perhaps even some in this House, did not quite realize what has going ahead meant in the shape of burdens. Perhaps people are beginning to realize that now. Reality is coming. It is good that people should realize it, because to be complacent about these matters is to delude oneself.

The third virtue about these proposals is that an attempt is made, in a sense for the first time, to strike out a new line in taxation. I do not say, and I do not think my colleague the Finance Minister says, that this budget brings about socialism – that will have no meaning at all – of course not! Budgets are not going to bring about socialism, and not one budget but dozens of budgets, scores of budgets will have to come and many other things will have to be done before socialism comes in. Nobody says that, and nobody can do that. Socialism cannot come in by some sweep of a magic wand. But the point is that this budget does take you out of the old rut of the old budgets, and points in a new direction, which is a desirable direction. That is the main point. It introduces this conception of the Wealth Tax, of the Expenditure Tax. Some people have criticized it. I think both these conceptions are good. If it is said that the taxes are very good but you have not got the administrative apparatus for it, well, that argument can be raised for almost anything that we do. The whole Five Year Plan depends ultimately not so much on finances, but the human material, the trained manpower. The biggest problem before the Five Year Plan is trained manpower, the hundreds of thousands of engineers that we want, or of teachers for our schools, or of overseers or whatever it may be. And we sit down daily in manpower committees trying to find out how many people we want and how to train them. That applies to this too, of course. We have to advance side by side. We cannot first of all train large numbers of people and say: “Now we have got the men, we will do the job,” or say, lay down the job without the people. We have to start. Sometimes one goes a little ahead of the other, and we try to catch up.

So, I think this Budget points in a good direction and lays down a sounder foundation for future taxation on this basis, and is something which has the element of self-progress in it. As income goes up, taxes also go up.

Secondly, on the whole it is a balanced Budget. The wealth tax and the inheritance tax and something that has been done about the income tax, personally I think, is all in the right direction. When you come to the – I shall refer to income tax presently – various excise duties, there is no great principle involved in them. It is purely a question of raising money, or maybe having something to export. Let us take sugar. We propose to export a good deal of sugar to get foreign exchange. As a matter of fact, we have increased our sugar production by exactly hundred per cent in the last four or five years, I think, from about 10 lakh to about 20 lakh tons, which is pretty good. Consumption has gone up too,



very considerably. So that, so far as the excise duties are concerned, there is no heavy principle involved, except of course that, first of all, we have to get money. If we have plenty of money, then we function somewhat differently. We have not got it, but we certainly have to see that the burden on the common man does not become too great. I am afraid there is no way of avoiding the burden on the common man in a country like India, that is, in a poor country like India, if you wiped off the few rich people altogether and got everything they had, even then you would not have enough; you will have to go back to the common man for some support. There is no way out but to do that, but also in doing that we should avoid doing too much of it because we do not want to put too much burden. It cannot be helped – some measure of burden, however thin it may be, has to go. So that it becomes a question of considering carefully how not to put the burden on the common man which is too great. We should reduce it, but some of it has to be there. What is the right way of doing it can be carefully considered.

One matter which has been criticized here has been the lowering of the exemption limit in income tax.<sup>8</sup> If I may say so with all respect, not today but for years past I have felt that that was an essential thing, an important thing, an obvious thing, and the basis of a true system of income-tax. It does not matter what the rate is, that is a different matter, but to limit income tax payment to relatively high circles is all wrong from any point of view, theoretical or practical. I do not want to put burdens on those classes, burdens there are many, but remember always that the average income of India is, I believe, I am not sure, about Rs 300 per annum. That is the average income of India. And even on those people some burden comes in the way of indirect taxation – not to the average man, the poor man, he cannot bear it, but to others a little higher up – you cannot progress in this way. Also, it is very curious and, in fact, worthy for you to consider that the income tax exemption limit in rich countries is much lower than in India. Now, one would have thought that in a country like the United States or England or like so many other countries, they can afford to exempt people of low income. Of course, they have got plenty of money, and plenty of rich people. As a matter of fact, the English income tax exemption limit is much below ours; even in that rich country, in America, it is below ours.

Renu Chakravarty: But their social services are much more.

Hem Barua: But there is unemployment insurance, health insurance and so on.

JN : That is a perfectly valid remark to make. There is health insurance. There are other public benefits. Yes. I accept that. They have public benefits. That is

8. The exemption limit in income tax was lowered from Rs 4,200 to Rs 3,000.

the way the state should function. That is the way that the state should give public amenities to the people, such as free education, free health, free this and free that and so on. That is the way. I admit it.

But from the taxation point of view, I say it is essential to tax them. In fact, I say it goes to the point of absurdity not to tax them. I put it strongly. The tax may be small; that does not matter. But it is quite wrong from any principle, theory or practice of taxation to say that the limit should be what it was, namely, Rs 4,200 when in other countries – I have got a piece of paper with me here about other countries; I do not know where it has gone, but that is immaterial; the point is this – it is about Rs 2,000, that is, in those rich countries.

In England, I believe it is 140 pounds, for a single person. For the moment, it strikes one, “Why tax these low income groups?” that is a legitimate reaction. But from any question of taxation or any point of view of taxation, I think, it is not only right but absolutely essential to tax them. We may give them something else in some other way, if you like. But it is a bad system of taxation not to tax them.

I have got the figures before me here with regard to UK, USA, Japan, Sweden. All the figures are far lower; the exemption limit is far lower than that of ours.

Mahavir Tyagi:<sup>9</sup> It goes well with these amenities.

JN: The poor people, the vast majority of our population, get precious few amenities; they cannot, I am sorry, immediately, when one has to spread out to them everything, whether it is education or anything else.

There is this argument, which has some force in it, of our development programmes affecting some areas or some groups more than others. It is true. Although we want those areas to grow, and ultimately to cover the whole of India, yet I put it to you to consider this argument. Suppose somebody said: “What right have you to give secondary education till you have given primary education to everyone?” (cheers) I do not know exactly what the cheers meant, whether it was this way or that way. However, I think it is safer to cheer or otherwise, when you have heard the full statement. Otherwise, you might be in the wrong. Suppose somebody said: “Till you have completed primary education for every person in India, what business have you to spend money on secondary education, and more so, what business have you to spend money on university education, when even primary education is not complete?” Therefore, from that argument, it may be said: Put an end to university education and secondary education and first concentrate on primary education, and having finished that, take up secondary education and concentrate on that, and then finally take up university education. You see the absurdity of that because there will be no

9. Congress Party member of Lok Sabha from Dehradun, Uttar Pradesh.



primary education unless you have secondary education, unless you have teachers and all that coming after university education....

The essence of our economic situation is the food situation, about which this House has said much, and because of that, the House will remember that out of this fresh money that is expected to come from taxation, a considerable sum, namely, Rs 25 crores, is meant to be set aside, and to subsidize food wherever necessary. That is of great importance. If food is tackled, and if we can control the foreign exchange situation, then other matters gradually fit in. The foreign exchange situation can ultimately only be controlled by our manufacturing things ourselves. That is the importance of our heavy industry programme. If we leave that out, we are always dependent on other countries for foreign exchange. I do not propose to deal with the various items and others, which my colleague will deal with. No doubt, everything that has been said in this House has to be considered carefully and fully.

But I would like finally to say to the honourable Member, S.A. Dange—with all respect, I may tell him – to examine his own theoretical outlook and find out if he is not somewhat out of date, if he is not somewhat lagging behind the communist parties in other countries, because they are much more wide awake, because they have to deal with live situations.

In fact, they have begun to say that there are many paths to socialism, not merely S.A. Dange's path.

N.G. Goray: Let hundred flowers bloom. That is the latest slogan.

JN : That is what Chairman Mao has said in China, namely, "Let hundred flowers bloom", meaning let hundred thoughts or theories be discussed. There are many ways, no doubt, and we are struggling to find our own way, at a time when we are facing, when the world is facing, the most amazing developments. I refer to these nuclear bombs, etc., merely as a symbol of these changes and developments. We just cannot remain static in our economy, static in mind, thinking only in terms of some theories which may have been good enough in the past, but which do not and may not fit in either with the present or with our country as it is today. We must remember that, if we have to make good, we have to find our own path, and we have to carry these burdens. You may shift the burdens here and there; you may lessen the burden. That is a different matter. But it has to be spread out; it has to be balanced, and we have to produce this money from our country, because while we are prepared for the help of other countries, we are not prepared to be dependent on other countries. We want to indicate to the rest of the world that we are prepared to swallow many bitter pills to retain our independence and to maintain our progress.

Thank you.

## 9. To T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

June 4, 1957

My dear T.T.,

During the last week or more, we have had many discussions on the economic and food situation. We have discussed them in Parliament, in the AICC and then again in the National Development Council.

One fact stands out: that we must exercise the most rigid economy, both in our public and private expenditure. Economy is necessary because we want to save money. It is equally necessary because it creates the right atmosphere, so that people generally might realize that everything is being done. It is becoming increasingly difficult to call for sacrifices from the people, however small they might be, without giving a lead to them. The psychological aspect is of great importance.

You have set up an Economy Committee and all that. I do not know what the results will be. I should have liked this matter to be discussed amongst some of us more fully. We cannot consider details, of course, but the general line of our approach might be considered. I propose to write to all Ministries and Departments here as well as to Chief Ministers on this subject.<sup>2</sup>

There is an aspect of this question which though not financially at all important, is certainly politically important. You will remember a resolution<sup>3</sup> brought forward in the AICC about Ministers' salaries being reduced. I think this was mainly aimed at the State Ministers and, perhaps, more particularly, at one or two States. But, it applies to us also, of course.

What can we do about it? I do not quite know yet. I am thinking what I personally can do. I live in a huge house. I could easily move into a smaller house. That would be spectacular. But, the more I think of it, the more it appears that it might actually cost more in the end, apart from certain other difficulties. I have a considerable number of people staying in the house, Secretaries, PAs, etc. A number of important guests come from time to time. And, then there are crowds of people who visit me. I can hardly make arrangements for these visitors in another house. Thus, while I might live in another house, this big house will

1. JN Collection.

2. Nehru wrote to Central Ministers and Chief Ministers the next day. See the next item.

3. See *post*, pp. 384-385.



probably have to be kept going for other purposes, and we shall have to incur a measure of double expenditure. For the present, I do not see how far it will be desirable to be spectacular, without any other worthwhile result.<sup>4</sup>

It is possible, I think, in some ways to reduce expenditure in my house, both public and private, though it might not go very far. Our house is tied up with Rashtrapati Bhavan, and unless some major change in the organization<sup>5</sup> there takes place, we have to follow suit.

One thing, however, I would be grateful if you would do. This is to reduce my salary by fifteen per cent. I do not want a fuss to be made about this and would, therefore, be glad if you would not mention it to others.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. For other items relating to Nehru's proposal to move to a smaller house, see *post*, pp. 273-284.
5. The Government Hospitality Organization was responsible for the maintenance of both Rashtrapati Bhavan and the Prime Minister's House.

## 10. To Central Ministers and Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 5, 1957

My dear Minister/Chief Minister,

During the last ten days there have been continuous discussions chiefly revolving round the economic situation and the food situation in the country. These were discussed in the Lok Sabha, then in the All India Congress Committee and then in the National Development Council meeting. Many of you were present at the AICC meeting and nearly all of you attended the National Development Council. I need not repeat, therefore, what was said there.

2. Two points emerged. One was the gravity of the situation, the other our determination to face it with courage and to overcome the difficulties that threaten to overwhelm us.

1. JN Collection.

3. The food situation is undoubtedly serious, in so far as rice is concerned and yet I believe it is fairly well in hand, and it will remain in hand. What troubles me is the future and the steps to be taken to prevent our growing population and higher consumption going ahead of our production. There can be little doubt that our production of foodgrains can go up very considerably. But this will require hard and concentrated work and no relaxation. For the present we appear to have enough supplies to go round, provided there is proper distribution. As you will have noticed, Parliament has passed a Law to enable Government to requisition foodgrains at a reasonable price.<sup>2</sup> It is intended to use this law only in case of the bigger hoarders.

4. An even greater difficulty than that of the food situation is that of foreign exchange. In our enthusiasm for developing rapidly we have rather outpaced our resources. Both the public and the private sectors have gone ahead ordering machinery in a big way during the past year or more and now we have to pay for this as it comes in. This has produced a situation which may lead us to a grave crisis if we cannot succeed in making adequate arrangements to meet the demands upon us from time to time.

5. So far as the production of food is concerned, the AICC meeting has made many suggestions<sup>3</sup> which, I think, are very important and I invite your attention to them. We have to concentrate on this production of food by intensive methods. These methods are well known. Wherever they have been followed, the results have been satisfactory.

6. It is hardly necessary for me to draw your attention to the urgent necessity of the fullest economy and avoidance of waste both in our governmental and our private expenditure. It is clear that everything that involves any further foreign exchange must be stopped unless it is of vital significance. We have to stop such imports and all other activities which might involve foreign exchange. Thus delegations and deputations abroad will have to be very severely restricted. Even new students going abroad will have to be restricted.

7. I should like your Government as well as every Ministry at the Centre to examine this question of economy very fully and to take effective measures to enforce it. There are many items of petty expenditure which may not amount to much but, taken as a whole, they do make a difference. Telegrams abroad will have to be restricted. There is far too much of a tendency to send long telegrams

2. On 1 June 1957, Parliament passed the Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill enabling the Government to requisition food stocks on payment of the prevailing average market price in a notified area. Under the existing law the Government could requisition stocks only on payment of the ruling market price.

3. These suggestions were contained in a resolution on the food situation passed by the AICC meeting at New Delhi on 2 June 1957. See *post*, pp. 113-114.



without adequate reason. In these days of airmail, a message reaches almost as quickly as a telegram. People sending telegrams forget that the coding and decoding take a long time. I hope, therefore, and this applies chiefly to the Central Ministries, that the strictest watch will be kept on telegrams being sent abroad. Even in the use of paper we should be economical.

8. I find that there is considerable waste of electric power in many of our offices as well as homes. This deserves attention.

9. We should avoid buying any motor cars and carry on with such as we have. Personally I think that there are far too many cars being used and we could, without any particular harm, reduce this number.

10. I am merely mentioning some rather minor items that might be considered, because I am convinced that it is in dealing with these minor items that we bring about an atmosphere conducive to economy. Ministers and senior officials often live in big houses which make it necessary to keep a large establishment. So far as I am concerned, I live in a huge mansion. I do not quite know what we can do about this, as any moving about will probably add to expenses and not in economy, though it might strike the public as such. It is desirable, however, in future not build any such big houses for Ministers or officials or indeed for anyone else. The status of a person need not depend on the size of the house he lives in.

11. I have previously addressed you on the subject of avoidance of pomp and show, whether in residence or in travelling. This applies to all of us including Governors. It is a matter to be considered how far some of the old customs and conventions appertaining to Raj Bhavans need be changed, though it is always necessary to maintain a certain dignity there.

12. All this has a public aspect, but there is also the private aspect of this question. This relates to our salaries and allowances. I do not think that the salaries of Ministers are by any means excessive and indeed many Ministers are hard put to it to meet all their obligations from their present salaries. And yet, as a resolution moved in the AICC shows, the public are not of this opinion. Perhaps even more than the salaries, it is the various allowances that are objected to. I can make no suggestions about these matters except to draw your attention to them and invite your earnest consideration. If we put heavy taxes, as we must, we naturally inconvenience and to some extent hurt many persons. That is inevitable. But it follows also that we must share in the inconvenience and hurt. It is not quite enough for any of us to feel that a course of action will be rather upsetting to our domestic economy. That will apply to many taxpayers. From the psychological point of view, there can be little doubt that an effective move on our part will be greatly appreciated by the public and will help in creating an atmosphere of austerity which we demand from others.

13. I hope you will forgive me for addressing you in this personal way. I have to do so, because we have to meet the challenge that circumstances have thrown out at us. There is no evasion of it or running away from it. The only course left for us as a nation or as an individual is to face these hard facts with courage and thus find solutions to our problems.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Sending a copy of this letter to the senior Secretaries in the MEA on 5 June, Nehru noted: "I should like the Ministry of External Affairs more particularly to take immediately in hand this question of economy. All our working of the Ministry should be carefully examined with this end in view and all possible economies effected." Nehru added: "External Affairs Ministry is, I think, the greatest sinner in respect of foreign telegrams. This should be particularly attended to, and all our officers who are authorized to send telegrams should have their attention drawn to this matter. But, this is only one aspect of the question. I want the Ministry to go more deeply and widely into our activities and consider where economy can be introduced immediately."

## 11. To Heads of Indian Missions<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 6, 1957

My dear Ambassador/High Commissioner,  
I am sending you a copy of a letter<sup>2</sup> I am addressing to our Ministers of the Central Government and Chief Ministers of States. During the last two weeks there have been full discussions in Parliament and elsewhere on our economic situation. Some reports of these discussions will, no doubt, reach you. I am writing to you to impress upon you the very serious nature of the situation we have to face in India and to seek your cooperation in meeting it to the best of our ability.

1. File No. 38-20/57-Eur, MEA.

2. See the preceding item.



2. We have, as usual, many problems and a number of them are quite troublesome. But, in the main, two problems arise – that of food and that of foreign exchange. To some extent the two are interconnected because imports of food from outside involve a heavy drain on our foreign exchange reserves. Even apart from this, our attempts at encouraging rapid industrial development have led to large orders of machinery from abroad both for the public and the private sectors. Licenses to the private sector were issued long ago, sometimes more than a year or two ago. They have taken effect in recent months and have led to this heavy drain.

3. In a sense, this is a sign which should encourage us because it means that our economy is expanding and there is faith in the future of our country. Much is often said about the private sector not playing up, but as figures show they have invested large sums of money in development in recent years. Our public undertakings are also progressing, chiefly the three new steel plants.

4. The hard core of our industrial planning consists of iron and steel, coal production and transport and power. On the agricultural front the most important thing is, of course, food. The essence of planning is that we should go ahead on all connected fronts. Thus, if iron and steel or coal cannot be transported adequately to the places where there is need for them, we fail. It is neither desirable nor indeed possible to tone down or delay the construction of our major projects. Every delay means added expenditure and loss of income due to delayed production. We are waiting anxiously for the time when our steel production would increase greatly. This would relieve the foreign exchange situation for us in two ways. We would not import iron and steel and we might even export it. But that position will be reached, to any appreciable extent, after some years. With good fortune we may be able to turn the tide somewhat in about two years' time.

5. Meanwhile, we have to face the burdens and difficulties of today. They have been added to very much by our food production not being able to meet the demands made upon it. This production has to grow and is growing. But, of course, the population is growing also. In some ways our food production this year is a record. Even so, it just fails to meet the demand. This is due to many causes. There is, I believe, higher consumption by the people which is a sign of somewhat higher standards of living and is therefore to be welcomed. There is also a shift-over to the better foodgrains. This also is to be welcomed. Then we have had to suffer numerous calamities of nature which ruined a promising harvest in some parts of the country.

6. The result has been an apparent shortage which, though perhaps only marginal, leads to higher prices and thus affects the average person very much. We are compelled to import foodgrains and this again means a heavy burden

on our foreign exchange. Perhaps if the food situation had been better, our foreign exchange situation would not have suffered, as it has done. This demonstrates that even for industrial growth it is of crucial importance to raise our food production. We are trying to take steps to that end and indeed the most important question before the country today is that of rapid increase in our food production.

7. I need only briefly refer here to two additional reasons for adding to our burdens. These are defence and the vast refugee migrations from East Pakistan. You know well the reasons why we have been compelled, against our will, to spend much more on defence. As for the problem of rehabilitating the people from East Pakistan, it is a tremendous one and is giving us many headaches.

8. As you must know, in the budget that was introduced by our Finance Minister in Parliament recently, new and heavy taxes, direct and indirect, have been introduced. No government likes to add to the tax burden, especially on the common people; no people like to pay more taxes. But circumstances have compelled us to do so and to take a step which cannot be popular. In doing so, a new turn is sought to be given to our tax structure which, I think, is definitely to be welcomed. These budget proposals are a measure of the difficult financial situation we are in and yet they only relate to internal finance.

9. So far as external finance is concerned, we can only rely on our exports and financial aid, loans and accommodation from abroad. Negatively, we have to rely on the strictest economy to save foreign exchange.

10. It is an essential counterpart of our budget proposals that we should have an economy drive affecting all our non-essential expenditure inside the country as well as outside. This is indeed not merely because it saves money, but also for psychological reasons. It is natural for the average man to dislike paying heavier taxes when he feels that there is no attempt to exercise economy and avoid waste in governmental activity. Indeed, this applies to private expenditure also. Any wasteful expenditure by private individuals in these circumstances becomes not only vulgar, but definitely anti-national, and is resented by the people.

11. Some people suggested to us that we must cut down our Five Year Plan or extend it for two or three more years. As a matter of fact, the foreign exchange situation is affected by past commitments and not so much the future. We have to honour these commitments. In regard to the future we are limiting them only to such articles as are considered quite essential. But, as I have pointed out above, we cannot delay the hard core of our Plan. We may stop for the time being the relatively secondary activity under the Plan and no doubt we shall do so. But the main structure of the Plan has to be kept intact or else we suffer greater disaster.



12. I have sought to put before you briefly a picture of our present difficulties. This is the barest outline. You can yourself cover this skeleton structure with the flesh and blood of actual facts and their consequences on our people in terms not only of inconvenience, but of actual hurt. We have to face this situation and each one of us has to share in shouldering this burden to the best of his or her ability.

13. We are of course almost putting an end to our imports except for the most essential articles of machinery. We are going to restrict very strictly deputations and delegations going abroad. We are even going to limit students going abroad. While we want to economize in internal expenditure on all fronts, more particularly we have to do so in regard to foreign exchange.

14. Where do our Missions in foreign countries come in in this respect? Obviously, they have to play a considerable part in this campaign for economy, more especially in regard to foreign exchange. Every Ministry and Department of the Government of India is anxiously examining its own activities in order to find out what economies to bring about. Our State Governments are likewise doing so. The Ministry of External Affairs is particularly concerned and you will receive advice and instructions from them about this matter.

15. But I would like you and your colleagues in your Mission to examine this matter for yourself and see what economies you can make. I can well understand that in some of our Missions at least the members of our staff have not always been fairly treated and find it difficult to make both ends meet. Nevertheless, I should like you to have a full examination made and report to us as to what you can do in regard to this question of economy. Even small economies are worthwhile, partly because they mount up and partly because they produce an atmosphere which is helpful in avoiding waste.

16. Thus, telegrams must be strictly limited and should only be sent in urgent cases and within the briefest possible compass. Savingsgrams and airmail should be employed as far as possible. This is just one instance. There are many other avenues to be explored.

17. We should like to avoid visits of important dignitaries from abroad in so far as this is possible. We are already committed to some Heads of States coming to India during the next winter and we cannot very well withdraw the invitations. But we should be very careful not to add to this number.

18. I do not wish to give in this letter a long list of possible economies. That is for you to consider and no doubt the Ministry of External Affairs will try to help you. What I am anxious to do is to impress upon you the extreme necessity and urgency of this matter. Our Heads of Missions naturally desire to maintain a certain dignity and status for our Missions. We should have that dignity. But we must always remember that we are a poor country, struggling hard to better

our condition. This period of transition casts even heavier burdens upon us. We cannot presume to compete with richer countries nor indeed have we any desire to do so. Our background is different and the conditions prevailing in this country imperatively point the other way. We do not wish to hide the fact that we are in economic difficulties. Indeed, it is patent to the world. It is far better to approach this question in an open and straightforward manner and make people abroad realize that we realize our difficulties and we are determined to face them and overcome them. In doing so we shall cut down our expenditure even though this is a somewhat painful experience. Most of us here in Indian have to approach this question from the personal point of view also, that is, reduce our expenditure and indeed the salaries we draw. We cannot ask others to do what we are not prepared to do ourselves. Indeed, we have to set an example to others.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 12. To Kailas Nath Katju<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 6, 1957

My dear Kailas Nath,<sup>2</sup>

You will receive, as Chief Minister, a number of letters and notes from me emphasizing the urgent need for economy. This economy applies to building as well as to other matters. You were speaking to me the other day about the urgent need for accommodation in Bhopal. I realize your need. But the fact is that there is not only this need for economy but a shortage of basic building material, which we cannot make good for some considerable time.

We are thus inevitably driven to the conclusion that we have to restrict our major building activities even though they have been included in the Five Year Plan. Iron and steel and cement are just not obtainable. Some essential buildings might be put up, but avoiding the use of iron and steel and cement.

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.



How then are we to meet the urgent demands made upon us for accommodation for officers, etc? The only possibility appears to be to spread out some of the offices to places other than the capital. This involves some inconvenience, but there is no help for it.

The same question has arisen elsewhere also. In the Punjab a Committee has been appointed for the Chandigarh Capital Project. This has been asked not only to review the progress of works there but in particular to do so from the new approach of economy and the non-availability of basic building materials. Further to revise the building programmes keeping in view the scarcity of foreign exchange and submit revised proposals regarding building programme in a strict order of priority. The Committee is also asked to examine the possibility of locating some administrative offices in places other than Chandigarh.

I suggest that your Government might also appoint some such Committee consisting of senior officials and engineers.<sup>3</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

3. Nehru made similar suggestions to some other state governments, such as Andhra and Bombay, where the need for accommodation was great.

### 13. To Satya Narayan Sinha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 6, 1957

My dear Satya Narayan,<sup>2</sup>

I enclose a letter from Nawab Singh Chauhan<sup>3</sup> offering rupees fifty a month from his salary and allowances as an MP. This is a generous offer from him.<sup>4</sup> I

1. JN Collection.
2. Minister for Parliamentary Affairs.
3. Nawab Singh Chauhan (1909-1981); member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-1963; Janata Party member of Lok Sabha, 1977-79.
4. Some other Members of Parliament also wrote to Nehru offering a cut in their salary and allowances.

feel, however, that it would be better for some more or less uniform action to be taken by all MPs or at least by our party. Perhaps, Members might be asked informally what they think of this, and then something can be done.

Of course, we Ministers have also to think of this in so far as we are ourselves concerned.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 14. To T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 12, 1957

My dear T.T.,

I think some kind of note<sup>2</sup> as enclosed might be issued.

I mentioned this matter to Pantji. He agreed. He was anxious, however, that some announcement should be made soon about the proposal for Central Ministers to reduce their salaries by ten per cent. Perhaps, you might draft some note, and we can consider it at tomorrow's informal meeting at Jagjivan Ram's<sup>3</sup> house.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, NMML.

2. See *post*, p. 273.

3. Union Minister for Railways.

4. It was officially announced on 13 June that all the Central Ministers had voluntarily agreed to a cut in their salary and allowances by ten per cent.



15. To T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 16, 1957

My dear T.T.,

The Maharana<sup>2</sup> of Udaipur who is a very decent young man, came to see me this evening. He was much worried about the expenditure tax so far as it was going to affect him. I do not myself know what the exact effect will be. It appears that some of our Princes in the Lok Sabha and three or four others went to see Pantji about this matter also.

There do appear to be rather special features about these people who have got huge establishments and many palaces, etc. The Maharana of Udaipur has been struggling with his father's<sup>3</sup> debts and the vast number of retainers that were left for him to support. I believe he has got rid of some thousands of them, and yet a considerable number remain. He has given over a number of his palaces to the Rajasthan Government because he could not keep them going. Just as he was trying gradually to clear up his outstandings, this new demand will come.

These people have large families which they support, including many womenfolk. I do not know how all this will work out. They have, of course, to adapt themselves to new circumstances and new taxes. But the first blow might well bowl them over completely.

The Maharana wanted to see you, but, at the same time, was afraid of encroaching on your time. I think that it might be as well if you could find half an hour to see these people in the course of the next two days or so.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37(63)/57-59-PMS.

2. Bhagwat Singh.

3. Bhupal Singh.

4. On 31 July 1957, Nehru received a deputation of princes, who handed him a letter about the wealth tax and the expenditure tax as these affected them. Nehru wrote to Krishnamachari the same day: "I understand that they have given you a copy of this and have seen you. I think that you, Pantji and I might meet sometime and discuss this matter. Later, it should be discussed in the Cabinet also, as it involves some principles."

## 16. To Humayun Kabir<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 28, 1957

My dear Humayun,<sup>2</sup>  
Your letter of the 28th July.

Any proposal for taxation, and indeed any proposal affecting the general public, must be viewed in the context of the existing situation. This existing situation is one of great difficulty. It is not a momentary difficulty. We are going to have a very hard time during the next eighteen months or two years. The other day some financial figures were given at our meeting here. There were other aspects too which were not mentioned, but which add greatly to our burdens. It is in this context that we must view this. I am afraid that most people think of this apart from the surrounding circumstances.

There can be no doubt that the lowering of the income tax will hit some people and yet I am sure that this is justifiable. The exemption limit in most countries that I know of is much lower than ours, lower even than Rs 3,000/-. If this is so in a relatively wealthy country, then the justification for it in India is much greater. Indeed, it appears inevitable that the burden of taxation should be spread out. In France, they do so by all kinds of monopolies and excise duties.

I have not worked out the figures for this. These might be examined.

As for the entire burden of taxation which you have mentioned, far the greater part of it presumably will rest on particular higher grade income groups.

We have been looking at life in too easy a manner and now we are up against very hard and cruel realities. It may be that we have erred in our calculations in the past. It can certainly be said that we should have shown a little more foresight in our planning exports and imports and thus not having to be in this very difficult position. We learn from the hard school of experience. One major factor always to be kept in view is the prevention of inflation and the fall of the rupee. Some months ago, the rupee stood at a very high level in international currencies. It is now being attacked in various ways and we have to try to resist these attacks, for inflation would upset everything that we have done or seek to do.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37(60)/57-58-PMS.

2. Minister of State for Transport and Communications.



**17. To C.P.N. Singh<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi

July 29, 1957

My dear C.P.N.,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of July 28, in which you deal with your successful efforts at economy. I quite agree with you that economy is not brought about by going through files and writing long notes.

I see that there is room for substantial saving under the heading "Contingencies & TA." I was surprised to see some figures some time ago about the TA drawn by State Ministers. In some cases, this figure was extraordinarily high.

I am returning to you some of the papers you sent.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Governor of the Punjab.

**18. Revenue from Estate Duty<sup>1</sup>**

I see from the newspapers that the Egyptian Treasury is expected to receive several million pounds in death duty on the Aga Khan's<sup>2</sup> estate in Egypt which is estimated at about ten million Egyptian pounds. The Aga Khan must have a considerable estate in India. Are we getting anything from it as Estate Duty?

I have been unable to understand why we have not been able to get fairly considerable sums as Estate Duty on the death of a number of rich people during the past year. How do their heirs manage to avoid this?

1. Note to the Finance Minister, 29 July 1957. JN Collection.

2. Sultan Sir Mohammed Shah, the third Aga Khan, died on 11 July 1957.

### III. FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

#### 1. To M.S. Thacker<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
28 May 1957

My dear Thacker,<sup>2</sup>

What has happened to the special biscuits that you had prepared a year or so ago with vitamins, etc., in them? You will remember that I bought these biscuits for about Rs 1 lakh and distributed them in scarcity areas, in some schools, etc. Are these biscuits being manufactured now and, if so, by whom? I have been interested in this matter ever since I saw these biscuits. I am particularly interested in them now that there is some food scarcity and children might well profit by them.

I should like to know also what is happening to the production of some kind of artificial rice which was a mixture of tapioca, groundnut and some other things. A pilot machine was bought for this purpose and I was told it was producing about two tons of this stuff a day. Is this machine working and, if so, what happens to its production? Are we thinking in terms of increasing this production or getting some bigger plant for the purpose? All this is important in view of the present food situation and rice scarcity. I was told that this would be particularly welcome in Kerala.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Director-General, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.



## 2. Food Production<sup>1</sup>

The problem of food production is of the utmost significance to India. It is not only essential for the proper nutrition and well-being of the people of India, but, in an agrarian economy, agricultural surpluses are necessary for industrial progress. Consequently, in the First Five Year Plan, great emphasis was laid on agricultural production and on Grow More Food campaigns. These campaigns bore fruit and the targets laid down were achieved and even surpassed in the first three years of the First Plan. Subsequently bad seasons and repeated and widespread calamities slowed down the progress being made in the production of foodgrains. Even though this progress had continued, there have been other factors, which have resulted in creating local shortages and prices of foodgrains have shown a tendency to rise upwards. In spite of the growth in population and the rising standards in consumption due to an expanding economy and higher standards of living, there is enough food in the country to meet every legitimate demand; but on account of a measure of hoarding and profiteering, there has been a lack of proper distribution of the available supplies.

Both from the point of view of meeting the needs of the people and keeping the prices of foodgrains at a reasonable level, and for the success of the Second Five Year Plan, it is essential that the Government and the people should direct their energy and every effort to meet this situation and increase the production and supply of foodgrains. This must be treated as a problem of urgent importance. To this end, the AICC recommends that:

1. Land reform should be expedited in all States where there has been delay in giving effect to it.
  2. Existing resources, such as irrigation canals and tube wells, which have not been fully taken advantage of, should be utilized to the full.
  3. Minor irrigation works, according to the plan, including tube wells, tanks and wells, should be constructed without administrative delays.
  4. Agriculture ministries in States must be given due importance and facilities for carrying out their work with expedition.
  5. There must be avoidance of waste in storage and by pests.
  6. Wasteful expenditure in festivities and community feasts should be avoided.
1. Resolution drafted on 31 May 1957 for the AICC meeting to be held in New Delhi on 1 and 2 June 1957. JN Collection. On 2 June 1957, G. B. Pant moved the resolution, with some minor changes, at the meeting and it was unanimously passed the same day.

7. The Community Development Projects and the National Extension Service should make agricultural production their primary aim.
8. Panchayats should be associated with this work of agricultural production.
9. Improved methods for intensive cultivation should be introduced.
10. While fertilizers should be used, it must be remembered that too much reliance on artificial fertilizers is not good for the soil and may reduce its productive capacity in the long run. Therefore, it is essential that greater reliance should be placed on green and natural manures.
11. Cooperative methods, to the extent possible, should be introduced and a spirit of mutual help encouraged in each village.
12. Prizes for greater production have been given in various States. The scope of these prizes should be widened and they should be offered to villages where notable production takes place.
13. Congressmen in the rural areas should form themselves into small teams to cooperate with the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Service and to help the agriculturists in their work, more particularly in intensive cultivation.
14. Attempts should be made to change the pattern of food consumption and food habits. It is recognized that the present food habits of a large section of our people are not good from the point of view of nutrition and health. Where rice is the basic diet, some part of it should be replaced by wheat and in both the rice and wheat eating areas, vegetables should form part of the diet.
15. Stockists, traders and farmers should desist from anti-social activities, such as speculation and hoarding, and should help in lowering prices.
16. An assured minimum floor price of foodgrains should be fixed to give an incentive to agriculturists to produce more foodgrains.
17. Every attempt should be made to build up stocks as a reserve and a safeguard against the occurrence of natural calamities.

The AICC appeals to the nation to take up this campaign for higher food production with energy and determination. On the success of this campaign depends not only a solution of the food problem of the country, but also the success of our planning and industrial development.



### 3. To M.S. Thacker<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
2 June 1957

My dear Thacker,

Your letter of 29th May about the special biscuits and multi-purpose food. I must say I am disappointed that no progress has been made in either of these matters. Here we are in terrible need of rice or something which can take its place.

As regards the "artificial" rice, was there no proposal at one time to get a larger plant than the pilot one that you have got? I have no doubt at all that any amount of rice it produces could be utilized now. How much does a larger plant cost?<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. On 4 June, Nehru suggested to Thacker to have a talk with A.P. Jain, Food and Agriculture Minister, about the production of "artificial rice" as well as about the multi-purpose food.

### 4. Minimum Prices for Agricultural Commodities<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister drew attention to the opinion expressed by the Planning Commission's Panel of Economists, viz., that the fixing of floor prices which are well below the prevailing market prices would be unrealistic, and that it would suffice if it is announced that Government would, whenever necessary,

1. Minutes of the meeting of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet, 11 June 1957. JN Collection. Extracts.

step in and take effective measures to ensure an economic price to the growers. It was also emphasized that the problem of prices of foodgrains could not be isolated but had to be considered in the light of its bearing on the general level of prices, which has been adopted as a basis for the Second Five Year Plan...

After a full and prolonged discussion, the Prime Minister suggested, and the Committee agreed, that the following decisions be recorded:

- (i) No specific floor prices need be announced at this stage. An assurance should, however, be given that Government will take effective steps to ensure that the prices of foodgrains do not fall below a reasonable and economic level.
- (ii) The draft of such a statement of policy should be submitted for consideration by the Cabinet at the next meeting.
- (iii) The present opportunity to build up wheat stocks should be availed of to the fullest extent, irrespective of the import commitments already entered into.
- (iv) A further detailed study was needed regarding the Home Minister's suggestion that Government should fix an ad hoc "reasonable" price and should announce their determination compulsorily to acquire foodgrains at that price wherever found, as also his suggestion about incentives to production in the form of concessional supply of fertilizers, seeds, water, etc. These matters should be examined by the Food Ministry in consultation with the Planning Commission and others concerned and detailed proposals placed before the Cabinet after the Prime Minister's return from abroad.

## 5. To T. T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

12 June 1957

My dear T. T.,

I have received your note about the request of the Food and Agriculture Minister to purchase 25,000 tons of Thailand rice through a private party. The price quoted

1. File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS.



is certainly high and I would be reluctant at any time to pay this heavy price, unless our needs were so great that no choice was left to us.

As you have pointed out in your note, the rice position, though difficult, is not so bad. If the figures given by the Food Minister are correct in regard to the availability of rice and proper steps are taken, there is no reason why we should indulge in a transaction which casts a heavy burden on us at a time when our foreign exchange position is so serious. I therefore agree with what you have written.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. To P. S. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
29 July 1957

My dear Panjabrao,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 19th July about the multi-purpose food. I have read the report of the decisions taken at the meeting on the 18th July. I am glad you are going ahead with this matter.

In your letter and in the report, reference is made to some kind of financial contribution which I am supposed to make. On the last occasion I think we bought these biscuits for about one lakh of rupees. This was for free distribution in the scarcity or drought affected areas. It was, in fact, a part of relief work. Unless there is this question of relief in this way, I cannot utilize the Prime Minister's Fund for this purpose. Of course, it is always possible to distribute biscuits to students and others, but I do not think it will be quite right for me to utilize the Prime Minister's Fund in this way. When occasion arises, I shall certainly do so.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Minister of Cooperation in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

## 7. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
31 July 1957

My dear Ajit,

I spoke to you the other day when you came here about our cooperative policy. I have today received a note from the Planning Commission on this subject. In this note emphasis is laid on the conflicting policies in regard to cooperation that are pursued now. Such a situation is obviously undesirable. We must be clear about our goals and our policy. We may change that policy from time to time. But to have two policies is bound to produce confusion and ineffectiveness.

At present it appears that the Planning Commission goes on laying stress on one approach and the Food & Agriculture Ministry another approach, which is different. The States reflect this confusion.

There is another aspect of this. We have laid so much stress on our Community Development programme and policy. That community programme is not merely a list of some things to be done, roads to be built, schools to be made, etc., but it is based on a certain philosophy. It is also supposed to cover progressively all the activities in the rural areas. Obviously it must cover cooperation. One cannot have a cooperative movement in the villages, which are isolated from the community programme. This would conflict not only with the philosophy and the line of our work but also the practice of it.

In the States there is confusion and controversy about the manner of cooperative effort. Surely we cannot advance in this way at all and we must be precise and clear about our ideals and objectives and the philosophy behind them.

Above all, I am troubled in this and other matters how the Planning Commission is becoming isolated from our work in the Ministries. The whole purpose of the Commission has been to be in close touch, to coordinate, to advise, and above all, to take a long view in terms of planning. Most of us in executive offices are heavily burdened by day-to-day problems and activities. We forget the plan perhaps and we can seldom think far ahead. It is the business of the Planning Commission to do so and keep us on the track.

This question of cooperation is therefore to be considered afresh fully and in detail and clear decisions arrived at about our policies.

1. File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS.



I listened partly and read a little about the debate on food in Parliament. It was not a very satisfactory debate. The approach of most Members is as though just to criticize or to repeat their pet fads or objections. Here we are facing an extraordinarily difficult situation. I do not mean that the present situation in regard to food is very difficult, although it is not at all easy. I am thinking of the future. The trends that we have seen at work during the past year are dangerous trends for our future. Indeed if this kind of thing continues, we cannot go through our plan or indeed any worthwhile plan. More and more I feel convinced that our plan and our industrial growth depend on agricultural production. There is no other way.

Looking at it from another point of view, prices become a governing factor of the plan. If prices of foodgrains are high, the plan will collapse. This applies, I suppose, more particularly to rice than to wheat, because rice is consumed much more in India. The price of rice thus becomes the governing factor in our economy and it has to be kept at a reasonable figure by all possible means. It is no good planning if we trust luck in regard to these prices. I know that we are dependent on uncertain factors like the monsoon, etc. But there are many factors which we can control. This year and now we have been told often enough that there is no great scarcity of foodgrains in India, but there is lack of proper distribution and there is hoarding. This is the kind of thing which certainly is not beyond control. I do not think it is a valid argument that the price of industrial goods has gone up and therefore foodgrains necessarily must go up. There is some truth in this, but not enough and, in any event, we should be in a position to hold the prices of foodgrains if we want to do so, whatever the prices of other articles might be.

Take the Pay Commission which is going to come. A great deal of the agitation for the Pay Commission is due to the food prices. There is little answer to that. If the food prices keep up, the result of the Pay Commission can be prophesied. In fact, looking at it from every point of view, it has become essential to bring down and keep down food prices. I do not mean that the farmer should suffer. He should get adequate payment. But I do object retailers or wholesalers hoarding up foodgrains and profiting by high prices at the cost of the community and indeed of our plan itself.

It seems to me that there is going to be no other way open to us but compulsory procurement from traders. Any attempt to buy voluntarily by Government inevitably means sudden spurt in prices. I do not see why we should hesitate to have compulsory procurement at the right time of course. I have not been able to understand why you have not used the authority given by Parliament two or three months ago to procure rice. After all, the only assurance for us is to have large stocks with us. With their help, we can keep down prices as well as save money in foreign exchange. Here is this rice in India, according to all accounts,

hoarded up in some States, Orissa, Andhra, etc., and we cannot touch it. Meanwhile we drift ever deeper and deeper into the morass. I am very worried about this.

I think that we should have full discussions on these subjects. We are up against hard realities of life and we have to think again and again in order to save ourselves. Not only the Cabinet but the Planning Commission must consider these matters in all their aspects.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



## IV. INDUSTRY AND LABOUR

1. Utilization of Soviet Aid<sup>1</sup>

Initiating the discussions on the question of the utilization of Russian aid offer, the Prime Minister stated that he had recently gone through the various reports dealing with proposals relating to machinery manufacture and been able to gain the necessary background and formulate some ideas in his mind. He was, however, left with the impression after a perusal of the various reports that the thinking on the subject has not been completely clarified and therefore suggested that the discussions at this meeting might be followed up in a more compact group consisting of the members of the Planning Commission and of the Ministers now present, at which the issues could be gone into in greater detail.

2. The Prime Minister referred to the proposals for the utilization of Russian aid made by various Ministries and said that while all of them might no doubt be necessary, the point for consideration was whether it would be desirable to disperse the aid over a wide field or better to concentrate it on a few basically important schemes with references to the Third and the succeeding Five Year Plans. Viewed in this context, schemes for the manufacture of heavy machinery appeared to him to be the most important and the Russian aid should, in the first instance, be devoted to them on priority considerations. He pointed out that while India was more advanced industrially than China a few years back, the position has shifted recently in favour of China which had built a strong industrial base. He added that China has now a machine building plant and that this plant is largely responsible for its strong industrial base. Finally he suggested for consideration at the meeting that the Russian aid should be utilized on a few major schemes on high priority. On this basis, it would also be possible to ensure the responsibility of the Russian technicians more effectively.

3. In connection with the suggestion made regarding the utilization of Russian aid for the lignite project, the Prime Minister made a reference to the East German cooperation proposed some time back and enquired whether the possibilities in this regard were fully investigated. Prof Mahalanobis stated that the East German

1. Meeting of the Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1 May 1957. Summary record available in the files of the Coordination Branch, Planning Commission. Extracts.

cooperation deserved serious consideration since East Germany happens to be the biggest exploiter of lignite deposits in the world and possesses first-rate technical know-how in this field....

4. In explaining the latest position, S.S. Khera<sup>2</sup> stated that the proposal of the East German Government was carefully gone into by the late Ministry of Production but could not be finalized into a deal because the terms were unfavourable and the East German Government were particular about taking charge of the entire project as a condition of their offer of assistance. The Ministry of Production felt that it was neither necessary nor desirable to accept the condition stipulated by the East Germans. S.S. Khera added that the views of the Government were intimated to the East Germans about six months back...

8. The Prime Minister raised the question of the foundry/forge for meeting the requirements of castings and forgings for the Russian machinery projects and desired to know whether on the basis of the capacity for the foundry/forge proposed by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the full demands of the machinery plant would be met....

9. Shri Jha stated that on the basis of the initial output of the foundry/forge proposed by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the requirements of castings and forgings for the heavy machinery plant would be met until the latter achieved an annual output of 22,000 tons. The foundry/forge would be expanded in step with the growing requirements of the machinery shop in its further stages of development. He further added that though the Ministry of Commerce and Industry are negotiating with a separate party, Technoexport of Czechoslovakia, for the establishment of the foundry/forge, their intention has been to locate it in close proximity to the machinery plant. The Russian experts were shown the comprehensive project report on foundry/forge from the Technoexport and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry have been assured of intimate working arrangements between the foundry/forge developed with the assistance of Technoexport and the Russian machinery project.

10. In reply to a question, the Prime Minister was assured that the foundry/forge as well as the machinery project would be developed with the objective of meeting the full requirements qualitywise as well as quantitywise. For example the foundry/forge when fully developed would turn out even the heaviest castings and forgings required for the fabrication of machinery for steel plants. This being the final stage would, however, be reached in a period of not less than seven to eight years according to the Russian experts....

2. S.S. Khera, Secretary, Department of Mining and Fuel, Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel.



12. The following conclusions were reached:

- (i) From considerations of priority and against the background of the developments in the Third and successive Plans, it would be necessary to be committed even now to a machinery manufacturing project of 80,000 tons annual capacity as recommended by the USSR experts and a heavy foundry/forging to match with the requirements of such a project and other miscellaneous demands;
- (ii) Against the Russian aid offer of Rs 60 crores (500 million roubles), the heavy machinery project of 45,000 tons annual capacity, the mining machinery project of 30,000 tons annual capacity, the development of collieries in the Korba coal field with an annual output of 2.5 million tons and the power plant under the Neyveli lignite project should be proposed;
- (iii) The establishment of foundry/forging must keep pace with the heavy machinery project and if no satisfactory arrangements for developing this project on the basis of deferred payment terms are reached with the Technoexport or any other alternative party, this scheme should also be proposed against the Russian aid offer. If the balance of resources outstanding against the Russian aid offer, after its utilization against the schemes mentioned under (ii) above, proved inadequate for this scheme, additional foreign exchange to the extent required might have to be provided from the uncommitted resources...

## 2. To Jagjivan Ram<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 11, 1957

My dear Jagjivan Ram,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 11th May, with your note on the capacity of the Assam Railway to transport oil. You mention in this the possibility of having to transport four million tons per annum. I do not think any such figure was

1. File No. 17(259)/57-68-70-PMS.

2. Minister for Railways.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

mentioned at any time. I suppose the maximum might be two million tons per annum.

I entirely agree with you that it is necessary to stabilize the Assam route as soon as possible. This has to be done even apart from the question of oil transport. I was under the impression that this had been decided upon and was being taken in hand soon.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. To Swaran Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 14, 1957

My dear Swaran Singh,<sup>2</sup>

I see in the newspapers an announcement that the price of petrol in Bombay has been raised by one anna per gallon. I suppose this means an increase all over India. Was any reference made to your Ministry about this increase? It seems rather odd and somewhat improper that this increase should have taken place without a reference to your Ministry. As you know, we have been discussing this question of price repeatedly and consider even the present price too high.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17 (205)/56-66-PMS.
2. Minister for Steel, Mines and Fuel.



## 4. Transition to a Dynamic Economy<sup>1</sup>

Mr Governor,<sup>2</sup> Chief Minister<sup>3</sup> and friends,

Three years ago, I visited this place and saw some of the quarrying being done for this project.<sup>4</sup> After that we had many discussions and ultimately it was decided to go ahead with this and, as you know, later still it was thought that the most effective way of going ahead was for the Government of India to be in charge of it. Whether the Government of India runs it directly or through a corporation<sup>5</sup> or the Madras State runs it, it is obvious that this is a project of the Madras State, and the great benefits of it will come chiefly to the Madras State. I am particularly glad of this, because this kind of project is not only good in itself, but, if I may say so, it is a symbol and a witness of the development to follow, that is, a kind of a catalyst which may lead to a very considerable development, industrially and otherwise, round about this place, apart from conserving the metallurgical coal supply of the country.

It is very necessary that in South India, in Madras State more specially, there should be this push towards industrial development and this lignite project promises to give that push. I feel that quite rightly a great deal of importance has been attached to it here in South India, and persons in charge of it here are full of enthusiasm for it. Now, again, the enthusiasm is not only for the project but even more so for the promised consequences of it, how it will give power and other things to this area and allow us to develop this.

As you know, we—when I say we I include not only the Government of India, but also the Governments of all the States—we are becoming more and more audacious. We are undertaking big tasks. Some people in our country

1. Speech while inaugurating the earth-moving operations at the Lignite Mines at Neyveli, 20 May 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. A.J. John, Governor of Madras State.
3. K. Kamaraj Nadar.
4. An integrated lignite project was started at Neyveli at a cost of Rs 69 crores to harness the large deposits of lignite in the South Arcot district of Madras State. The project envisaged an annual output of 35 lakh tons of lignite and generation of 200,000 kilowatt of thermal power at a power station at Neyveli by December 1961. A fertilizer factory with an annual production capacity of 1.52 lakh tons of urea was also expected to become operational by the end of 1961. Nehru had visited Neyveli in April 1954.
5. The Neyveli Lignite Corporation Limited, entirely financed by the Central Government, took over management of the project on 6 December 1956.

who are not lacking in wisdom, but perhaps who are a little bit lacking in the quality of audacity and, perhaps are more prudent than one needs be, tell us that we are trying to go too fast, trying to undertake too many burdens. They say, "Let us go a little slow and a little more comfortably". Now, that criticism may be partly justified. Indeed we hope to go fast, even taking risks in the process. That is the mental approach, I hope, not only of our various governments, but of our people generally. Going fast, and even taking some risk, does not mean, of course, doing things foolishly without thought, without preparation, without planning, and without avoidance of undue risks. And the fact is that we are anxious and impatient to advance fairly fast in this country, and even if we are not so anxious the compulsion of events will force us to do so, because there really is no choice about it. We have, I believe, to some extent got out of our static, stagnant conditions of economy of the past and we have arrived at a stage which is certainly not an easy stage but a difficult stage of crossing over from that kind of static economy to a dynamic, moving, progressive and self-motivated economy. We want to reach there quickly. But I think we are on the way to it, and it is like taking a plunge into a river. Once you have taken the plunge, when you are in the middle of the river, you have to swim across; you cannot sit down in the middle of the river, and say, "Go slow", because if you go slow you will be swept by the current of the river. So we have to put in all our strength to reach the other shore.

Some little testimony to our determination to go ahead, to go fast, and not be deterred by difficulties, has been given by the recent Budget statement made in the Lok Sabha. You may like a bit of it here or you may not like it, but the point I wish you to consider is that we are determined to make good this Five Year Plan, and to shoulder the burdens for that purpose, burdens which normally people wish to avoid. But we can't help it. We propose to go ahead, because even though we may have burdens today, we want to make tomorrow a little less burdensome for our people and tomorrow is ultimately more important than today; and indeed, there will be no tomorrow worth living if we are not prepared to carry these burdens today. So it is in this larger context that I look at this project, apart, of course, from the essential importance of it in this area, both in itself, and as a catalyst for further development.

I find it very exciting to visit these great projects of ours and to see these outward symbols of the great people going ahead. Of course, there are many things happening in this country and perhaps some of the biggest things are not quite so demonstrative or dramatic. What is happening in our villages, in our Community Development Projects is, I believe, the most revolutionary thing happening in India because that is a thing which is raising hundreds of millions of our people in the various rural areas, making them vital, making them more



and more self-reliant and thereby getting our rural life out of the ruts. That is important and has, as I said, revolutionary significance, but, it is not quite so dramatic. People, unless they watch closely, they would not understand what is happening. But bigger projects like this or like Damodar Valley, Bhakra or like so many others in north and south, have this dramatic element, and this gives us strength. So I am happy to be here and I congratulate you and Madras State on the effective beginning of this project.

I should like to say a word to the engineers in charge of it. We want not only of their ability, of their experience but we want a great deal of their enthusiasm and, what is more, I want them to communicate this enthusiasm to the thousands of workers who will work with them in whatever grade. I do not want the workers to come here merely to get a little work, although that is important, or merely to earn some daily wages although that is also important. But I want the engineers and the managers and others to proceed with this work in a spirit of great cooperative enterprise in which all these workers are sharers. I want them at every stage to explain to those workers that they are not merely doing some manual job but that they are partners in a great undertaking and building up this project and thereby building up the new India. Let each worker, however humble his sphere of work, have some sensation of this partnership in a great project and ultimately in the work of building up the new India. I attach importance to this approach to our workers. I have found that wherever this approach has been made and engineers have taken some little trouble to explain each stage of their work, not only do the workers become more enthusiastic but they are more efficient. So they understand something of what they are doing and if they are using the big machine and they are aware of the essential nature of their work, the work becomes more lively. So I suggest to you, all those who are connected with the Corporation, that you should try to produce definitely this outlook among all those who work here, whatever their sphere of work. Try to explain every stage of this and, whether in writing or in leaflets or preferably orally, make them interested, make them excited about what they are doing, make them realize that they are doing something very big, something that is building up Madras, this part of the country and the whole of India, and once you produce this feeling in them, then you have increased the capacity, the efficiency of the worker, I do not know by how many per cent, a hundred per cent or more, apart from making him a better man.

So I congratulate you all, not only those who are connected with this work, and those who are going to be connected, but those who are going to profit by it, and, indeed, many will profit by it, here, and to some extent in distant places also. *Jai Hind*.

I congratulate the organizers of this function on this excellent way of inaugurating it.<sup>6</sup>

6. As Nehru pressed an electric button, the metallic covering of an artistic granite obelisk was lifted to the ringing of bells, marking the inauguration of the earth-moving operations. After opening the obelisk, Nehru watched from the dais a big machine moving out and removing earth and depositing it at a distant place.

## 5. To Swaran Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 20, 1957

My dear Swaran Singh,

Thank you for your letter of May 17th about the rise in oil prices.<sup>2</sup>

You mention that the Finance Ministry was consulted about this and this was no doubt done. But I wish that the Finance Minister had come into the picture a little more. T.T. Krishnamachari has said that he was unhappy about this, but he understood that Government had already made a commitment.

It will be interesting to calculate how much extra income accrues to the oil companies as a result of this rise in prices.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps you can ask someone in your Ministry to do so.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(205)/56-66-PMS.
2. Replying to Nehru's letter of 14 May (see *ante*, p. 124), Singh wrote that his Ministry, in consultation with the Finance Ministry, had agreed to a temporary ad hoc increase in the prices of petroleum products "at a rate much lower than that asked for by Burmah Shell" in response to a pressing demand from them since before the general elections. He explained that under the arrangements with the oil companies, the Government had to periodically "compensate for deficits in certain of their accounts which might result in changing the various pricing factors owing to international and other reasons."
3. Swaran Singh wrote that he was aware of the criticism "that we are paying heavy prices in accordance with complicated formulae which provide ample scope for manipulation", and added that he intended to go into this matter.



## 6. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad <sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 26, 1957

My dear Namboodiripad,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 22nd May about optical glass industry.<sup>3</sup>

It is true that we have come to a provisional decision about having an optical glass factory. This was one of the projects considered in connection with the credit offered by the Soviet Government. As a matter of fact, this credit will only be available after two years or so.

So far as I know, no other decision has been taken about this matter. The Heavy Industries Department of our Ministry of Commerce are dealing with it. I have sent a copy of your letter to them as well as to the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17 (242)/57-61-PMS.

2. Chief Minister of Kerala.

3. Complaining that the major industries started by the Central Government had been outside Kerala, Namboodiripad suggested that a large-scale optical glass factory proposed to be started with Soviet technical collaboration might be located in the State. He said that Kerala fulfilled the main requirements for the successful working of this factory, namely, "good quality fireclay, silica sand, cheap and plentiful supply of electricity and intelligent labour."

## 7. To Sudhi Ranjan Das<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 27, 1957

My dear Chief Justice,<sup>2</sup>

I am venturing to write to you to seek your advice about a matter, which is troubling me.

There are a number of labour cases from time to time involving certain claims by the employees. These cases go to Labour Tribunals and sometimes are taken up to the Supreme Court. All these procedures, which include injunctions, etc., take a considerable time, sometimes some years.

This delay in a case involving payment to large numbers of people, creates grave difficulties both for the workers and for the employers. The difficulties are all the greater when a decision is retrospective. Payment of salaries, wages or bonus affects the price of the article produced. Any decision about the future leads to the future price being adjusted accordingly. This offers no difficulty. But, where a decision is retrospective, it relates to articles, which have already been sold at a certain price. The result is that a double enhancement has to take place of future prices so as to make good for the past underpricing in terms of the decision.

The longer the delay in deciding such a matter, the larger the sum involved in regard to past transactions. This naturally creates grave difficulties and has a serious upsetting effect.

One way of at least lessening this difficulty is to expedite such decisions. Unfortunately, they usually take a fairly lengthy time, sometimes running into two or three years.

I shall be grateful if you will be good enough to consider what could be done to overcome or lessen this difficulty.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. (b. 1894); called to the Bar, Grays Inn, London, 1918; joined the Calcutta Bar, 1919; taught at the University Law College, Kolkata; additional Judge, Calcutta High Court, 1942 and Puisine Judge, 1944-49; Chief Justice, Punjab High Court, 1949-50; Judge, Supreme Court, 1950-55; acting Chief Justice, 5 September-31 October 1955 and 1 December 1955 to January 1956; Chief Justice, 1 February 1956 to 30 September 1959.



## 8. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 29, 1957

My dear Namboodiripad,

I wrote to you a few days ago<sup>2</sup> about the proposed optical glass factory. I have now seen the report of the Soviet experts dealing with this matter. It appears that they visited a large number of places before writing this report.

As for the location of the factory, they laid down certain criteria, among them being,

1. Total freights for the transportation of raw materials, fuel and finished products should be minimized;
2. Easy supply of power and water;
3. Necessary labour force; and
4. There should be a developed network of railways and roads.

After considering about ten places, they were led to the conclusion that of all the areas visited by them, the Asansol area meets most of the basic requirements.

It appears that they went to Kerala to see the working of the quartz and fireclay mines near Trivandrum. They did not say anything about the feasibility of the factory being located in Kerala. I suppose they attached importance to the vicinity of the best quartz in the country and of coal of the requisite quality and quantity, which were available near Asansol.

I am writing to you merely to keep you informed. No final decision has been arrived at in this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17 (242)/57-61-PMS.

2. See *ante*, p. 129.

## 9. To Swaran Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 6, 1957

My dear Swaran Singh,

Thank you for your letter of June 6th about the realization by the oil companies on account of the ad hoc increase.<sup>2</sup> The figures you give are big enough in all conscience. I have yet failed to understand why we were compelled to agree to these demands, even though, as you say, we agreed only to a part of them. To me this appears pure loot. If it is said, as I think was hinted at, that their costs of production have gone up, I should like to know how they have gone up to encourage them to make a demand for twelve crores per annum.

I find the prospect of paying all this money to the oil companies exceedingly painful. I think this subject requires consideration by the Cabinet or at least by the Iron and Steel Committee fully. It does seem to me a little absurd that we should talk about economy and save money in a petty way here and there and then make a present of vast sums to oil companies.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17 (205)/56-66-PMS.

2. Swaran Singh, in reply to Nehru's letter of 20 May (see *ante*, p. 128), wrote that the extra realization by all the oil companies on account of the ad hoc increase sanctioned with effect from 13 May 1957 would be about Rs 5.5 crores for the period January-December 1957. He added that if the Government fully accepted the price changes proposed by Burmah Shell, the extra realization would be about Rs 12 crores. Swaran Singh further said that the "Valued Stock Accounting system" which governed the prices of major petroleum products was a complicated procedure and that his Ministry was carefully looking into this matter.



10. To K.C. Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

June 7, 1957

My dear Reddy,<sup>2</sup>

I am sorry you have not been well and could not attend our informal Ministers' meeting today.

I wanted to talk to you about the Ashoka Hotel. In fact, I mentioned this at the meeting. I am rather worried about this hotel. It is a fine building, well equipped, and I have no doubt that it fulfills a demand and can be a success, just as the Janpath Hotel has been a success. But, it has never really settled down.

Partly this was due to large number of staff being engaged without testing them or training them.

The hotel is good, but the service is not very good, and odd things happen, which are irritating. On the occasion of the Japanese Prime Minister's party there,<sup>3</sup> the lifts stopped working. Lifts are, as a matter of fact, second-rate.

However all this can be put right, provided the management functions well. At present, there is a Board of Directors consisting of some of our senior Secretaries like Dutt,<sup>4</sup> Sachdev<sup>5</sup> and Ratnam,<sup>6</sup> all good and competent men but, obviously, ignorant of hotel management. Then, there is a General Manager, who has recently come from Bombay, and a Swiss Manager, Tuor. I do not know the General Manager at all except that I met him briefly at the Hotel on the day of the Party. He struck me as a wide awake person. Tuor, the Swiss Manager, I have seen several times. I believe he is competent and keen on his work. The Swiss are supposed to know the running of hotels better than almost anyone else. In effect, the only person with experience of hotel management appears to be Tuor.

It is essential that there should be the closest cooperation between the General Manager and the Swiss Manager, and between these two and the Board of

1. JN Collection.

2. Minister of Works, Housing & Supply.

3. On 23 May 1957.

4. Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary.

5. M.R. Sachdev, Secretary in the Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply.

6. S. Ratnam, Secretary, Department of Expenditure, Ministry of Finance.

Directors. Indeed, the Board of Directors should supervise generally and give considerable latitude to the Managers. There is no other way to run the hotel.

I do not know exactly how things are being done there. All I wished to tell you was that things are not well and there appears to be lack of cooperation. Some people think that there is some sabotage encouraged by the owners of other hotels in Delhi.

Anyhow, I should like you to look into this matter, and you might discuss it with Swaran Singh who was dealing with it previously.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 11. To K.C. Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 8, 1957

My dear Reddy,

I wrote to you about the Ashoka Hotel the other day. Dutt has written a note which I am sending you. The note has been written partly from his own experience with the Ashoka Hotel and partly after seeing Tuor, the Manager.<sup>2</sup> I might mention that Tuor did not go to him of his own accord. When I went to the Ashoka Hotel at the time of the Japanese Prime Minister's banquet, I was dissatisfied with many things there. Later, I heard that Dutt was one of the Directors. I sent word to Tuor to see Dutt. I did not myself meet Tuor. I am writing this so that it should

1. JN Collection.

2. Dutt wrote that he found Tuor to be "a very excitable person" and that "he knows his job quite well." Giving his own views about the state of affairs of the Ashoka Hotel, Dutt observed that "the Hotel is not being run as well as it should be. Government are almost on trial in this new business...A time has arrived when each of the senior staff should know exactly what his functions are and should be given some measure of independence to carry them out. To try to run a hotel as one would run a government department is to ask for trouble. There should be minimum direction and interference from the Secretariat."



be thought that Tuor has been bypassing his superiors and complaining about many people. He saw Dutt, as I have said, at my instance, because I wanted Dutt to tell me what his own views were.

I do not wish Tuor to get into trouble because he has complained. It will be better, I think, if you do not circulate the notes I am enclosing. You can form your own impressions from them and deal with them in that way. If you circulate them, they will get round to others who will feel annoyed with Tuor and put him in difficulties.

My own impression is that Tuor, though somewhat excitable, is a competent man, eager to serve the Hotel to the best of his capacity. He knows the hotel business well and we should certainly keep him as long as we can.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 12. To Saiyid Fazl Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 12, 1957

My dear Fazl Ali,<sup>2</sup>

Our Cabinet Committee on Oil met yesterday and sat for about three hours continuously discussing the question of the oil refinery, pipeline, etc. This discussion took place on a report from our Negotiating Committee who were dealing with the Assam Oil Company.<sup>3</sup>

The Assam Oil Company had taken up a very difficult attitude and insisted on the refinery being near Calcutta. They said that they did not consider any other proposal economic and would not like to be made responsible for it. In

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Assam.
3. Negotiations were conducted with the Assam Oil Company and the Burmah Oil Company for the formation of a rupee company, that is, a participatory undertaking, to exploit the oil reserves discovered in Nahorkatiya, Hugrijan and Moran areas in Assam.

other words, there was a deadlock between them and our Negotiating Committee.<sup>4</sup> This was reported to us, and we had to consider what we should do in the circumstances.

One aspect of the question was how far we could undertake this work entirely from our own resources. These resources are totally inadequate in so far as trained personnel is concerned and, in view of our entanglement with the Assam Oil Company, all kinds of difficulties are likely to arise. Also, as you know, this is just the time when we are very hard put to it to find money for anything. In fact, we have introduced stringent economies everywhere. In other words, it was not possible for us to undertake this heavy burden by ourselves. At the same time, we saw no reason why we should be dictated to by the Assam Oil Company in this matter.

Then another aspect of this question came forcibly before us. Our Defence Chiefs having examined these various schemes said definitely that they could not undertake to protect the refinery if it was situated in Assam or the pipeline if it went to Calcutta along the Pakistan border. This strong and definite statement by those responsible for our Defence and security could not be ignored. In fact, this statement came also in the way of the Assam Oil Company's proposal to run a pipeline along the Pakistan border to Calcutta. It was possible, of course, to take that pipeline some distance away from the border, but that would have extended the length of it, apart from other consequences.

For all these reasons, we could not agree to Assam Oil Company's proposal as it was. Nor could we accept the proposal to have the refinery in Assam, when military opinion was dead against it, apart from other reasons to which reference has been made previously.

While it was not necessary for us to come to a final decision about every matter at this stage, we could not leave this question in a state of deadlock. Some opening had to be made for fresh consideration. And, for hours we discussed this matter thoroughly from every point of view, so that we could continue our negotiations with the Assam Oil Company or make some other arrangements if they were feasible.

We were driven to the conclusion that the only feasible proposition was to locate the refinery at Barauni<sup>5</sup> and to proceed with our discussions on this basis. The refinery initially should be capable of dealing with one million five hundred thousand tons of oil per annum, but there should be the possibility of its extension if and when necessary. The pipeline would, to begin with, come to Barauni only.

4. The negotiations were suspended in May 1957.

5. In Bihar State.



This pipeline is likely to be of twenty inches to provide for future developments. Later, that is in two or three years time, we might be in a position to see how far there was surplus oil to be sent to Calcutta for export or for Visakhapatnam. If this appears desirable, a pipeline would have to be constructed either from Barauni or from somewhere else on the way to it to Calcutta.

Further we were of the opinion that steps should be taken to develop the use of natural gas in Assam for power and other purposes. The use of this can be expanded in many ways and for various industries.

The refinery itself is not supposed to employ many people, just a few hundreds, as the latest machinery is used.

We realized fully the disappointment that this would cause to our friends in Assam. In fact, this matter was discussed, but we had no choice left except to give up the scheme or delay it indefinitely, which was harmful to India and to Assam. We were driven to our present conclusion. Whatever the other reasons might have been, and they were strong enough, the very definite and unequivocal attitude of Defence left no other choice open to us. Personally, I think that the decision is a correct one, not only from the point of view of the development of this oil, but even of Assam. It is far easier and better to develop industries on natural gas and start the exploitation of oil as soon as possible on an economic basis than to hold up everything and to wait for some good fortune in the future. I have no doubt that this oil is going to be of great benefit to Assam from the point of view of revenue and industrial development. And, the sooner we get going with this, the better.

As I have indicated above, we are in the middle of negotiations and final decisions depend upon many factors. We do not even know what the reaction of the Assam Oil Company will be. They have been troublesome, but we have to have some basis for future discussion as the old line did not work, and hence these present decisions.

I am sending a copy of this letter to your Chief Minister Medhi. I am leaving day after tomorrow for Europe and shall be away for a month.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 13. To Bisnuram Medhi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi,  
June 12, 1957

My dear Medhi,<sup>2</sup>

I enclose a copy of a letter<sup>3</sup> I have addressed to your Governor, as I thought there would be no point in my repeating all that separately to you. For many months we have given the most earnest thought to this matter, realizing the strong feelings in Assam over it. But, against our will, we have been driven by facts and circumstances, in a particular direction. Any other course would have meant dropping the scheme for the present with no assurance about the future. Even now, I do not quite know how things will shape themselves.

I hope you will appreciate our difficulties and also our extreme desire to help Assam to develop industrially and otherwise. A wrong move now might have been appreciated by some people in Assam, but might also have resulted in harm to Assam's interests in the future.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Bisnuram Medhi Papers, NMML.

2. Chief Minister of Assam.

3. See the preceding item.



## 14. To Bisnuram Medhi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

June 13, 1957

My dear Medhi,

I have just received your telegram<sup>2</sup> about the refinery. I have already written to you rather fully on this subject and explained how we have been driven to our present conclusion. That conclusion is not a final decision in the sense that we are still carrying on negotiations and a great many other steps have to be taken. The decision is that negotiations should be carried on on the basis of the first refinery being at Barauni in Bihar.

I am sorry we have to disagree with you about this matter. I have already written to you fully, and I need not repeat what I have said. We have every regard for the feelings in Assam and for the necessity of developing industry in Assam. But, we cannot obviously decide something against our judgment and when we think that it will not be advantageous even to Assam. Important decisions cannot depend on pure sentiment or political pressures. Here we are taking a first step in oil development in India. On the success of this step depends the entire development in future. We dare not risk that step and we must base it on a firm economic foundation. The alternative is giving it up completely and trying to find oil elsewhere in India, as we hope to.

It seems to me extraordinary that in a matter of this kind involving highly technical considerations, the Congress Legislature Party should try to bring pressure upon us. That would indeed be a curious way of carrying on government either in Assam or at the Centre.

This question of oil exploitation, building up of refinery, pipeline, etc., will take years before we can actually get the oil. If we start off on this on a basis of political agitation, then it would appear that there is grave danger of the whole

1. JN Collection.

2. Medhi stated that there was great frustration in Assam consequent upon the reported decision of the Central Government to set up a refinery for processing the Assam crude oil at Barauni. The State Government and the Congress Legislature Party in Assam, he added, considered a political decision by the Centre to set up a refinery in the State essential to remove imbalance in economic development. Medhi further said that, in the circumstances, the Congress Legislature Party in Assam was unanimously insisting on the resignation of the State Cabinet, and that if the Government did not revise its decision, he would have no option but to seek permission to resign.

proposal falling through or, at any rate, not being realized. If this is the aim of your Legislature Party, then I can only regret it. We cannot go against the advice, among others, of our Defence people.

As desired by you, I am sending your telegram to Maulana Azad, Morarji Desai, T.T. Krishnamachari, Jagjivan Ram and Swaran Singh.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 15. To Bisnuram Medhi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 16, 1957

My dear Medhi,

I returned yesterday from my tour abroad. Thank you for your letter of July 8th.<sup>2</sup> I shall write to you more fully later.

I understand, however, that it is your wish to come to Delhi to discuss the question of the refinery. Of course, you will be welcome here and we shall gladly discuss this matter fully with you. It may be worthwhile perhaps, for you to bring with you your Leader of the Opposition<sup>3</sup> and also the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee.

1. JN Collection

2. Medhi pointed out that the experts committee that went into the question of location of the oil refinery had not taken into consideration several important factors consistent with the industrial policy of the Government. He also questioned the argument advanced by the Defence Ministry in respect of the location of the refinery and asked, "If Defence cannot undertake to protect the refinery located in Assam, how will they protect the oil fields and the transport system in the eastern region?" Maintaining that Guwahati would be the ideal location from all points of view, Medhi expressed the hope that the Government would reconsider the whole matter and find an appropriate solution to the question in the national interest.

3. Hareswar Goswami.



Although I am necessarily very busy here after my long absence, you can come here when convenient. I am not leaving Delhi anyhow for some considerable time.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 16. To A.K. Gopalan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 17, 1957

Dear Gopalan,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter about the Coffee Houses.<sup>3</sup> On enquiry I find that you wrote also to the Minister for Commerce and Industry, who sent you a reply on the 21st June.

Your will agree that the Coffee Houses cannot be continued merely to ensure continuity of employment, though of course every effort should be made to find employment to such persons as have to be retrenched. This effort is being made.

The Plantation Enquiry Committee which studied the coffee industry recently also recommended the closure of these Coffee Houses.<sup>4</sup> The purpose of starting these coffee houses had largely been served and many firms have started Coffee Houses and the like. It is possible that retrenched workers might be absorbed by them also.

1. File No. 44 (29)/57-58-PMS.

2. Communist Party of India member of Lok Sabha.

3. In his letter of 28 June, Gopalan drew Nehru's attention to the impending retrenchment facing more than 800 class IV employees of the Coffee Board following the Board's decision to close down several branches of the India Coffee House. He said that these workers had loyally served the Coffee Board for several years, and being of advanced age and not trained in any other trade or profession, it was very difficult for them to get a job elsewhere.

4. Gopalan thought the Coffee Houses had still a definite role to play in popularizing Indian coffee and they also gave the Board a good margin of profit.

As for your suggestion that Coffee Houses might be handed over to the cooperative society which the workers are forming for the purpose,<sup>5</sup> this will be examined.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Gopalan suggested that in case it was difficult to stop the closure of Coffee Houses and the retrenchment of workers, the workers might be allowed to run these Coffee Houses, instead of handing them over to private hoteliers or restaurateurs as the Coffee Board intended to do.

## 17. Location of Oil Refinery<sup>1</sup>

At the end of a brief discussion, the following points emerged:<sup>2</sup>

The estimates of cost given in the Assam Government's booklet showed that they had calculated the cost of transporting crude oil from Nahorkatiya to Gauhati by river and not by pipeline, but it was not clear how this cost of river transport had been estimated. There were also other items in these estimates, which required closer examination before they could be accepted. In any case, it was obvious that the cost of moving the refined products by rail from Gauhati to Barauni would be very much more than moving crude oil over the same distance by pipeline.

1. Record of a meeting with G. B. Pant, Minister of Home Affairs, Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Railways, Swaran Singh, Minister for Steel, Mines & Fuel, and K.D. Malaviya, Minister of Mines and Oil, New Delhi, 24 July 1957. JN Collection.
2. At a meeting of the Cabinet held earlier in the day, the Prime Minister said "that a large delegation of Ministers and others had come from Assam to urge the State's claim for the location of the proposed oil refinery. Apart from the political reactions caused in the State by this issue, the delegation had advanced arguments to the effect that even from the economic point of view, the establishment of a one and a half million ton refinery at Gauhati would ultimately be cheaper than a refinery located in Barauni." It was decided that the central Ministers concerned with the matter might meet the Prime Minister at 5.30 p.m. to consider the matter further.



On the question of moving the refined products from Gauhati, the Railway Minister said that his Ministry would be able to complete all necessary arrangements by 1961-62. The total cost of increasing the railway capacity was approximately Rs 21 crores, of which a sum of Rs 8 crores would be directly attributable to the location of the refinery at Gauhati.

Summing up, the Prime Minister remarked that it was necessary to find out exactly how much dearer the refined products would be to the consumer if the refinery were located at Gauhati instead of at Barauni. Apart from this economic aspect, the political aspect, which was rather important in this case, could not be ignored. Thirdly, there was the larger issue of acute shortage of foreign exchange which might compel them to give up the whole scheme for the present. Taking every consideration into account, he thought and the other Ministers present agreed that while adhering to their decision to locate the refinery at Barauni, they could ask the same consultants for a separate report on the economics of setting up a 1½ million ton refinery at Gauhati. This would provide reliable data for deciding whether Gauhati was really more suitable than Barauni for the location of the refinery, as claimed by the Assam Government.

Immediately after the meeting, the Railway Minister left and the Chief Minister of Assam came in, accompanied by other Ministers. The Prime Minister informed the Chief Minister that the Central Government were prepared to ask for a separate report on the economics of locating the refinery at Gauhati, so that it could be compared with the project report regarding Barauni. The Chief Minister welcomed this decision and said that it was advisable to issue, as early as possible, a suitable announcement to the Press. It was decided that the announcement should be issued after the Chief Minister met the Prime Minister again on 26th July, 1957.<sup>3</sup>

3. The announcement was issued on 27 July 1957. See *post*, pp. 144-146.

## 18. To Swaran Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
25 July 1957

My dear Swaran Singh,

Your letter of July 25, sending a copy of the draft statement.<sup>2</sup> I think the statement is satisfactory as it is. I do not think it will be proper to go any further.

Medhi did not talk to us about the political situation in detail. But he had written to me at length about it on many occasions. In fact, it is because of the background of the political situation that we reconsidered this matter.

I spoke to the President of the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee and told him briefly what we intended to do. Naturally I had no statement to show him. He appeared to agree to what I said. Choudhury<sup>3</sup> was also present.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. See the next item.

3. Mahendra Mohan Choudhury (b. 1909); participated in the freedom movement and was imprisoned in 1932, 1941 and 1942; joined the Barpeta Bar, 1936; Advocate, Assam High Court, 1949; elected member, Assam Legislative Assembly, 1946; Deputy Minister for Education, Textile, Publicity, Rural Development, Cooperatives & Industries, for a few months; appointed Minister in-charge, Agriculture, Food Rural Development, Publicity; President, Assam Pradesh Congress Committee, 1955-56; General Secretary, AICC, 1956-57; elected member, Rajya Sabha, 1956; elected in a bye-election to Assam Legislative Assembly, 1958; elected Speaker, Assam Legislative Assembly, 1959; Minister for Revenue, Forests, Flood Control & Irrigation and Parliamentary Affairs, 1967-71; Chief Minister, 1970-72.

## 19. Assam's Claims for an Oil Refinery<sup>1</sup>

I have been distressed at the agitation in Assam over the question of the location of the oil refinery. I can well understand and sympathize with the desire of the

1. Statement to the Press, New Delhi, 27 July 1957. From *The Hindu*, 28 July 1957.



people in Assam to have a refinery situated there. But, surely, questions involving technical and other complicated aspects can only be decided by cool and dispassionate thinking and consultation. I have long felt that in the past, prior to Independence, Assam was neglected and it deserves every kind of help and encouragement. Apart from this, the new conditions that have arisen since Independence, have given a social importance to our frontier State of Assam, which has to deal with so many problems.

The Chief Minister and Government of Assam have constantly urged us for many months past, their desires to have the oil refinery situated in Assam. They have argued their case with ability and have impressed us. Indeed I wanted to be impressed. But, there were other considerations also before us, even from the point of view of Assam, which had to be kept in mind. Assam is fortunate in the fresh discoveries of oil, and it is probable that further discoveries might take place. Oil is one of the most valuable commodities in the world today. But, oil, as we know, has also been a source of great trouble and international complications in other countries. It was and is our wish that this acquisition of Assam's wealth should be utilized to the best advantage for the good of Assam as well as of the rest of India. It seemed to us essential that a solid foundation should be laid for the rapid development of this oil business in Assam, so that the people of Assam might be the first to prosper under it and other industries should grow up there.

The refinery itself was only a very small part of this major industrial development to which we looked forward in Assam. Refineries are usually located from the point of view of consumption and this is often to the advantage of the area of production. It was from this point of view that we looked upon this question. We did not rule out the possibility of a new refinery in Assam. But, we did not wish the future development to be impeded in any way to the disadvantage ultimately of Assam.

Many refineries are situated in Europe, although the oil comes from Western Asia. Normally, they are at the ports for facility of transport. But, otherwise, the field of consumption is usually an important factor.

It was from this point of view that we asked for a project report for Barauni, so that we might have full details for consideration.

The Chief Minister and other Ministers of Assam have come to us again and pressed the claim of Gauhati with ability and perseverance. We have told them that there is no question of ruling out a location in Assam and we would gladly have a project study prepared for Gauhati also, so as to enable us to consider fully every aspect of this question. This will be done, and I am sure the claims of Assam for this as well as for other purposes will be considered with every sympathy. It must be realized, however, that it would be a bad and extraordinary

precedent if decisions on economic matters are made regardless of the normal factors that have to be considered.

We decided sometime ago to improve railway connections with Assam. This matter is being given priority.

It is also our purpose to draw up various schemes for the development of Assam as a result of the discovery of oil and gas. These schemes should result in the establishment of large-scale subsidiary industries, such as fertilizers, chemicals and power generators. Naturally, this will take some time, but the main thing is to lay solid foundations for the development, which will lead to greater prosperity, employment and higher standards in Assam.

I earnestly trust that the people of Assam will devote their enthusiasm and energy in realizing this prospect of a developing and advancing Assam instead of pursuing negative and wasteful policies which can only hinder that development. This is not a party problem, but one which concerns everyone in Assam, to whatever group or party he might belong. If there is lack of cooperation in this great work then everyone there will suffer.

## 20. National Progress and Trade Unionism<sup>1</sup>

I have gladly accepted the invitation to come here today to give you encouragement as I can in this work which you are undertaking.<sup>2</sup> Frankly, I do not know very much as to what is being done. I am trying to understand it by looking through, rather rapidly, the pamphlets that have been produced and naturally by listening to the Chairman's<sup>3</sup> speech. Not that I am not fully seized of the importance of this subject, but yet I do not know the details.

1. Address at the inaugural meeting of the National Council for Training in Vocational Trades, New Delhi, 30 July 1957. PIB, and AIR tapes, NMML.
2. The National Council for Vocational Training, set up in 1956 functions as the central agency to advise the Government of India in framing the training policy and coordinating vocational training throughout the country. The Council is entrusted with the responsibilities of prescribing standards and curricula for craftsman training, advising the Government on the overall policy and programmes, and conducting all India Tests for award of National trade certificates.
3. Gulzarilal Nanda.



My first reaction was to wonder at the Council of fifty-four persons. Certainly, we can have opening ceremonies and closing ceremonies and speeches, but how exactly fifty-four persons work together, in considering the problem, is not clear to me. But I have no doubt you will find a way of doing something in spite of your numbers. I suppose it was inevitable and desirable at least for this larger Council to be fully representative, as far as possible, but there is always this risk and danger in large bodies getting together: a close consideration of a problem becomes more difficult and all that happens are rather formal speeches. I earnestly hope that you will avoid that type of procedure or that habit which is, I am afraid, rather a habit with us wherever we may meet, whatever committee, council or wherever it may be. Because you deal with practical problems, the approach must, therefore, be practical.

Now, if we look at the history of civilization, there are many ways of judging its progress or the reverse. A great man once said that one of the ways of distinguishing a human being from non-human animals was that man was a tool-making animal. I think it was Franklin<sup>4</sup> who said that—though I am not sure—but it is important to remember that it is a fact that man has made tools and that has made him what he is. One of the earliest epoch-making discoveries of the human race in the early days was, I suppose, the discovery of fire. It was revolutionary. Another epoch-making discovery was that of the wheel, which made immediately an enormous difference, revolutionized transport and all kinds of things. All these are very, very simple illustrations of the very long journey of humanity through tool-making to greater progress.

It is the tool, and other things certainly, that has made man go ahead, the tool being presumably an extension of his hand and foot and the tool now becoming an extension of his brain too because the modern tool is not merely a physical tool but a brain tool; so that the tools were really an extension of man's capacity to do things. Whether you look upon this matter from the point of view of fine craftsmanship or big machines or big industry, it is ultimately the tool that man has got that matters, whether you like it or not. For using steam power or electric power or atomic power you make tools and you use the powers of nature with advantage.

Now, the measure of the advance of man or a community is what better tools they use. Otherwise, they remain to that extent backward. Tools of course can be of all types and tools can be used for good as well as bad purposes. But it must not get mixed up – the idea that a tool is bad because the person who uses that tool with an evil intention is not properly trained or brought up. Atomic

4. Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790); American statesman, scientist, philosopher, and publisher.

energy may be used and, I hope, will be used with enormous advantage and benefit to the world. Atomic energy can also be used for extermination of humanity. Anyhow, the progress of humanity can well be judged by the progress of its tool-making power and the use of tools, whether small handicrafts or big machines. It is important that the human beings should be so conditioned, trained, developed as to use the tool for right purposes and not for wrong. Again if you look to various countries of the world, some that are called developed and some that are at present more or less developed or more undeveloped, the difference is due to the use of tools in the advanced, developed countries. Therefore, they are wealthier and have produced wealth, but the use of tools, production of tools of course, inevitably involves the training of persons who may use those tools or who can evolve or discover new tools and better tools, so, from using what was almost a basic thing, comes the training of human beings in the understanding, in the use of the invention of tools. In other words, trained manpower counts most probably in a nation more than anything, more than gold and silver and money. It is the human being, his labour and his tool that produces wealth. Naturally he is helped if the country has resources, and is hindered if it has not, but the main fact remains that it is the trained individual, trained not only to use his hand and tools but also to use that magnificent tool that he has got, his brain, with advantage that counts.

A trained human being ultimately makes a difference to his country and to the world. Again, the test of a country's advance, broadly speaking, in these matters is how many trained personnel they have got, how many trained engineers they have got, using 'engineer' in a wide term, and so many other things they are producing, because on them will depend ultimately this advance in the use of techniques, new techniques and the rest. Only the other day, I was looking through a very interesting manpower study which our Statistical Institute and the Planning Commission are producing and, if I may say so, I should like to congratulate those who have produced them. Because that is a scientific approach to a problem of exactly where we are and how we are advancing. Thus far we have made lists which have not been complete, not very adequate, but now we are trying to approach this problem more scientifically because unless we know where we are and where we lack, we shall not make progress.

We find a very extraordinary spectacle, many people saying that we have not got enough engineers. That is perfectly true. We have about 30,000 to 40,000 engineers in India, which is not enough. That is true in view of our Second Plan and the rest. But at the same time, a remarkable fact is that while we have not got enough engineers, there are engineers who are unemployed. Then surely there is something wrong with the organizational part of it that any competent person should be unemployed in a type of work for which we want competent



workers of that type. So that it is not only a question of training people but seeing that they fit in, that they are assured work in which they fit in, they are assured, the community is assured and you can profit by them. When a person is trained and has no work, it is a terrible waste, apart from the frustrating experience for him or for the community or the country because training costs the community money. So that we have to see, so far as I have understood from some of these papers and what I have heard, that this training which you are going to give is not to end in a dead lane, but lead to creative and profitable work; it should not be like the training we give now, literary training, I mean, in our universities which often unfortunately leads to a dead end, and it is a gamble: the person who has got through does any creative or profitable work or just sits in fits. It is not good enough and that of course has to be looked at and remedied.

We all know that we are passing through a very important and a very difficult period in our national development. We are trying to break through the barrier of a static economy to reach a dynamic and progressive economy. It is a difficult thing always to break that barrier or cross that barrier. One cannot do difficult things without going through pains of labour, pains of rebirth. We are suffering them and we shall continue to suffer them for some time before we have this new birth. In this again, it is the trained personnel that count. Whatever activities you may undertake, including of course administrative activities, but the balance in a country like India is changing from the importance attached to pure administrative ability to technical ability of different types. Administrative ability is essential, I am not trying to lessen its importance, it is essential for any organized society, but pure administrative ability broadly indicates an unprogressive society, just keeping things going maybe in an efficient manner. For a progressive society, the balance progressively shifts to other kinds of abilities also, and that balance has shifted today in India. We want a highly qualified and trained administrative service, that is of importance necessarily, but we want today even more technical people in all kinds of public activity, and trying always to use higher techniques.

I have no doubt that a higher technique is better than a lower technique but a higher technique cannot come from the air. It has to grow and it has to fit in with the social fabric and social conditions. Sometimes I find some bright young Indian students, let us say, going to the United States and becoming very proficient, say, in some branch of engineering. They come back here. Now they have got so used to higher techniques of the United States that they look for them here. They miss them. They are not here, broadly speaking. They are annoyed. They get frustrated. I would like the higher technique to grow up here. But it has to fit in with the environment, social, physical environment, for we cannot use something which would not fit in.

Therefore, we have not to hanker after some very high technique to which we have not grown here socially and otherwise. We have to employ sometimes the lower technique. In a country where there is lack of manpower, there is more than need for it to use labour saving devices. In a country where manpower is abundant, more than abundant, the need for labour saving devices is not so great, although a labour saving device is a good thing and should progressively be employed. But it has to be related to the conditions, social conditions. I am all in favour of higher techniques and without higher techniques a country is bound to lag behind not only in its wealth producing capacity, in its standards of life but lag behind even in that essential quality that makes a country strong enough to maintain its freedom and independence. We can't maintain freedom and independence by lower techniques in a world which is using higher techniques. Now, it is the basic function of a country, absolutely basic, to maintain its freedom and independence. Almost everything else comes afterwards, because if you lose your freedom or independence, you cannot think of other things.

So, I want to lay stress on this fact, the recognition of this fact, that higher techniques must always be aimed at and the moment we give up that idea, then we accept a position of inferiority in the world. Not only that; we occupy a position where our freedom itself might be threatened. That being so, I would again say that while thinking of adopting those higher techniques we shall always have to remember the social problems. It is not something that can be imposed from above, it has to grow. India is being industrialized and will no doubt be more and more industrialized. I welcome this. But industrialization itself is not just an odd placing of, let us say, a high grade factory in the middle of a desert. It has to grow in the country – technical personnel, technical training, institutes and all that. Then it grows.

There is one other aspect which I should like to touch upon though it may not be directly relevant. But I think it is relevant not only to this activity that you are undertaking but to every activity in the country. And that is, we may become able and technically trained and all that, as individuals, as groups, but how do we pull together? What is the cement that joins us, so that our activities, our individual activities, may not only be advantageous to us as individuals but should be advantageous to the community, to the State, to the whole country? I am leaving out the whole world, which I would like to include, but that becomes too big a circle. What is the cement that binds us because if the cement is lacking, then even those very activities that a highly trained person does are not advantageous. As civilization advances and makes society more and more complex, the element of cooperative endeavour becomes more important. Whether it is a factory, any kind of undertaking, it involves cooperation between human beings. Even the primitive man required some



cooperation; much more so a highly developed society requires that. If that element of cooperation is basically lacking, then all the training that we have is useless because it is frittered away in some measure of conflict and in pulling in different directions. Of course, the whole concept of a nation State, of national freedom is that of cooperation of the individuals, who live in the State, in the maintenance of the freedom and the prosperity of that State. Within the broad acceptance of this concept there are so many other ways which build up that major cooperation. One takes for granted this major cooperation in the State, that is we are all citizens or nationals of a State, and taking it for granted, one forgets it more or less, and sometimes pursues a way which naturally weakens that major concept. Now, that is a very vital matter because that is the life-giving concept in a society. Once that concept goes, the social fabric disintegrates. The social fabric may consist of wonderful people, geniuses in every line, but they are all geniuses going in different directions and certainly the social fabric goes down.

Now, it is a matter of the deepest concern to me how in India these disruptive tendencies continue to function. I do not think that basically any Indian, whoever he might be, is lacking in that strong sense of national solidarity which would be very evident in any danger to India as such, but it is no good having some broad emotional ideas of national solidarity and national freedom, unless one constantly helps that national solidarity and unity to grow. Just slogans to that effect are not very helpful. Now we find that so many little things and big things happen which indicate that we are all guilty of it. I am not blaming any particular person. We are swept away from the national level, from the level of any kind of united endeavour to sectional and lower levels. Our society as it is today, the social structure, is obviously not an isolated social structure. That is why we are constantly trying to improve it, not here but in every country and, I believe, if I may say so, it can never be an ideal structure. So we try to improve it. Nobody says that social conditions in any country in the world are perfect. There are all kinds of problems and if you want to solve one problem, more difficult problems arise. That is a sign of growth. So we are not afraid of problems and we recognize that social structure is full of imbalances and requires change, sometimes very great change.

We, in this country, whether in the political field or in the social or economic field, try to follow a policy of doing things through peaceful methods. I don't mean to say that as individuals we are more peaceful or better or more noble. Definitely we are not. I am quite honest about it. People imagine that we are somehow superior—most Indians imagine that we are superior because we recite ancient mantras about peace and *shanti* and therefore, obviously, we are better. But there is no peace in our behaviour; in the pettiest conflict, we forget every

conception of unity, every conception of peace. That is a failing which the people of every country have—thinking themselves better than others. And, I suppose, we are also subject to that failing. But, at least, let us keep our eyes open and not be swept away. While we may not be better than others, it has been our great advantage to be channeled in a particular direction of thinking and action. Not only recently but, I would say, to some extent through the past, through the long past, we have been channeled in that direction to some extent, and certainly in the recent past, the last generation or two. What was perhaps thought to be a theory was tested in practice and found to pay heavy dividends, that is, the method of resolution of conflict through peaceful methods. Peace is not really the absence of active violence. It is something much more important and innately positive, not merely the negative thing, or absence of violence.

We have experimented with that in our political sphere and in spite of our many failings and follies, we made that experiment, through the genius of our Leader<sup>5</sup> and other great people in this country, a success. Having made it a success, we seem to forget the very basis of our thinking and action and to drift in wrong directions. Whether it is a question of language, whether it is a question of the type of school education, whether it is a question of oil refinery in Assam or somewhere else, people start breaking heads. It is amazing how this kind of thing, this kind of disruptive thinking of a problem which should be decided calmly and dispassionately, how this disruptive thinking and action increases. It is a very serious matter.

Then look at the other aspect of it—strikes and the like. We hear a great deal about strikes now. Now, as everybody knows, I am not an industrial worker or a peasant and I often wonder, because of that, if I can fully grasp or fully enter into the minds of the peasant or the industrial worker. I want to. I do not think you can understand anybody unless you place yourself in his position. Obviously, it is very difficult. And I want to do that. I try to, at least I keep my mind receptive and open, and I am prepared to recognize that I am failing in understanding. So I am not prepared to condemn anybody, but nevertheless one has to think about these matters.

It seems to me that this tendency towards industrial conflict, whoever is to blame, whether employer or employee, is harmful to our growth. I think, and I have thought, that the essential right of a worker is to strike. That is how trade unions have grown and how industrial growth has taken place during the last 100 or 150 years or more in this world. But it is a very painful story how they were crushed – the workers were penalized – and how they were gradually able to build up something for themselves. I can very well understand, therefore,

5. Mahatma Gandhi.



their passionate desire to hold on to those privileges or rights that have stood them in good stead in the past. So I do not deny them that right, but it is one thing to have an abstract right, it is another to exercise it in all circumstances, in all environments, whatever the consequences of that strike may be. I think that normally speaking—I am not referring to petty industrial disputes—I would like these disputes to be considered. We have evolved proper methods of dealing with them. It is for everybody, whether he is an employer or employee, to realize that it is to nobody's advantage to have strikes. Now, that applies to industrial matters.

Today we have to consider strikes of public servants, employees of Government, employees in public utility services and the like, which is a much more serious matter because in an industrial enterprise, a strike affects the employees or employers, and only distantly and belatedly it has a slight effect on the community, that is, production may be less. But, obviously, a strike in a public utility concern or public services concerning the community affects the community immediately and it cannot, therefore, be judged from the same point of view as an industrial strike. Now, I recognize fully that a government which thinks it can decide everything without consultation has a wrong approach to a problem. A government in a democratic society is a reflection of the will of the people and it should continue to be a reflection of this all the time, to the extent it can. Otherwise, it becomes isolated.

We recognize that we are going through a difficult period. Prices have gone up somewhat, though fortunately much less than in many other countries; but they have gone up, and when prices go up, especially of the primary materials, people suffer and it should be our duty to give the most earnest consideration to these problems and try to remove the burdens, the increasing burdens on our people, on our employees and others. That I admit and I admit that people are in difficulty. Let us consider these matters; we have been considering them. Let us realize also that there is no magic remedy to these. We are paying for the cost of trying to go ahead. It may be that here and there we make mistakes, we try to remedy those mistakes. But the major fact remains that you do not remedy a mistake by doing something utterly wrong, by some greater error. Therefore, it surprises me, it pains and distresses me to see that many of our fallow countrymen talk loosely of strikes in these services essential to the community. Even if they feel that they are in the right in many of their demands, that is a wrong procedure, a thoughtless procedure, a careless procedure and, in the final analysis, an anti-social and anti-national procedure.

Let us consider the difficulties they face and others face, but ruling out this business of the big club, whether it is a big club wielded by the Government or the strikers. Government has big clubs too, but I do not like Government wielding

the big club. Whenever the big club is wielded by Government, I think, it is a failure of Government in that respect. Sometimes we may be forced to do it, that is a different matter. But it does no credit to a government to have to use the big club. It does no credit to the people who might use the big club. These questions cannot be settled or dealt with by threats or counter-threats. These are matters much too serious and affect the whole country, not only the particular people involved but the entire community, the whole country, and affect, again, in the final analysis, the Five Year Plan and the rest and, at the present moment, when everyone knows that we are facing considerable difficulties, in the economic sphere, in the financial sphere. But even apart from that, people should know, if they have their eyes open and see what is happening in the world, that India is facing dangers—not only internal difficulties but external dangers too. And at this moment for us, our countrymen, to talk light-heartedly of embarking on big strikes is a matter which is most distressing to me and it shows that somehow perhaps we have not grown mature enough to shoulder the heavy task that this country offers. If we are not mature enough, if we are not united enough, if we do not know what thing comes first and what thing comes next, then all your planning and your technical training yields little fruit, because it can yield fruits to us only in a united endeavour. If it is split up, we suffer from folly, from a disease which has often affected India in the past – separatism and the fissiparous tendencies.

Mr Chairman and friends, I ventured to talk to you about many matters not directly concerned. But that is not so; they are directly concerned with your work here and with my work. We are not isolated things living in ivory towers. We are all related in this complex society of India and, if the foundation shakes, what of the superstructure? Therefore, I wanted to talk to you about this matter. I wish you all success.



## V. ATOMIC ENERGY

1. Performance of the Department of Atomic Energy<sup>1</sup>

Mr Speaker, Sir, in the course of this discussion, almost everyone has emphasized the necessity for us to go ahead as far as we can in the development of atomic energy in this country. The subject is naturally one which rather excites the imagination of everyone, and there is a feeling, as someone has said, that in this matter at least we should not lag behind, as we did when the Industrial Revolution took place. I can say nothing more about it except that we have no intention of lagging behind, in so far as resources, etc., permit.

Apart from the theoretical as well as practical necessity of keeping abreast of this new realm of knowledge and discovery, there is this aspect that from the power point of view, it is likely to be of the utmost importance for us in India to utilize the atomic power for peaceful purposes. We hear a lot about the use of iron and coal and oil for purposes of power. But it is rather a sobering thought that if, by any chance, we used our power supplies at the rate, let us say, that the United States is using them at—which is a tremendous rate—they disappear in a very short time, and we finish them up in the course of a generation or more—I forget exactly how long....

So far as we know about the coal we have, and the oil we have—we now hope to have more oil than we thought first, and I believe that we are likely to discover oil in several parts of India—the fact remains, however, that our power resources potential, considering our population, is not great, for we cannot merely deal with the present generation, but we have to build for the future.

Now, therefore, as far as one can see, the main source of power, apart from the conventional sources, has to be atomic energy. So it becomes a question of extreme practical importance for us to develop power from atomic sources.

It is curious that only about, perhaps, three or four years ago, people talked rather vaguely about using atomic energy for power purposes, and there were

1. Speech during the debate on the demands for grants of the Department of Atomic Energy, 24 July 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. III, 15-26 July 1957, cols. 4946-4956. Extracts.

hardly any definite plans in almost any country, although, no doubt, in the United States and England and the Soviet Union, there were some efforts being made to that end. But the progress since then has been so rapid in some of these countries that now it is taken for granted, which it was not then. Then, it was a kind of adventure in the sense that it could be used for civil purposes. But it was not an economic proposition. Today it is recognized that it is an economic proposition and it is likely to become more and more so.

Of course, at the present moment, at any rate, no one would think of our going to a coalfield, let us say, and putting up an atomic energy plant there. That is, if you are near the source of power, that is, coal or some hydroelectric concern, you would not put an atomic energy plant right there. That will be wasteful. But where you go away from the source, go away some distance from the coalfields or from hydroelectric power, where, in fact, you may have to take vast quantities of coal to create power, there, even today, it might well be cheaper to have an atomic energy plant.

Take Delhi. We have to put up something here. We have to bring coal from 800, 900 or 1,000 miles away. There is the question of transport and so much of cost.

I would make two points. The first is that India must have some additional sources of power, apart from conventional sources, if it is to go ahead, and give higher standards to our people. Secondly, it is possible to do it through proper development of atomic energy now. Therefore, the third point comes out and you must try to do it. Indeed, we are trying to do so.

Many honourable Members who have spoken have congratulated the Atomic Energy Department on the work they have done. Some have criticized them or said that they ought to do much more than what they have done. It is not very easy to have a correct measurement of what one can do and one could have done if we had proceeded differently. But the fact remains that the development of atomic energy work in India has been remarkably rapid and, if I may say so, remarkably good. Both facts have to be borne in mind. As to whether it could not be better or whether we could not be more rapid, it is open to one to have an opinion. But the Atomic Energy Department as such was started three years ago in August 1954. Of course, before that there was the Atomic Energy Commission, which also did that work.

In August 1954, I think we spent about Rs 1.1 crores on atomic energy work here. Money is not much of a test, but still it helps us to understand what we are doing. Two years after that, that is, in the current year, we are spending 12 times that amount. It has increased twelve-fold, and we are spending about Rs 12 ½ crores.



I may inform the House that nobody in the Government of India—neither the Finance Ministry nor any other Ministry—anxious as we are to have economy to save money, has ever refused any urgent demand of the department. Sometimes, it may be that we may suggest to them that a particular item may be spread out. I saw the other day a very big figure for a huge wall round the whole area, mile upon mile of it, which, I suppose, is necessary because one has to protect these things; but it may be that the wall might be postponed for a little while. But we have not come in the way of the development of this department and of the work it does from the financial point of view. We do not propose to do so.

Naturally, there are certain limits beyond which we cannot go. Anyhow, we realize completely the importance of this work both in the present and even more so for the future. It is really because of that that in India and in some other countries, it is usual for the Prime Minister to be in charge of it. Not that the Prime Minister of India or any other Prime Minister is supposed to be peculiarly brilliant or suited for that purpose, but in order to show the importance attached to it. Therefore, the Prime Minister takes charge of it.

In doing atomic energy work, there is of course the side of research and there is the practical side of the application of that research. So far as research work is concerned, the Tata Institute<sup>2</sup> is the principal institute. Of course, research work is done in universities and colleges, etc. I entirely agree with an honourable Member who said that this kind of work should be encouraged in the universities, though I would add that what is necessary in the universities is a sound grounding. Sometimes there is a tendency for a person to try to do higher research work without an adequate grounding in the basic position in various sciences, specially atomic physics. That is not, I think, a very good way of proceeding but we must have a broad foundation in the universities necessarily for training in atomic physics, etc., out of which specialists will come. Apart from that, we have, as you will have seen from the printed paper that has been circulated, increased the number of people being trained by the Atomic Energy Department. I believe the present number is about 260; it will go up to about 1,000 very soon.

One must remember that this training is not some kind of simple training but rather high class training of high class men who are chosen. It is a fairly good

2. The Tata Institute of Fundamental Research was established jointly by the Government of Bombay and the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust in June 1945. The object of this Institute is to conduct research in physics, mathematics and allied sciences. Till the Atomic Energy Establishment of the Department of the Atomic Energy was created, the Department recognized the Tata Institute as the centre for all large-scale projects in which it was interested.

number which will go on growing. I think that the work we have done, both in the realm of theory and research and in practice, has not only been appreciated in various centres of atomic energy work in the world—important centres—but there have been many references to it elsewhere.

Whenever I travel abroad, I am particularly asked often enough by scientists of the countries I visit about our work. I am told by them how much they appreciate the rapid progress that we have made. Only about a month or six weeks ago, I happened to meet more than once a person who is almost the father of all this business, Prof Niels Bohr,<sup>3</sup> in Norway. He has spoken in the highest terms about our work. He has not been in India; naturally he keeps himself informed. In the field of atomic physics, he is a kind of semi-god or high guru. He is an old man who has done so much and is highly respected. He spoke in the highest terms to me about what we were doing. He was very pleased and he sought to make out that they in Norway were trying to do something which we had already done. That may be just pure compliment, but I do not think it was. It is a fact that we have done rather well. That does not mean that we should not do better.

I wanted to say this because we have got very fine young men doing this work, not a question of one or two or three top men. I am talking about the considerable number of young men, some of them quite brilliant.

Shri Tyabji<sup>4</sup> referred to Indians being abroad and asked why they were not in India. I can give him no particular answer to that except that I would like to see our noted scientists, noted Indians, come and work in India and help us in developing various important activities. So far as scientists are concerned, we have definitely tried to do so. He mentioned two names, Shri Gupta's<sup>5</sup> and Shri Chandrasekhar's.<sup>6</sup> I might inform him that in the course of the past few years we have made numerous attempts to get these gentlemen as well as others and on several occasions they had agreed to come. There has been agreement, then there has been refusal, then there has been agreement and there has been refusal. I do not want to go into details. But anyhow we are well acquainted with them, and we have made attempts to get them here. But in the totality of circumstances they prefer to remain outside even after agreeing once or twice to come; they

3. Professor of Physics, Institute of Theoretical Physics, University of Copenhagen. Nehru, in fact, met Niels Bohr at Copenhagen on 15 June 1957.

4. Saif F.B. Tyabji.

5. Suraj Narayan Gupta (b. 1924); Professor of Physics at the University of Manchester, 1951-53; Purdue University, 1953-56; Wayne State University, Detroit, 1956-61; distinguished Professor from 1961 onwards; became a US citizen, 1963.

6. Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, Marton D. Hull Distinguished Service Professor of Theoretical Astrophysics, 1952-86; was awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1983.



changed their mind. It is a little difficult for us to compel a person to come here. Of course, I can understand the conditions in India previously, Indian scientists not having enough opportunity to develop their talent or genius here and their going abroad suddenly when they got opportunities. We got no opportunities. But that can no longer be said to be so. We cannot—never in the course of the near future—compete with countries like the United States in the salaries that may be given or the other amenities that can be provided. We cannot do it. India has not got the finance. They can give very big salaries; they can afford it. But, we cannot. I recognize that the labourer is worth all his hire—rather, I mean the other way about that he should be paid enough to live, to do his work, comfortably, not with financial worries. We recognize that scientists or other people of that type should be paid adequately. That I recognize; but we cannot compete with others—and ask someone who may be getting some kind of salary in America to come here, and say: “We will give you more than that; come over here.” That we cannot do. We cannot compete in that way.

So, we do want our young men to work here, to come and work here even if they are working abroad and there is plenty of room here in our various National Laboratories—apart from universities—in our National Laboratories and other national institutions.

Then, Shri Tyabji asked, how many research papers have been contributed. Well, I could not give him the exact number. But the fact is that quite a considerable number of papers indicating research done have come out of the Tata Institute. I am told some of them are rather of a high class. Of course, it is obvious that you do not judge of an institute or of an individual by the quantity he writes but rather by the quality. A person may write a hundred papers and they may be second-rate or third-rate. Another may write ten and they may be first-rate and they may be acknowledged as such. I do not say that more cannot be done. But the fact remains that in this realm of atomic energy good work is being done in research, in theory and in practice.

The putting up of the Swimming Pool Reactor, which was opened by me last August<sup>7</sup>—to which we gave, I think, a very proper name ‘Apsara’—was built entirely by Indian scientists and Indian engineers and that was a good piece of work. Now, two other reactors are being built, the Canada-Indian reactor and the other one.

I believe, in our research work at the Tata Institute, among other things, at least one new elementary particle has been discovered. At the Institute, at least one new decay process for an elementary particle has been discovered, apart from helping in establishing a number of other processes. The Tata Research

7. On 4 August 1956. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, pp. 197-200.

Institute, the Institute of Fundamental Research, is recognized the world over as one of the leading research institutes in mathematics and physics.

An honourable Member asked something about fellowships. I am told that there had been a response to fellowships for Indians offering Rs 200 to Rs 400 per mensem. But there has been no response to fellowships for foreigners. This is because the amounts are much less than those offered by other countries. It is, I believe, intended to raise these amounts.

The Atomic Energy Department is planning for the next fifteen years looking ahead. We have uranium here, though not at present in very large quantities. But, we have vast quantities of thorium. Thorium is of big importance and can be used for working reactors, but only in the second stage. In order to reach the second stage, you have to go through the first stage with uranium reactors. And, it has become necessary, therefore, to start with these natural uranium reactors so that later you may get to the next stage of thorium which you have fairly in abundance, not only in Kerala, as we all know, but, even more so than there, in Bihar now.

There is one aspect which I should like to mention, which has some kind of political bearing. That is, how necessary it is for us not to depend too much on outside sources. If we depend too much for fissionable material or the rest, then, inevitably, that dependence may affect us; or other people may try to affect our foreign policy or any other policy through that dependence. It is not good, in a sense, to depend on others. That is why, when discussions took place about the formation of what is called the International Agency for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, we had this specially in mind. If we have to depend too much on some central pool which contains these very special fissionable materials like Uranium 235, Plutonium 233, to be used for future atom bomb programmes, then we have to submit to all kinds of safeguards. These very things are necessary to make the atom bombs. We do not now make atom bombs or anything like that. In fact, we have declared quite clearly that we are not interested in and we will not make these bombs, even if we have the capacity to do so and that in no event will we use atomic energy for those most destructive purposes.

I declared that and I was quite sure in doing that that I represented every Member of this House. And, I hope that will be the policy of all future governments whoever is in charge. But, anyhow, the fact remains that if you develop adequately and get these fissionable materials and if you have got the resources, then you can make a bomb too, unless the world has been wise enough to come to some decision previously to stop this kind of production of bombs.

Therefore, there is a grave danger that if this fissionable material is kept in the hands of a particular agency which is more or less controlled by a particular



group of powers—all other countries to that extent are dependent—what might be called atomic colonialism might grow up. Something of that type. One wants to avoid it. Of course, one can never wholly avoid the fact that a strong country is strong and a weak country is weak and a country financially or militarily strong throws its weight about and does throw it about. But, nevertheless, we do not want that, as far as possible, to come into this.

There was some reference to one or two other matters. One thing was about the Travancore Minerals Company Limited. This Company was established by an agreement between the Government of India and the Travancore-Cochin Government to take over the Travancore Minerals Concern and was operated by the T.C. Government so as to improve production methods and increase the production. The shares of the company are held in equal amounts by the Central and the T.C. Governments. It is run by a board of directors—these are the old rules—comprising three representatives of the Government and three representatives of that Government with a Chairman nominated by the Government of India. Dr John Matthai<sup>8</sup> was appointed the Chairman of the Company.

Now, since the redistribution of the States, what has happened is this. After the partition of the T.C. State, the southern part, Chavara (Quilon), is with the Travancore-Cochin State whereas the other part, Manavalakkurichi, passed to the Madras Government. The former company has been taken over in essence by the new company, that is, Kerala Company. The Madras Government want one of the Travancore-Cochin directorships on the board while the Kerala Government is of the view that that directorship should be in addition. The Government of India has agreed to the Madras Government in this matter, because the Government of India's share has not been affected by these changes; it is the same. It is the other's share which has been divided up and, therefore, it seems reasonable and logical that the Madras Government should share in that. This matter has been negotiated.

I do not want to take up any more time of the House. I am sorry if I have forgotten to reply to any particular point. Much has been said about the use of atomic energy, isotopes, etc., being used for medical, agricultural and other purposes. Naturally, they are being used and we help in every way; they will be used. There is no difference on that. I believe considerable progress is being made in that respect and I can assure the House that the Atomic Energy Department is fully alive to its responsibilities and the Government also realizes the importance of the Atomic Energy Department and the work it is doing.

8. A former Union Minister of Finance.

## 2. To Homi J. Bhabha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 26, 1957

My dear Homi,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 25th July about your inaugurating a convention to be held in Delhi against nuclear test explosions, etc. I am quite sure that you should not inaugurate this. In any event, you should not do it as Secretary of the Department of Atomic Energy, and also by virtue of your position as a leading scientist. You must not get mixed up in these mixed conventions. I am having nothing to do with it.

I have got your note also about the Press report to the effect that the UK Prime Minister has refused to publish the report of the British Medical Research Council on nuclear tests. Perhaps, you could write to your friends in England and ask them for a copy to be sent to you privately for your information.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy since 1954.



## VI. EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### 1. To D.P. Karmarkar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
1st May, 1957

My dear Karmarkar,<sup>2</sup>

I forgot to mention to you today one matter which has been in my mind, that is, the future of the Lady Hardinge College.<sup>3</sup>

You know there has been a good deal of agitation about this. I shall not say that the agitation is baseless, but I do think it has been rather exaggerated. Much can be said for both sides of the question. I am myself inclined to think that the proposals made to admit a number of men students to the College is a good one.

The chief argument raised against this is that there should be another Medical College in Delhi open to both men and women and that the Lady Hardinge College should continue to function as it is. The immediate answer to this is that there is no prospect whatever of money being found for another Medical College in Delhi. As you know, we are very hard up at present and we are reducing our commitments. We cannot possibly think of adding to them. Even if some time in the future we can spare money for a new Medical College, the question would be where it should be situated. Many States would demand such colleges and we shall have to balance various claims.

Anyhow, there is no prospect of another College in Delhi in the foreseeable future and it is from that point of view that we should look at this question. I have met numerous deputations on this subject. One of them was from Delhi

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Health, 1957-62.

3. On 7 March 1957, Amrit Kaur, Union Health Minister announced that the Government had decided to make the Lady Hardinge College co-educational. This sparked off an agitation within the College against the decision to admit boys into an exclusively women's college and hospital, and the adverse effect it might have on the women studying and working in the premises.

doctors. I believe they ultimately agreed that this proposal might be proceeded with, provided it did not come in the way of future developments as they envisaged. I think your Ministry wrote to me of some kind of an agreement with them.

As you must have heard, someone has gone to the law courts about this matter and asked for an injunction or something of that kind.<sup>4</sup> In view of this, we should await the result of this effort.

It is quite likely that you will have to deal with questions in Parliament in regard to the Lady Hardinge College. I should say in answer to them that the matter having been taken to the law courts, it is not desirable to deal with it in answer to questions.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Appearing in the circuit court on 20 May 1957, on behalf of the Government, in a writ petition filed by four medical practitioners challenging the Centre's notification seeking to convert the Lady Hardinge Medical College into a co-educational institution, C.K. Daphtary, Solicitor General, submitted that until the final disposal of the petition both the college and the hospital attached to it would continue to be used exclusively for women and children.

## 2. Higher Education for African Students<sup>1</sup>

I send my good wishes to the Conference of the African Students' Association of India, which is going to be held at Kharagpur. It has been a great pleasure to me to welcome in India a number of students from Africa for higher education. Africa today is going through the travail of a new birth. This is both a painful and an exhilarating experience. Every individual and every country has to pay

1. Message to the fifth Annual Conference of the African Students' Association of India, 2 May 1957. File No. 9/2/57-PMS. The conference was held on 15 May 1957.



the price of freedom and growth. I have no doubt that the countries of Africa will emerge in freedom, as some have already done. As free countries, they will have to face a different set of problems than they do today, and these problems will be difficult. It is of great importance, therefore, that young Africans should train themselves now so as to be able to shoulder these burdens and responsibilities of freedom later. It is from this point of view that I have particularly welcomed the coming of African students to India for various kinds of training.

They will receive this training in our various institutes of higher education. But, there is something which is not easily taught in books or lectures, and yet which is very important for those who aim high and who may have to shoulder great responsibilities. I do not know how far India will help them to acquire this strengthening of the moral fibre, intellectual integrity and a vision which looks ahead beyond the difficulties of the moment. We ourselves, in India, are facing many difficulties, and our young men and women are often a little frustrated or in doubt. In this age of transition and change, when all of us have been pulled out of the old ways and have not yet found a new equilibrium, these doubts are not surprising. Yet, unless we find some anchor within ourselves, we cannot achieve great things.

In India today, much is being done. But, I imagine that, perhaps, something of the greatest interest of our African friends will be the community development movement here. I am glad to know that at the Conference at Kharagpur, the subject of community development is going to be specially discussed.

### 3. To N. Sanjiva Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

May 6, 1957

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,<sup>2</sup>

I have had a visit from Shri G.N. Nagarajam of Hyderabad, who told me about some excavations in search for hidden treasure which apparently belonged to

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

the old Vijayanagaram Kings. I referred him to my Principal Private Secretary,<sup>3</sup> who went through all his papers. After that, I looked through these papers.

It appears that permission was given to Nagarajam for excavation at Alampur in the ruins of Srishaila temple. This was to be done in the presence of the Director of Archaeology of Hyderabad. The excavation started in October 1956 and a number of old coins and other articles of archaeological importance were discovered. Further excavations were apparently stopped for lack of funds.

In February 1957, the Andhra Pradesh Government gave him permission to begin this work again and to finish it within a week, during which period he had to show adequate results to enable Government to decide whether further excavations should continue or not. Nagarajam did not accept this condition, as he felt it would not be possible to finish the work in a week's time. Also he apparently wanted a police force to keep guard over any possible discovery of treasure.

During the work of excavation that has already been done, a large number of photographs, about 320, were taken which give some idea of the place and the possibility of finding something there.

It is not for me to say whether there is much likelihood of finding any treasure there. The possibility cannot be ruled out. In any event, a place which is of archaeological interest deserves excavation. So far as I can understand, this work is not of a very elaborate nature involving heavy expenditure. Probably the expenditure would be a few thousand rupees only. On the whole it seems to me very desirable that this excavation should be undertaken on the part of Government. There are private parties who are prepared to do it, but I do not like the idea of entrusting this work to private parties who may be prepared even to finance it. Naturally Nagarajam should be closely associated with it.

There is a Treasure Trove Act which lays down that those finding treasure trove would be given suitable rewards. But it would be better, I think, for Government to take charge of this matter and to pay the expenses incurred including some allowance to Nagarajam. If any substantial treasure is found, an adequate reward may be given to him later.

It does seem to me that this is worthwhile and I should like you to take some personal interest in it. I am perfectly prepared to ask the Archaeological Department of India to undertake this work directly, should you so wish, but it would be better for the Andhra Government to do it with such help as you like us to give. The financial aspect is not at all important, as not much money is involved, and, if you like, the Central Government can advance some money for it, though that appears to be hardly necessary at this stage.



I think also that it would be advisable to have a police guard there.

I should like you to send me a complete set of the photographs taken of these excavations. We shall show them to our Director General of Archaeology<sup>4</sup> and take his advice about them.

Will you please look into this matter and see Nāgarajam? I am suggesting to him that he should meet you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Amalananda Ghosh, Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, 1953-68.

#### 4. To C.M. Trivedi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 6, 1957

My dear Trivedi,<sup>2</sup>

I enclose a copy of a letter I have written to Sanjiva Reddy. I find from the papers that this man, Nagarajam, has seen you. So you must know something about this. I am rather surprised at the lack of interest of the Andhra Government in this matter. To suggest to the man to show results within a week was hardly a practical proposition.

We need not be optimistic about this, but it is certainly worth exploring and spending a few thousand rupees. Apart from anything else, even from the archaeological point of view, this might be worthwhile.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Governor of Andhra Pradesh.

## 5. To C. Subramaniam<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 9, 1957

My dear Subramaniam,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 7th May.<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to you and your Government for the change you have made in the proposed location of the Technological Institute. I am sure that you have done a service to the City of Madras by preserving the Raj Bhavan Estate. As I wrote previously,<sup>4</sup> I think that this Estate, except for, let us say fifty acres, round about Raj Bhavan itself, or even less, should be converted into a regular public park with one part of it preserved for children.

There is no doubt now, I suppose, that the Technological Institute will be situated at Madras.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(114)/57-PMS.

2. Minister for Finance and Education, Government of Madras.

3. Subramaniam stated that the Madras Government had reconsidered the proposal to locate the Indian Institute of Technology, Madras, in the grounds of the Raj Bhavan Estate in Guindy, keeping in mind Nehru's wishes that a large part of the Estate should be reserved for a public park. This was possible, noted Subramaniam, by the acquisition of private lands in the two villages adjoining the Raj Bhavan Estate. From the Estate itself, which comprised of 1,272 acres, only some 200 acres were being acquired.

4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, pp. 193-194 and 196-197.



## 6. Statues of the British Period<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Chair has ruled out this motion, as I understand it. I need not say anything about it, because, if I may say so with all respect, it has no relevancy here in this context. I would venture to point out to the honourable Member that, apart from the context of the adjournment motion, he makes a very large assumption in this House, on behalf of the people of Uttar Pradesh, that of all the honourable Members here who represent Uttar Pradesh, he alone is the representative! But, as far as this subject is concerned not the adjournment motion but the larger question must necessarily interest him and all the honourable Members of this House and others. If you, Sir, would permit me to say a few words as to what our policy is, I shall proceed. Our policy is...

Vijayram Raju:<sup>2</sup> The Prime Minister is making a statement without the House knowing what is the adjournment motion which I have tabled. I would like the adjournment motion to be read clearly and then the Prime Minister may make the point.

Mr Speaker: ... I have explained to the House the gist of this adjournment motion. The adjournment motion says that all the people in Uttar Pradesh are very much agitated about this statue business and so on.<sup>3</sup> I need not read all the details. The honourable Member says that satyagraha is going on regarding the removal of statues and that the Uttar Pradesh Government says, "We have no accommodation here." An adjournment motion must relate to the failure of the Government here to take action. The failure of the Government does not lie in not providing accommodation for the statues!

JN: I was venturing, Sir, to place before the House what the general policy of Government is in regard to this question of statues put up during the period of the British rule in various parts of India. There are various kinds of statues; some may be considered historical, some may be considered artistic and some may be considered, well, rather offensive in themselves, and of various types. Our general attitude has been, first of all, to remove such as might be considered

1. 13 May 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. I, Second Series, 10-22 May 1957, cols 72-74. Extracts.
2. P.V.G. Raju, Socialist Party member of Lok Sabha from Vishakapatnam, Andhra Pradesh.
3. On 11 May, clashes occurred between the police and a number of demonstrators in Varanasi, who were attempting to dismantle a statue of Queen Victoria. This attempt was part of a campaign to remove the statues of several former British rulers launched by the Socialist Party in Uttar Pradesh in connection with the centenary of the revolt of 1857.

offensive, and that too, gradually without making too much fuss and without doing anything to raise ill will between countries. We have removed some of those statues and we propose to continue doing that. There are those which have been historically significant without causing offence; we shall also remove them and put them in historic museums. There are those that are not important historically or artistically. I do not know what we will do with them; if somebody else wants them, we will make a present of them. In particular, regarding such statues as may be considered in a sense offensive to our national sentiment, we have taken them up and we do propose to take them up; we wish to do all this in a manner so as not to create international ill will and raise up old questions which are dead and gone....

I may mention to this House that these are not all statues. There are numerous paintings, some of high artistic value. Sometimes we have exchanged them for valuable articles of Indian art. So, we proceed in this way to benefit ourselves as far as possible and not to be burdened by them.

## 7. Policy Regarding Foreign Statues<sup>1</sup>

This morning in the Lok Sabha I made a brief statement in regard to foreign statues in Delhi as well as in other parts of India.<sup>2</sup> Briefly, I said that these statues can be put in various groups:

1. Those that have some historical importance;
2. Those that have artistic importance;
3. Those which have neither historical nor artistic importance; and
4. Those which are offensive to Indian sentiment.

In the course of the last few years, we had in fact removed a number of old statues and we would continue this process. But we were anxious to do this without any fuss and without creating any international ill will. Statues of historical or artistic importance, we would probably keep, though where we will keep them is a matter for us to consider. But such statues as in any way offend national sentiment will be the first to be removed.

1. Note to the Union Home Minister, 13 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. See the previous item.



I suggest that we might give consideration to this last group of statues, that is, those that offend national sentiment. In particular, this matter might be looked at from the point of view of the rising of 1857-58. Some statues have been put up in Delhi and elsewhere of persons who are known to have committed atrocities on the Indian population. Perhaps you will be good enough to draw the attention of the Delhi authorities to this matter, as there are likely to be some such statues here. In some other parts of India also, notably the UP, there might be some such statues. I think that these should be removed in the course of the next two months or so, that is, before August.<sup>3</sup> There need be no particular difficulty as to where we should place them. Some open space preferably around a museum can be found for them.

I remember that the Governor of West Bengal<sup>4</sup> wrote some time ago to the President about various such statues in Calcutta and she said that arrangements were being made to remove them, probably to the grounds of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

3. The Government of Uttar Pradesh gave orders on 14 July that all British statues in the State should be removed by 15 August, the tenth anniversary of Indian Independence.
4. Padmaja Naidu was Governor of West Bengal, 1956-67.

## 8. The Sanskrit Language<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister welcomed the members of the Commission and said that he was glad to have this opportunity of discussing with the members in a general way some of the problems which the Commission must have examined closely during their travels in India and abroad. He said that the first question was how far Sanskrit should be a subject of study in our schools and colleges. The Prime Minister himself felt that Sanskrit was the basis of Indian civilization and, therefore, he would like to encourage a thorough study of this language and not merely its superficial study. Over a hundred and fifty years ago, there used to be a controversy in England between classical teaching and scientific teaching. All

1. Minutes of a meeting of the Sanskrit Commission, New Delhi, 14 May 1957. JN Collection. The commission was set up by the Government of India on 1 October 1956, "to consider the question of the present state of Sanskrit Education in all its aspects."

that had changed now. This was the age of technical and scientific learning. But it was a pity that it was only technical learning without humanities. The Prime Minister felt that this did not lead to a proper development of the human being. While, in the modern world, a study of humanities alone might lead to the development of a good man and a great mind, that man will somehow not fit in with the modern world at all. He was, therefore, of the view that some kind of a balance was necessary between scientific and technical knowledge and a study of humanities. Scientific training or knowledge as such was not opposed to Sanskrit or classics. The Prime Minister felt that, in keeping with the spirit of the times, it was necessary and desirable that along with technical subjects, humanities should also be taught. In this connection, the Prime Minister referred to the example of Professor Einstein, who was a great scientist, but who was also a highly cultured man. Professor Einstein had said, "Atomic energy is very dangerous and atom bomb cannot be controlled by atom bomb; it can only be controlled by human mind and heart."

2. The Prime Minister said that today in India we were going through a process of industrialization. The very outlook of India was bound to become technical. It would not therefore be a part of the growing life of the country if Sanskrit remained as it was.

3. Dr S.K. Chatterji,<sup>2</sup> the Chairman of the Commission, said that a suggestion had been made to the Commission that there should be some schools where the medium of instruction should be Sanskrit, so that we might later have Sanskrit colleges and Sanskrit universities. To this, the Prime Minister replied that the difficulty was that the students who came out of these schools and colleges would not find suitable employment. At best they could only become professors of Sanskrit. The Prime Minister, therefore, felt that before such a step was taken, it was necessary to produce a large number of modern books in Sanskrit which, obviously, was a very difficult proposition. If the medium of instruction was Sanskrit, or even if it was any other Indian language, nobody could make any progress in the technological and scientific field without having a good knowledge of some of the foreign languages. To learn technical subjects through the medium of Sanskrit, would involve considerable labour which would not be worthwhile.

2. Suniti Kumar Chatterji (1890-1977); litterateur; National Professor of Humanities; Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics in Calcutta University, 1922-52; visiting Professor, School of South Asia Studies, Pennsylvania University, Philadelphia, USA, 1951-52; Chairman, Sanskrit Commission, 1956-57, Padma Bhushan 1955, and Padma Vibhushan, 1963, author of, *Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, 1926, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, 1960.



4. Dr Chatterji enquired why our Embassies abroad did not have suitably qualified persons to interpret our culture to countries where people were greatly interested in Indian culture. While the Prime Minister agreed that it would be a good thing to send such persons to foreign countries, especially in the East, it was not enough if such persons only knew Sanskrit or old Indian culture; it was necessary that they should fit in with the new environments.

5. Another suggestion made was that some of the outstanding works produced by Indian scholars and universities should be exhibited in the Indian cultural exhibitions that were held in foreign countries. The Prime Minister explained that, although some good books were made available to our Embassies abroad for their libraries, the difficulty was that most of the exhibitions which were organized were trade exhibitions and mostly handicrafts were exhibited there. The Prime Minister, therefore, felt that to promote the sale of good Indian books, and more especially Government of India publications, there should be regular foreign agents for Indian books. Moreover, just as we have Chinese and Soviet bookshops in India, there should also be Indian bookshops in some of the more important foreign countries.

6. Dr Chatterji pointed out that it was unfortunate that although there was a large collection of old Sanskrit manuscripts and other material, it was all in the custody of some people—Rajas and Maharajas—who had locked it up, perhaps with the idea of making money by selling it to foreigners. Dr Chatterji enquired whether some steps could not be taken to persuade these Maharajas to hand over the manuscripts for the benefit of the country. The Prime Minister said that the first thing to do was to prepare a list of all Sanskrit books and manuscripts. We should of course persuade the Maharajas to hand over these manuscripts but the problem was not so easy as most of them were reluctant to part with the manuscripts as they hoped to make some money out of them.

7. The Prime Minister also mentioned that he had had an occasion to talk to the Dalai Lama about Tibetan manuscripts and that he (the Dalai Lama) had expressed his willingness to give every facility in the matter.<sup>3</sup>

To a question by Dr Raghavan<sup>4</sup> about the India Office Library, the Prime Minister said that the difficulty was that the attitude of Pakistan had not been very helpful. Although an offer had been made to Pakistan that we would keep

3. This was during the Dalai Lama's visit to India in November-December 1956. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 37, pp. 504-505.

4. Venkataraman Raghavan (1908-1979); litterateur; member and later President of Sahitya Akademi and Sangeet Natak Akademi; member, Sanskrit Commission, Central Sanskrit Board, and Bhandarkar Research Institute, Pune; President of Madras Natya Sangh and Sanskrit Ranga; editor of, *Sanskrit Pratibha*, *Journal of Oriental Research* and *The Journal of Music Academy*.

the Library but would give her the price of one-third of all the books and manuscripts and also give micro-filmed copies of all the documents, Pakistan did not agree.

9. The Prime Minister suggested that the Commission in their Report might perhaps refer to:

- (i) the necessity of making a full list of all Sanskrit books and manuscripts in India and abroad; and
- (ii) the places, including the Princely houses and Jain *maths* where such material was kept.

A suggestion could then be made that this material should be made available to scholars for research.

10. The Prime Minister referred to the Sahitya Akademi about which there was a reference in the questionnaire prepared and circulated by the Commission. He said that the Government had recently started a National Book Trust.<sup>5</sup> The idea was to issue books in large numbers and in cheap editions, so that they might reach as large a section of the population as possible. The private publishers today did not publish cheap editions, but they criticized the Government for publishing books which were priced low. While it was not the intention of the Government to come in the way of private publishers, it was necessary:

- (i) that classical books in any language should be published in cheap editions for large circulation; and
- (ii) that the reading habit in India should be developed.

People read only when they get cheap books. Once they get into the habit of reading, private publishers are also benefitted.

11. Dr Raghavan felt that it was wrong to have abolished the title of 'Mahamahopadhyaya'. It was not a British title, but an ancient distinction enjoyed by Sanskrit scholars. Dr Chatterji further explained that during their travels in India, they had discovered that many learned people in Sanskrit—Mahamahopadhyayas—had been so far neglected and had not been shown the respect due to them. These people did not care so much for money as for respect and they felt elated when the Commission asked them for their opinions. They would, therefore, recommend that the title of 'Mahamahopadhyaya' should be revived and that its recipients should be given a pension of, say, Rs 1,200/- per annum. The Prime Minister suggested that the Commission might write a separate letter to the Government on this subject, but he felt that this need not be mentioned in the Commission's Report.

5. The National Book Trust was set up in 1957 with the object of encouraging the production of good literature and making such works available at moderate prices to libraries, educational institutions and the public.



## 9. To B.V. Keskar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 14, 1957

My dear Balkrishna,  
I enclose a letter I have received.<sup>2</sup>

I have been rather worried at the progressive disappearance of Western music from India. Bombay is practically the only centre left, where this is encouraged. I think that Indian music will profit by contacts with Western music.

I know nothing about the person who has written this letter. But, as there appear to be few Indians who have studied Western music, I feel a little interested in him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. The sender was from Adi J. Desai of Mumbai.

## 10. Pricing of Indian Publications<sup>1</sup>

I agree that if the Ministry of Education find some difficulty in making a grant, this matter should be put up before the Sahitya Akademi.<sup>2</sup>

1. Note to the Secretary, Sahitya Akademi, 16 May 1957. File No. 40(121)/57-PMS.
2. This referred to the reprinting of the *Bangiya Sabdakosh* by Haricharan Bandhopadhyay, an ex-teacher of Santiniketan. The book, first published in 1945 was out of print and therefore Bandhopadhyay had approached the Visva-Bharati publishing department to reprint the book. Visva-Bharati wanted the Government of India and the West Bengal Government to equally subsidize the publication with financial assistance. K.R. Kripalani, Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi stated in his note of 3 May 1957 that if Visva-Bharati was unable to publish the book, "I shall gladly place the matter before the...Executive Board and propose that, as desired by the President (Nehru), the Sahitya Akademi may consider publishing it."

2. I think, however, that it is wholly wrong policy to price these books at such a low figure as twenty rupees. A small novel in England now costs anything from ten rupees to fifteen rupees. Any literary work usually costs double this sum. A dictionary of this type, if published in England, would probably be at least three guineas or four guineas.<sup>3</sup>

3. Such a dictionary would have a sale outside India. Various libraries in other countries would take it up. There is no reason why we should supply it to them at a low price. It has, unfortunately, been our habit to price our publications at much too low a price and then convert them into their equivalents in dollars or sterling. In America and England, this price is absurdly low.

4. I also think that it would be wrong to print only 1,100 copies. Considerably more copies should be printed. There might be some additional cost, but that will be worthwhile. I think that a good part of it will be recovered from sales.

5. My suggestion, therefore, is that more copies should be printed; perhaps, 2,500. But, that is for them to decide. Secondly, that the price should be much more. It may be stated, however, that the book will be supplied at reduced rates to libraries or worthwhile institutions in India.

3. The first edition of *Bangiya Sabdakosh* was published in 1945 in five volumes and was priced at Rs 7.50 each. The second edition was published by the Sahitya Akademi in 1978 in two volumes priced at Rs 100 each.

## 11. To Saif F.B. Tyabji<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

May 29, 1957

My dear Tyabji,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of today and the book you have sent me. The pictures in the book are good.

Your comment and warning are certainly justified; but I think you have been too hard on the bullock cart. There is nothing wrong about a bullock cart.

1. JN Collection.

2. Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Bombay State.



I think a great deal of good work has been done in preserving these old temples; but no doubt much remains. It is exceedingly difficult to restore many of these temples. We have discussed about some of them previously. We have in fact taken up a very big job of restoration at Nagarjunakonda, the ancient city in the South.

I am sending your letter to Maulana Azad.

Your book is being returned.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 12. To G.S. Malkote<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 29, 1957

My dear Malkote,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 29th May.<sup>3</sup>

I am glad to learn of the success of the proposal made by Mir Akbar Ali Khan.<sup>4</sup> You know that, normally, we are not in a position to add any new projects to the Second Five Year Plan. It is difficult enough to carry on with those for

1. File No. 9/5/57-PMS.

2. Member of Lok Sabha from Hyderabad.

3. Malkote wrote that Akbar Ali Khan, a Rajya Sabha MP from Hyderabad, had donated a sum of Rs 50,000 and seven acres of land near the Osmania University campus towards the cost of establishing a polytechnic at Hyderabad and that the Government of Andhra Pradesh had promised to participate in its non-recurring and recurring expenditure under the Second Five Year Plan. Malkote added that it was the earnest desire of the primary donor as well as trustees appointed by him that the institution be named as "The Nehru Polytechnic."

4. Participated in the national movement in 1921; joined the Congress in 1949; member, Rajya Sabha, 1954-66; Governor, Uttar Pradesh, 1972-74 and Orissa, 1974-76; Vice-President, Municipal Corporation, Hyderabad; Member, Senate and Council of Osmania University.

which we have undertaken a responsibility. But if the new project casts no burden at all, financial or other, on the resources of the Plan, then of course it is welcome.

As for your naming the institution after me, I would beg of you not to do so. I have repeatedly declared that these personal names should not be attached to public institutions. I feel rather strongly about it. We can only deal with this matter as a question of principle; otherwise personal considerations arise as to which name to choose and which name not to choose and this creates difficulties. Whatever slight initial advantage you may have by the association of my name will be very much counterbalanced by the disadvantages. So I hope that you and Akbar Ali Khan will give up this idea.

I do not usually like to be connected with institutions. But should you and Akbar Ali Khan so desire, you can have some honorary connection with me, such as making me a patron or something like that.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 13. To Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 4, 1957

My dear Maulana,<sup>2</sup>

You may remember a book that was published some time ago on the Moghal Architecture of India and later another book on *Indian Temple Sculpture*. I think that one or both of these books were published in the name of the Lalit Kala Akademi.<sup>3</sup> In effect, it was Shri A. Goswami who edited and produced those books. You were good enough, I think, to sanction a grant of Rs 10,000/- to Mr Goswami for the book on Moghal Architecture. A number of copies of the book were subsequently given to the Education Ministry for distribution in exchange for this grant.

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister for Education.

3. The Lalit Kala Akademi was set up in August 1954 by the Government of India with the aim to promote the study of and research in painting, sculpture, architecture and applied arts.



I do not quite know if a grant was given for *Indian Temple Sculpture*. Probably it was given.

Mr Goswami has been working hard for about a year or so on another book called "Indian Peoples and Festivals". This is a more ambitious book and contains a large number of fine pictures. He mentioned this to me some months ago and today he came again and showed me a number of the pictures of this book. They were good. He wants assistance for the publication of this book as in the case of some other of his books. I shall be grateful if you will kindly see him and look at these pictures and thus form some idea of the book.

I am reluctant at this time of grave financial stringency to suggest any kind of a grant to be made by your Ministry. It is entirely for you to decide if this can be done. If it is done, then I would suggest that the old procedure be followed and the book be published by the Lalit Kala Akademi. I understand that the States of Bombay, Madras, UP and Madhya Pradesh have already given him some money to meet these expenses of publication. In exchange they will receive copies of the book.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

#### 14. To Sumitra Charat Ram<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 4, 1957

Dear Sumitra,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter dated 13th May has just reached me. I do not know why it has taken so long.

I am glad to know that the Bharatiya Kala Kendra is organizing a Ballet of Ramlila. I think this is a very good idea.

1. JN Collection.

2. (b. 1914); founder, Shriram Bharatiya Kala Kendra, 1952; member, managing committee, National Council of Sri Aurobindo Society; Member, Advisory Committee, Doordarshan, Delhi Development Authority, Sahitya Kala Parishad, and Red Cross Society of India.

I do not like to accept engagements far ahead, more especially of this type. But I must say that I feel I must make an exception to this. If I am in Delhi, as I shall probably be, I shall be present on your opening day, September 12. I do not understand what you mean by inauguration. I think it is all wrong to have speeches and the like on such occasions. All I can do is to be present. This is of course subject to some unforeseen development which might prevent my presence in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 15. To Mohammad Mujeeb<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 10, 1957

My dear Mujeeb,<sup>2</sup>  
Your letter of 7th June.

If Maulana Saheb can arrange to give you help to produce your play,<sup>3</sup> your difficulty should end. But I do not myself like the idea of no payment being made to authors, producers, actors, assistants, etc. You may, if you like and if there is a surplus, give it to the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund. But it would be improper to exploit all the people concerned with it in this way.

I am sorry I cannot make a grant for this purpose from the PM's Relief Fund.

I should like the play to be produced. I do not understand how *Jana Gana Mana* suddenly comes in at the end. Is that not rather inappropriate?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Vice-Chancellor, Jamia Millia Islamia.

3. Perhaps the reference is to *Dusri Sham*, a one act play written in 1956 by Mohammad Mujeeb.



## 16. To Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 26, 1957

My dear Maulana,

About a month ago there was a press release on behalf of the Government of India. This dealt with foreign exchange release for people going abroad. Reference was made in this, among other things, to students going abroad and it was stated that exchange facilities will be granted to those who proceed abroad for university or high technical education, provided they have secured at least 50 per cent of marks in the examination which qualifies them for entry in a foreign institution. Further that foreign exchange will not be released to people going for other courses.

I quite understand and appreciate the reasons limiting foreign exchange for Indian students going abroad. But I feel that the test laid down is not a happy one. To say that they should have secured 50 per cent of marks has no particular meaning unless one knows a particular examination or the university where these marks were obtained. I can give instances of 50 or 60 per cent of marks obtained in a particular university, which is not of a high standard, not meaning much. On the other hand in a high standard university a person who gets even 35 per cent may be a better person. There is likely to be the danger of some universities actually lowering their standards in order to show that a person getting 50 per cent or more is thus enabled to go abroad.

Apart from this, I am not quite sure if the system of judging by marks in a particular examination is really helpful. I know one of our most brilliant mathematician and physicist who got a third class in mathematics in one of his examinations in India. Later he topped the list in an examination in a foreign country.

While it is right that we should not encourage students to go for unimportant courses of study or just for having a good time, I feel that there should be a certain laxity in regard to subjects which may be worthwhile, apart from technical studies. I am all for technical studies, but life is not quite limited to them and young students, who are quite good, may have different urges.

1. File No. (37) (61)/57-PMS.

I would not urge anything which hits our foreign exchange, but I do not suppose it would make any major difference if a few students who are otherwise good were allowed to go abroad. In any event I think that the test of 50 per cent marks may well prove not only a bad test but lead to harmful practices.

I am sending a copy of this to the Finance Minister.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

## 17. To Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 27, 1957

My dear Maulana,

I wrote to you yesterday<sup>2</sup> about the test for students going abroad, and I suggested that fifty per cent marks would be a misleading test. This is partly because standards of different universities are not the same and partly because a person may not do so well in an examination and yet may have considerable capacity.

I have been enquiring into the post-graduate students who are being admitted for further training in Atomic Energy subjects. The selection is made very carefully and chiefly depends on an interview, which consists of a long oral examination by selection committees consisting chiefly of technical people. University degrees are considered but no great importance is attached to the class obtained.

1. File No. 37(61)/57-PMS.

2. See the previous item.



On my enquiry, Dr Bhabha has sent me the attached paper which shows that they have often chosen students who had obtained second class or even third class, in preference to those who obtained a first class.<sup>3</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

3. Giving his observations on the selection procedure for admission of post-graduate students to the training programme of the Department of Atomic Energy, Homi Bhabha stated in his note of 27 July, "Admissions cannot be made merely on the basis of university degrees since we have found in the past that many first classes are quite useless, both by education and by natural talent, while many second classes are often abler and know more. Not only is there a wide discrepancy between the standards of different universities but even within an university."

## 18. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 28, 1957

My dear Prakasa,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of July 21 about the Duke of Wellington's<sup>3</sup> portrait, etc.

In exchange for the Duke's portrait which was sent from Madras, we got the relics of Tipu.<sup>4</sup> We also got a number of rather valuable sketches which apparently had been in the possession of Tipu. They were left in England to be cleaned up, bound or framed by the Victoria and Albert Museum and then sent to India. I do not think they have arrived here yet.

1. File No. 40(89)/56-58-PMS.

2. Governor of Bombay.

3. Arthur Wellesley, the first Duke of Wellington.

4. Also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, p. 83 and Vol. 37, p. 564.

As for the other portrait, that of the Marquis of Wellesley,<sup>5</sup> we shall hold on to it for the present. It is a better portrait than the other. We can use it in future for some other valuable exchange.

I really do not know what to tell you about presenting some portrait to the Poona University. As you say, there was absolutely no need for Mahtab<sup>6</sup> to give a promise. But since the promise has been given and the Maharashtrians are sometimes a little difficult in such matters, we may have to give a portrait.

I do not want you to return the portrait of the Marquis of Wellesley to the Poona University. It is much too good and it will be spoiled there and we may need it later. Indeed I would suggest that it should not be kept in a godown where it may get spoiled.

Are you by any chance suggesting that I should make provision for payment for a portrait of Shivaji or some other leader for the Poona University? I do not quite know where this money would come from.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

5. Richard Colley Wellesley (1760-1842); British Statesman; Earl of Mornington, 1781; Lord of the Treasury, 1786; Member of the Board of Control, East India Company, 1793; Privy Councillor, 1793; made Baron Wellesley, 1797; Governor of Madras, 1797, Governor-General of India, 1798-1805; Ambassador extraordinary to Spain in 1809; Foreign Secretary, 1809-12; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1821-28 and 1833-34; Lord Steward of the Household, 1832-33; Lord Chamberlain, 1835, retired 1835.
6. Hare Krushna Mahtab, Governor of Bombay, 1955-56.



## 19. To Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 30, 1957

My dear Maulana,

I have received another letter from Dr P.S. Gill<sup>2</sup> of the Aligarh University. I enclose this letter in original.

As you probably know, he is not only Professor of Physics at Aligarh, but is also in special charge of the High Altitude Observatory at Gulmarg, in Kashmir.<sup>3</sup> This observatory is run jointly by Aligarh University and the Kashmir University. Among other work, this observatory is dealing with the International Geophysical Year. It would be unfortunate if all this work suffered because of these internal conflicts.

I do not understand why the University authorities should insist on putting in second-rate men. This would mean the ruin of the work and no first-rate man will cooperate with them.

I do not know what can be done in this matter, but I am drawing your attention to it in case it is possible to do something to avert the collapse of this High Altitude Observatory as well as the Physics Department of the Aligarh University.<sup>4</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Professor of Physics, Aligarh Muslim University, 1949-63; director, Gulmarg Research Observatory, 1951-71.

3. Established in 1951 by P.S. Gill.

4. Nehru, on the same day, wrote to P.S. Gill: "I am sorry to learn that conditions are not good and in fact are deteriorating. You will appreciate that as Prime Minister, I cannot directly interfere. The Education Minister can do something, but even he, to some extent, is limited in his authority in such internal matters of the University."

## VII. HEALTH

### 1. The Pursuit of Health<sup>1</sup>

I am glad that this book has been prepared. I am also glad that it has been written in a popular style so as to make it more readable than normally official reports are. It is a record of the work done not only by our Central Health Ministry, but also by the Health Ministries of our States. This is a story of creditable achievement during the past nine years or more, and I think, it is desirable that our people should know something about it.

Some people imagine that health being normally considered a State subject, the Central Government has little to do with it. I hope that this book will convince them that this is not correct and that the Central Health Ministry is the pivot round which all the major schemes for improving the standards of health of the nation revolve. All major schemes have necessarily to be sponsored and encouraged by the Central Ministry.

Essentially, this work is a cooperative endeavour between the State and the Centre, and its success depends on the measure of cooperation between the two. For this purpose, the Central Council of Health was started, and it was greatly helpful in bringing about this cooperative and coordinated approach.

The pursuit of health or the raising of the health standards of the nation does not mean merely the curing of disease, but much more so the prevention of it. Thus, while hospitals and the like are necessary, what counts most is the public health approach as well as health education. Health today does not consist merely in the avoidance of bodily ailments, but comprises in its scope the health of the mind, which has a direct effect on the body, just as bodily ill-health often affects the mind.

I am sure that the very first consideration in raising the standards of health of the nation is to supply adequate food, properly balanced. Poverty and health do not go together. Therefore, it is really more important for the health of the individual as well as of the community, that there should be adequate nutrition.

1. Foreword written on 3 May 1957 to G. Borkar, *Health in Independent India: A decade of Progress*, Ministry of Health, Government of India, New Delhi, 1957. File No. 28(40)/57-58-PMS.



To this, I should like to add that food habits should be encouraged which would ensure a balanced diet. Unfortunately, we in India suffer most of all from inadequate nutrition, and even those who can afford to have what food they like, have seldom a balanced diet. Then, there is the necessity of a pure water supply, which is still lacking in a great part of our rural areas, though some progress has been made.

A war on disease and ill health is, therefore, essentially a war on poverty and all its evil brood. In effect, it is the raising of the standards of the nation in every way, and we come back to our Five Year Plans whose aim it is to do this.

But, while this is being done, some special attention has necessarily to be paid to the curative aspect as well as to the elimination of various painful diseases which affect large numbers of our people and either kill them or disable them. Malaria, I suppose, is the biggest scourge of all. Then, there is tuberculosis, venereal diseases, leprosy, etc. This book will indicate the progress made in this general attack on these diseases and the grand strategy that has been employed in this campaign.

While our cities and towns require to be looked after much better than they are at present, it is really the village that has been terribly neglected and cries loudly for succour. Public health must therefore, go to the village, and the village should not be compelled to come to the town in search of it. Our community development movement will, I am sure, play a very important part in this extension of public health services to our rural areas. I think that mobile vans should be increasingly used for this purpose in our rural areas.

I have no doubt that we should aim at a national health service which would supply free treatment and advice to all those who require it. But, that is still a distant prospect, though we should keep it in view and endeavour to approach that objective.

One very important subject which affects the future of our country, is that of population and the control of population by family planning. I believe that our Government is one of the very few governments in the world which have undertaken family planning in a scientific way. The progress made thus far may not be great, but it is commendable, and a basis for this has been laid. I remember that, three years ago when I visited China, there was no talk of family planning there. When I enquired about it, I was told that people there were not interested in it. Last year, however, a request came to us from China for information about our family planning schemes, and since then, I am told that the Government of the People's Republic of China has started some kind of a campaign for population control. I do not know of any other country where the Government has taken this up seriously, although private organizations work to that end. For us in India, it is of the utmost importance for the future of our country and our people

that we should make this movement for population control by family planning, a widespread and successful one.

There is much controversy often about the place of the ayurvedic and unani systems. There can be no doubt that both these ancient systems of India have an honourable history and that they had a great reputation. Most people know also that even now they have some very effective remedies. It would be wrong and absurd for us to ignore this accumulation of past knowledge and experience. We should profit by them and not consider them as something outside the scope of modern knowledge. They are parts of modern knowledge. But, in many directions, modern science, as applied to both medicine and surgery, has made wonderful discoveries and, because of this, health standards in advanced countries have improved tremendously. We cannot expect to improve our standards unless we take full advantage of science and modern scientific methods. There is no reason why we should not bring about an alliance of old experience and knowledge, as exemplified in the ayurvedic and unani systems, with the new knowledge that modern science has given us. It is necessary, however, that every approach to this problem, should be made on the basis of the scientific method, and persons who are ayurvedic and unani physicians should have also a full knowledge of modern methods. This means that there should be a basic training in scientific methods for all, including those who wish to practise ayurvedic or unani systems. Having got that basic training, a person may practise either of these systems or homoeopathy.

The question is thus not of a conflict between various systems but of sound education in knowledge as it is today and then the freedom to apply it according to any system. It is the scientific approach that is important.

I hope that this book will not only bring to many people knowledge of the considerable progress that has been made in India during the past nine years in this fight against disease and the struggle for higher standards of health, but will also draw attention to the broad strategy of this approach. We have to deal with a vast country and a great population, and we have to pay particular attention to the preventive aspects so that our people may have healthy bodies and minds and may be able to devote themselves to worthy purposes.

These nine and a half years since independence have been vital years for us, the changeover from foreign rule to self-rule, the adaptation of the old order to the new order, the many new problems that faced us and the approach to these problems from the point of view of the interest of the masses of the country, the growth of planning and our Five Year Plans, the special attention to industry and agriculture, the question of unemployment, and the basic question of our fight against poverty and of changing a static and stagnant economy and making it dynamic and self-reliant. In this great and many sided struggle, the question of



the health of the nation has been necessarily of importance. During these years, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has been our Health Minister in the Centre. It has fallen to her lot to undertake this great task, and I should like to pay my tribute to her for the worthy manner in which she has discharged it and thus laid the foundations for future progress. Strong and stable foundations have been laid. We have now to build upon them.

## 2. To Amrit Kaur<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 6, 1957

My dear Amrit,<sup>2</sup>

I have just received your letter of May 6th, in which you refer to your personal staff. I shall enquire into this matter. I do not quite know what personal staff means. If they are in Government service, then there will be no difficulty at all. If not, then we shall try to see whether they can be fitted in.

Thank you for your letter of the 24th April.<sup>3</sup> I need not tell you that I appreciate very much what you have written, and I entirely agree with you that, during these past nine years or more, a good and solid foundation has been laid for the improvement of the health of the nation. This was largely due to your efforts and your vision. You know that I have greatly appreciated the splendid work that you have done.

1. JN Collection.

2. Former Health Minister and member, Rajya Sabha at this time.

3. Amrit Kaur stated that the opposition to her remaining as health minister was confined to a few handful. She said that "member after member of both Houses of Parliament told me how shocked they were. But I realize that when your chief colleague did not approve of me it was impossible for you to ask me to continue. And I am reconciled to it, however hurt I have felt at the unmerited kindness of those who should have been friends....I trust that no pandering will be done to Ayurveda, Unani and Homoeopathy and that you will forbid Ministers expressing views on these matters which are contrary to the policy of Government. I have suffered a great deal in this domain but was strong enough to withstand it. You must help my successor."

As for the Health Ministry, there is no question of demotion of it or of less importance being attached to it.<sup>4</sup> It is a vital Ministry. The question of membership of the regular Cabinet depends more on an individual than on the Ministry, because there various subjects are dealt with.

Two or three days ago, I sent a Foreword<sup>5</sup> for the book containing a record of health work during the last nine years.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. After the General Elections, in the new Cabinet D.P. Karmakar was appointed Minister of State for Health. Earlier, Amrit Kaur had been Union Health Minister with Cabinet rank.
5. See the preceding item.

### 3. To Jivraj N. Mehta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 10, 1957

My dear Jivraj,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of 7th May and a copy of your inaugural address which I have read.

As regards the Ministry of Health, I think it is not correct for anyone to think that it has been demoted or considered less important than other Ministries. I attach great importance to it. A Minister of State is supposed to have Cabinet rank, though he does not normally attend Cabinet meetings. He does attend whenever his subject comes up or whenever otherwise he is interested or concerned. Cabinet Ministers are taken in not merely because of their subject, but also sometimes for personal reasons, that is, so that the individual concerned can give his views on subjects other than his own.

In fact, there may well be an advantage in a Minister of State devoting all his time to his particular subject and not sharing that time with many other subjects.

1. JN Collection.

2. Minister for Finance, Government of Bombay, 1952-60.



You need not be afraid about Health being considered a secondary subject. It is not.

As for so-called indigenous systems of medicine, I have recently written a Foreword to a book being issued by our Ministry of Health, where I have referred to them. I think I have said broadly what you have said in your address. I believe that modern or scientific medicine should be the basis of our Health services. Further, that persons who wish to practise the indigenous systems should also have the full training in modern medicines.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. The Effective Management of Hospitals<sup>1</sup>

I am afraid I am not much impressed by the arguments put forward by the UP Government in regard to the proposed Sarojini Naidu Memorial Children's Hospital at Allahabad. I realize the difficulty of collecting money from the public for it, though as a matter of fact, very little attempt has been made, except at the very beginning. Recently the All India Women's Association collected several lakhs for a joint memorial to Sarojini Naidu and Mrs Cousins.<sup>2</sup> I think we could collect some money. But I agree that we can hardly rely on that and it would be desirable for the State to come to the help of this proposed institution.

It is stated that "A Hospital involves questions of life and death" and therefore the State Government should not divest themselves of the responsibility of controlling it. Reference is also made to the old proposal to have a hospital attached to the Aligarh University.

1. Note to the Home Minister, 13 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. Margaret Cousins (1878-1954); Irish woman settled in India; first woman magistrate to be appointed in India; member of Senate, Indian Women's University; Secretary, Indian Women's Association; Editor, *Stri Dharma*; founder, All-India Women's Conference, 1927; President, All India Women's Conference, 1937; published: *Awakening of Asian Womanhood, The Music of Orient and Occident*.

These are remarkable arguments. As the Home Minister has said, the Aligarh University proposal has no relevance in this connection, whatever the merits or demerits might be. But to bring in the question of life and death in this connection is really remarkable. According to this argument, private or non-government controlled hospitals are dangerous institutions and safety can only be guaranteed if Government controls them. I am not at all against government control of hospitals and I suppose that in future hospitals would be more or less state controlled, though I do not think that a direct departmental control of hospitals is a satisfactory method to adopt. Government control means a number of senior officials, who are otherwise fully occupied, being made into a committee to look after it. I do not think that this kind of arrangement has been very successful in the past. Local people do not take much interest in it and every little matter has to be referred to the Health Department of the State for decision.

Whether ultimately government controls it or some private trust, the effective management of it should be handed over to some kind of a committee appointed for the purpose, which, I think, should be largely local and at least partly non-official.

One of the most successful hospitals in India is, I believe, the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital in Allahabad which is run by a private trust with Government nominees on its various committees. I could cite the example of any number of other hospitals. Government is and should be interested in the proper running and management of a hospital and its finances. I fear that many government hospitals are not run properly at all. They are third-rate institutions.

I should have thought that this proposed children's hospital should be closely associated with the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital. They might be next to each other and the type of work done in one will be similar to the work done in the other. The Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital is meant for women which inevitably means dealing with children also. In fact a Children's Wing is necessary in such a hospital. To have a completely separate children's hospital would mean higher expenses and some duplication.

Personally I would suggest that there should be the closest coordination between the two. Government supervision can of course be assured in various ways and Government nominees would be on any board of trustees or committee of management.



## 5. The Right Approach to Family Planning<sup>1</sup>

Friends,

The only qualification I have for inaugurating this meeting is my interest in the subject which I consider very important. Otherwise I am, I would not say totally ignorant, but largely ignorant about what has been done in India. I know that something has been done, and I believe that India is among the few countries who have taken up this matter at a governmental level. I think some other governments are following suit to some extent. I remember that two and a half years ago, when I was in China,<sup>2</sup> I casually asked what they were doing about their population growth, and the Prime Minister of China laughed and said, "We are not worried, we can find work for everyone." But evidently about a year after that he did start worrying, because, the Chinese Government wrote to us and approached our Embassy in Peking, asking what Government of India was doing in regard to family planning, and wanted literature on the subject. And having become interested in this matter, late last year or maybe this year, they threw themselves into this campaign, with some vigour. Apart from the internal and domestic consequences of an ever-growing population, consequences more particularly on countries like India and China, as well as some other countries, it is rather heart-rending to think what would happen to the world if population went on rising in this way and the serious repercussions it will have on every situation. We are concerned with our own country because it is of the highest importance that we should make progress in this country, we should raise standards in this country.

Now, there are many things coming in the way of standards being raised. One is obviously the growth of population, which tends to keep down the standards. All of these drive us to this conclusion that we must take up this question or rather we have taken it up. We shall press it more with vigour, with intelligence. In many matters concerning what might be called social reform, we have enthusiasts who in the excess of their enthusiasm do not pay too much attention to the commonsense of the situation, to the fact they have to deal with human beings, who have to be won over, who have to be educated. They have to make them understand certain viewpoints. And then there is a tendency for the

1. Speech at the inauguration of the second meeting of the Family Planning Board, New Delhi, 25 May 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.

2. Nehru visited China in October 1954. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 3-93.

enthusiasts to feel angry and irritated that other people do not function as they want them to function.

I have often narrated a story. When I was at college in Cambridge, a young man came there, from the west of India I think, terribly enthusiastic about widow-remarriage. Well, whatever he said we agreed about it more or less I suppose. Anyhow, then he wanted all of us to take a pledge that we would only marry a widow! It is a kind of enthusiasm which rather overshoots the mark.

You will find in many things in India, there has been great reform, and people have done good no doubt and yet their good and their message has not penetrated to the masses very far. It should have produced an effect on everybody but it has not. But we have, on the other hand, a man like Gandhiji who was probably more a social reformer or, as somebody said, one greatly interested in reform of diet of people, more of a dietitian than a politician, but anyhow, there is no doubt that his message did seep down to the masses. I am not talking of the political plane, but of the social plane and the untouchability plane and many planes, because he knew how to talk the language of the people. He knew how to produce the requisite images in the people's minds. Some of the things he said, let us say, *Ram Rajya*, might irritate somebody but Gandhiji was interested in producing an image in a person's mind, which he did. He talked about untouchability. He did not lay any great stress on the caste system as a whole being bad. In his later years he did do that too, but his logic was that this is the worst part of the caste system. If I break untouchability, I break the caste system. Why should I go about on all fronts, and upset people's minds, make them difficult to follow what I say, because always he was thinking in terms of the mind of the average peasant or worker in India, how to get into his mind?

Now, that is a difficult thing to do, I think, for any of us almost sitting round this table. Each thinks of convincing the other. We speak the language of each other and may convince, may not convince, we argue. The poor peasant does not argue. He either understands or does not understand. So always in all our activities, specially activities relating to social problems, relating to influencing mass opinion, we have always to keep in mind that we must speak in a language which is understood by them, simple language, not complicated language not ideologies, but simple language which provokes fairly definite images in their minds.

I do not know how to translate all this; it is subject to that. I think that should be our background. We think far too much in terms of the educated or semi-educated class, of which we are members, in which we mix. Naturally, we have to influence them, convert them, because in any event they are the leading persons who carry the message. Therefore it is important to convert those people, but if that conversion is confined to that upper layer, and they also speak a language



which is only understood by that upper layer, then we do not go very far. Obviously if we have to make any impression from this point of view, of family planning and population control, it has to go round in large numbers. I have no doubt that vast numbers of people would welcome it, from every point of view. Also, fortunately thus far, there is no organized opposition to it in India. There is some opposition naturally, and sometimes religion is brought into the picture but fortunately, as I said, it is not organized and it is not, well, perhaps very strong. There is no need at all for us—in fact, it would be quite wrong for us—to go about attacking men of religion on this issue. I know we should avoid this conflict and this argument and controversy; we should go ahead constructively, making an appeal. Even if somebody argues, well, he can argue privately but I rather avoid public arguments too much because it diverts people's attention and confuses public mind. Sometimes public argument has to be carried on, that is a different matter, but generally speaking, this matter requires a constructive approach to the people and that approach followed by or accompanied by practical steps so they may put into effect that constructive approach. That is all I have to say. I hope to be enlightened by what you say as to what is being done here.

## 6. To Amrit Kaur<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 5, 1957

My dear Amrit,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of May 29th.<sup>2</sup> These last few days have been terribly full for me because of discussions in Parliament, the AICC and the National Development Council which ended yesterday.

1. JN Collection.

2. Amrit Kaur suggested that B.K. Sheorey should be given an extension and be appointed as a personal surgeon and physician to the President. She added that Dr Buckler, who did not possess adequate qualifications and who had held this post for several years, was going to retire soon. Amrit Kaur felt that the President's Estate required more than a mere Assistant Surgeon in charge of the domestic staff.

But, as a matter of fact, even before I received your letter, I spoke to Karmarkar about Sheorey.<sup>3</sup> I told him that I felt that a man of his experience should be utilized and should not be made to retire at the age of 55. Karmarkar told me subsequently that he would gladly use him, but he had been nine years at the Willingdon and it would be better for him to go to some other place. Further that there was a good deal of strong feeling about the possibility of Sheorey continuing in the Willingdon. I told him that if that was so, I could not press him to keep Sheorey at the Willingdon, but that it was necessary for him to have a suitable post and it would be a pity for us not to utilize him when we were short of competent doctors.

Subsequent to that, I have again reminded Karmarkar.<sup>4</sup>

As for the President's Surgeons, I find some difficulty in dealing with this matter. I entirely agree with you that our top ranking physicians and surgeons should be appointed for the President. I have previously mentioned this to the President. Even now, I propose to do so again. But, he has his likes, and I cannot go so far as to overrule him in such a matter.<sup>5</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

3. B.K. Sheorey, Civil Surgeon and Medical Superintendent, Willingdon Hospital and Nursing Home, New Delhi, 1948-57; Medical Adviser, Indian High Commission, London, 1958-64.
4. Nehru in a letter to D.P. Karmarkar on 5 June 1957 stated that he was entirely in favour of Sheorey being given an extension, but did not know where he could serve.
5. Nehru also wrote to Karmarkar that he was "unhappy at the President appointing junior physicians and surgeons to look after himself."



## 7. To D.P. Karmarkar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 15, 1957

My dear Karmarkar,

I enclose a copy of a letter sent by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur to Mathai.<sup>2</sup> You will see that she has suggested that I should meet the Governing Body of the All-India Medical Sciences. We should of course meet them. I shall fix a date in consultation with you, as you will have to be present at the interview.

Although I have a vague recollection of our decision in the Cabinet, I should like a short note prepared on the subject to enable us to have all the facts with us.

You spoke to me today about Shaikh Abdullah's son, Mustafa wanting to join a Medical course.<sup>3</sup> We should help him in every way to get a seat in a college. I have today received a letter from him, copy of which I enclose.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Amrit Kaur in her letter of 5 July to M.O. Mathai, a member of Nehru's personal staff, stated that the AIIMS governing body was "very perturbed" at the orders they had received from the Health Ministry on the admission of forty additional boys from Delhi to their undergraduate medical college. Kaur argued that as the Institute "is an autonomous body" created by an act of Parliament, the Health Ministry might have consulted the Governing Body prior to issuing orders. She said that the members of the Governing Body wanted to meet the Prime Minister before any final decision was taken.
3. Kamel Mustafa Abdullah wrote on 15 July that he wanted to do an MBBS course from a Medical College in Delhi. While the Board in Kashmir had sent Abdullah to Kolkata for the MBBS, his parents were not keen "due to some political reasons." The Shaikh's son noted that his father's great desire was for him to study in Delhi or Jaipur, "being the only place where I have somebody to look after me." He therefore requested Nehru to help him in obtaining a seat in Delhi.

## 8. To D.P. Karmarkar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 17, 1957

My dear Karmarkar,

After our discussion today with the members of the Governing Body of the All India Medical Institute, it seems clear to me that we should not compel the Institute to take direct responsibility for the training of the forty medical students in Delhi. If we tried to do so, it would merely mean ill will and bad work all round. Therefore, the only course that is open to us is to accept more or less what Jivraj Mehta suggested, with which Pantji also appeared to agree.

This means that arrangements should be made for the training of these forty students in the rooms, etc., that have been prepared for this purpose in the Irwin Hospital, that the staff for this purpose should be recruited for the time being at least from the All India Institute and the Lady Hardinge College, that the Superintendent of the Irwin Hospital should be the acting Principal or whatever he may be called of this temporary training establishment, that the Delhi University should be requested to see these arrangements and recognize them for its own purposes till matters are further considered and finalized.

As far as I can remember, this is what Jivraj Mehta suggested.

Obviously this is a temporary arrangement and we shall have to give further thought to this matter, as soon as the legal difficulty is resolved this way or that, which may be in another month or six weeks' time. Something however has to be done now onwards so that these forty students may not suffer and may begin their studies.

In view of the Cabinet decision, this matter will have to be referred to Cabinet. You can have a brief paper prepared for it. But I have no doubt that they will accept this and so you can gradually proceed with the necessary arrangements.

As for the future, although we shall have to wait till the legal decision, we shall have to think about it from now onwards. Could we go into the financial aspect of carrying this on there? How far would the money already allotted for the Lady Hardinge College be adequate and how much more might be necessary? We should have the facts before us to enable us to decide in the future.

1. File No. 28(36)/57-PMS.



I am sending you the papers which you gave me plus some papers which Rajkumari gave me, including a copy of a letter from Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar<sup>2</sup> and a note on the history and staff of the All India Medical Institute.

I hope your Secretary, Pillai, is drawing up a brief note of our meeting today with the members of the Governing Body of the All India Medical Institute.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras.

## VIII. MINORITIES AND WEAKER SECTIONS

### 1. To C.P. Matthen<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
5 May 1957

My dear Matthen,<sup>2</sup>

I have received a letter dated May 2nd signed by you and others.<sup>3</sup> In this letter you have expressed your grave concern at the absence of Christians in the Central Cabinet.<sup>4</sup>

I think that some of the statements that have been made in your letter are not quite correct. But, in the main, it is true, as stated in the letter, that relatively few Christians were put up for election and fewer were elected. It is also true that representation in the Council of Ministers, whether Central or State, has been meagre. I myself regret this very much and I hope that gradually this will be improved. As you know, this business of elections is a complicated one and it is not particularly easy always to get the persons we want elected. This again governs later representation in the Council of Ministers.

1. JN Collection.

2. (1890-1960); retired banker; Managing Director, Travancore National Bank Limited and Union Bank Limited; Founder, Travancore Chamber of Commerce, Alleppey; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57.

3. Apart from Matthen, the signatories to the letter included: The Metropolitan of India, Kolkata, the Catholicos of the Orthodox Syrian Church, Kottayam, the Archbishop of Delhi, C.C. Joseph, Editor, *Nafan*, New Delhi, Ranjit W. Chet Singh, Mary Budhwar and C. Joseph, a member of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee.

4. The signatories contended that the absence of a representative Christian of adequate stature in the Union Cabinet had come as a shock to large sections of Indian Christians throughout the country. They further stated that while in the first Lok Sabha nearly 17 Christians were elected on the Congress ticket, in the second Lok Sabha there were only five Christians elected on the Congress ticket. Additionally, in Madras, "which can boast of the largest educated Christian population, next only to Kerala—not a single Congress ticket was given to a Christian for either House of Parliament." While stating that the Prime Minister was a "staunch friend of Christians in the country", the signatories claimed that inadequate representation in government had deprived them of the privilege "to play our full part in national life."



But I need not assure you how much importance we attach to our Christian fellow-countrymen in India who form one of the major religious groups in the country.<sup>5</sup> They should have every opportunity to play a full part in the development of India.

While this is so, it has to be borne in mind that Cabinets cannot be formed on a religious basis, though it is desirable to make every group in the country feel that it is playing its full part in the great tasks ahead before the country. Personally, I feel that the biggest task of all is not only the economic development of India as a whole, but even more so the psychological and emotional integration of the people of India.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The signatories stated that the Christians, then with a population of 62 lakhs, formed the largest single minority in India after the Muslims. They claimed that they were worried about the psychological effect on Indian Christians by the non-representation of one of their members in the Central Cabinet. Since the Christians had always voted for the Congress, the signatories expressed their apprehension at the possibility of Christians drifting away to extremist parties in frustration.

## 2. To Yuhanon Mar Thoma<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 28, 1957

My dear Metropolitan,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 25th May.<sup>3</sup> It was very good of you to write to me as you have done.

1. JN Collection.

2. Yuhanon Mar Thoma, Metropolitan of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar, Travancore, 1947-76.

3. The Metropolitan Mar Thoma expressed the feeling of disappointment at the lack of any representation of Christians in the Central Cabinet. Admitting that it was difficult to adhere to the principles of proportionate representation in the formation of a Cabinet, Mar Thoma stated that Nehru was in a position to create "traditions and precedents" on the role of the Christian community in India. Mar Thoma claimed that if Nehru gave "due consideration" to the position of Christians in India, it would have a tonic effect on the whole community.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I can well understand your feeling some disappointment at our Central Cabinet not having a Christian member. I am myself sorry for this, but in choosing a Cabinet many considerations have to be borne in mind, and sometimes one cannot do what one would like to do. What I rather regret is that as a result of the last General Elections, the number of Christian members has not been adequate to my thinking. I hope that we shall gradually remedy these shortcomings.

As you perhaps know, we laid considerable stress on Christians being selected for elections. Later, after the elections, we again pressed the State Governments to choose some Christians for their Government.

I am very grateful to you for the kind sentiments you have expressed. I have often said that not only do I attach the greatest importance to the Christian community in India, but I consider them an essential part of India. We want them to play their full part in this great country, and I am sure they will do so.

With regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. Legal Implications of Conversion to Buddhism<sup>1</sup>

A deputation of MPs belonging to the Scheduled Castes Federation came to see me today. Their leader was B.K. Gaikward,<sup>2</sup> MP.

2. They raised the question of the effect of conversion to Buddhism. According to them, the Bombay State had issued a circular to the effect that the special facilities that were given to the scheduled castes should be withdrawn on conversion. These facilities were scholarships, freeships, reservation of seats in colleges, getting government waste land, reservation in services, etc. They said that they were afraid that similar action may be taken in other States also.

1. Note to G.B. Pant, 28 May 1957. File No. 2/15/57-SCT(iv), MHA.

2. B.K. Gaikwad (1902-1971); social worker; elected several times to the Nashik municipality and district local board since 1928; member, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1937-46; Chairman, District School Board, Nashik, 1941-42; Government Labour Welfare Officer, Western Aviation Circle, Bombay, 1942-46; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-62.



3. They admitted that if the fact of conversion was admitted or proved, then obviously the person concerned ceased to belong to any caste, much less the Scheduled Caste. They admitted also that in such a case, as the law stood, such a converted person might not be competent to stand for election from a Scheduled Caste seat. In fact, they sought no reservation in future.

4. They were anxious, however, to have the privileges of scholarships, freeships, etc., mentioned above. Could this not be done, they asked, by government notifications or other decisions? They gave the example of some of the Sikh castes which have been included in the reserved lists.

5. This question apparently has two aspects. One is the legal aspect as to how under present law they are affected by the conversion. The second is the other aspect in regard to educational or other help being given to these people who used to receive it previously before conversion. I think we should think this out as the question is bound to come up repeatedly.

6. I asked them how many people had been converted thus far. They said that about one crore had been converted already and that this process was continuing and there was much enthusiasm for it.<sup>3</sup> These figures may be exaggerated but apparently large numbers of people are involved and on our part some thinking will have to be done on this matter.

7. I asked them how far this conversion had any real significance. They said that it was reaction against caste, that is, they wanted to be involved in no caste and it was their belief in Dr Ambedkar's teaching of Buddhism. Naturally, they said that all these people do not understand all the fine points of Buddhism, although they recite the Panchsheel.

8. They referred to the Aligarh incident where, according to them, 700 of their people had been arrested and many had been convicted. They denied any attempt to remove the idols from the temple. The temple in question itself belonged to a Scheduled Caste man who had been converted to Buddhism. Now it had been put in the charge of an outside *pujari* who had had nothing to do with the temple.

9. They referred to Dr Ambedkar's death<sup>4</sup> and the demand for an enquiry into it. They seemed to suggest that if somebody could enquire and say that there

3. On 14 October 1956, B.R. Ambedkar, President of the Scheduled Castes Federation, along with his wife, Mrs Savitabai, and thousands of his Scheduled Castes followers, entered the Buddhist fold at a special ceremony in Nagpur. Ambedkar said he and his followers would not join the existing sects of Buddhism. Theirs would be a sort of neo-Buddhism, "Navyan."

4. On 6 December 1956. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, p. 671 and pp. 695-696.

was no need for suspicion, they could explain this to their people. Otherwise it would hang on and poison people's minds.

#### 4. Constitutional Provisions for Scheduled Castes<sup>1</sup>

Please reply to this letter from Shri Veeraswamy.<sup>2</sup> Tell him that I have seen it and thank him for it.<sup>3</sup> As for his complaint, there is no question of our Government coming in the way of or penalizing people who change their religion. So far as Buddhism is concerned, it is one of our most respected religions and it is a religion which started from India.

The point he has raised, however, is not a question of our opinion but of legal interpretation of our constitutional provisions. Certain provisions were specially made for persons among Hindus belonging to the Scheduled Castes. These provisions are of two kinds, political and economic. In so far as those provisions laid down by our Constitution for Hindu Scheduled Castes are concerned, it is not possible to apply those provisions to those who cease to belong to those castes. But so far as helping people of low standards of life and economic position are concerned, the policy is the same for all.

As a matter of fact, some political provisions for Scheduled Castes were for ten years only and will probably expire in another three or four years.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 18 July 1957. File No. 2 (172)/57-63-PMS.
2. V. Veeraswamy (b. 1919); Scheduled Castes leader; founder editor of the Tamil fortnightly, *Thondur*, of Tiruchirappalli; founder of Ambedkar Students' Home, Tiruchirappalli; Secretary, Madras State Commercial Conference, 1950; independent Member of Lok Sabha from Mayuram in the Madras State, 1952-57.
3. Veeraswamy, in his letter of 16 July, protested against the decision of the Home Ministry withdrawing the special privileges to the Scheduled Caste members upon their embracing Buddhism, calling it "the greatest injustice ever done" to the Scheduled Castes and "a deliberate threat" to them. He argued that a change of faith could not bring about a change in the standard of life and the economic position of the Scheduled Castes. Expressing the hope that Nehru would "never give any room to the Buddhist world to suspect your genuine faith in the Panchsheel", Veeraswamy called upon him to scrap the decision.



## 5. Privileges to Converts from Scheduled Castes<sup>1</sup>

Please reply to the Maha Bodhi Society and say that there is no question of discrimination against persons converted to Buddhism.<sup>2</sup> We do not object in the least to this. But, our Constitution being what it is, we cannot give some privileges laid down in the Constitution for Scheduled Castes, to those who have ceased to be members of the Scheduled Castes. But, the Home Minister has stated clearly that they will be entitled to the other help which is given on economic grounds to the Backward Classes.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 26 July 1957. JN Collection.
2. A public meeting held in Kolkata on 11 June under the auspices of the Maha Bodhi Society regretted the reported decision of the Government of Bombay to discontinue the grant of scholarships and other facilities to the members of the Scheduled Castes who had embraced Buddhism. It requested the State Government to revoke its decision.





## ISSUES OF GOVERNANCE





## I. STATES

## (i) Punjab

1. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 4, 1957

My dear Partap Singh,<sup>2</sup>

I had an interview with seven representatives of the Arya Samaj of the Punjab this afternoon.<sup>3</sup> They were with me for nearly an hour, and I believe they went away rather pleased with the interview. What they will do now, I do not know, nor did I ask them.

I began by telling them that I had naturally heard something about this Hindi-Gurmukhi controversy during the past few months or more. It has surprised me that there should be so much excitement over this matter. Nobody could doubt that Hindi was not only powerfully established in India, but that it was being encouraged by all kinds of forces working in its favour. The only thing that might come up against it was some kind of an agitation which made Hindi appear to be opposed to a local language. This would result in unnecessary and undesirable obstinacy on the part of some people and opposition to Hindi. The obvious course for lovers of Hindi to follow was to allow these natural forces to play and to encourage constructively the Hindi language, without opposing any other.

I pointed out the feeling that had been roused in South India and especially the Tamil country against Hindi, which became a symbol to many Tamilians of Northern domination. Our policy was not to make it appear that Hindi was being imposed on anyone and to encourage the local and provincial languages. We knew very well that Hindi will progress. But, its progress will be checked by

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Punjab.

3. A deputation of six members of the Arya Samaj, led by Anand Swami, met Nehru and presented to him a seven-point charter of demands. The other members were Suraj Bhan, Bhagwan Das, Ralia Ram, Alakh Dhari and Jagdev Sidhanti.

overenthusiasts for Hindi, who would rouse up local linguistic passions, as they had done in some parts of the South.

So far as the Punjab was concerned, the matter was even simpler. Hindi was not only the all-India language, but also one of the two official languages of the State. Everybody had to learn Hindi there and was bound to do it if he wanted to get on either in service or otherwise. Further, Hindi was a far more developed language than Gurmukhi in regard to literature, etc., and would develop still further. It was absurd to think that Gurmukhi could come in its way. Also, there was not much difference between the two. Punjabi as a language, apart from the script, was accepted by everybody. The question was of the script only; a very small matter. Even in the script, more than half the characters were the same. Thus, it seemed to me a very small matter for controversy. Even if logic was on the side of Devanagari, the controversy would not help Devanagari, but set up people against it. Therefore, matters should be allowed to rest and passions should cool down, and whatever work was done for Hindi, should be of a constructive kind and not in opposition to Gurmukhi. In fact, Gurmukhi should be encouraged. This would create a favourable atmosphere for both scripts.

They agreed, of course, with much that I said, but complained of compulsion and all that. I replied that there was no question of compulsion. In education, there was always a degree of compulsion in subjects. I should like English to be a compulsory subject at certain stages of education.

They read out to me the seven points which they have put forward. I attach the paper they gave me.

Point 1:<sup>4</sup> I told them that logically this was reasonable, but it would have been very unwise to upset the arrangements in PEPSU, which had been carried on without any marked opposition. Gradually, things will settle down.

Point 2:<sup>5</sup> This was, to a large extent, accepted, and they agreed that in theory it was accepted, but in practice, this was not done. I said, if so, surely it was not a matter for controversy, but rather to see that in practice this was done. As it was, because of the controversy, I was told that if any child or its parent said that he was Hindi-speaking, the Principal of the school would say that there was no room for him, and so also in regard to Gurmukhi in some school in another region. This attitude was due to the controversy and to the bitterness that had been produced by it. If the controversy ceased, people would not behave so foolishly.

4. That there should be one uniform language formula for the whole of Punjab.

5. That the medium of instruction should be left to the choice of the parents.



Point 3:<sup>6</sup> I told them that compulsion was, of course, the normal procedure in laying down subjects in a school curriculum. But, it certainly was open for discussion as to what was the proper stage for a second language to be taken up. This should be treated on the educational level and not on a political one. It was admitted that every boy and girl should learn both Hindi and Gurmukhi for matriculation. The question only was in what manner this should be done. Personally, I thought that the earlier the second language was taken up, the better. Modern educational opinion was that languages should be learnt at a very early stage in a child's career. I agreed with that. They said that Hindi should be taken up at the fourth standard. Some said at the third. I said I could not give any opinion about these matters, but I did agree that it would be better to take it up at a fairly early stage, as that conformed with modern methods. This was not a matter for controversy, but discussion on the educational level.

Point 4:<sup>7</sup> I said that the process of replacing English would take some years. Even after that, some English would continue. There was no urgency about this question. Things would gradually adjust themselves in the course of time, if there was no controversy going on. As a matter of fact, the use of Urdu had thus far been reduced a great deal. I saw no reason why Urdu should not continue to be used to some extent. But, inevitably, Hindi would play an ever-greater part in the administration. But, I saw no reason why Gurmukhi should not also play a part.

Point 5:<sup>8</sup> I agreed that Government notifications should be issued in both Devanagari and Gurmukhi. Indeed, I said they should also be issued in Urdu. They said that this had been agreed to by you, but no notification to this effect had been issued. I said I saw no difficulty about this.

Point 6:<sup>9</sup> I agreed, and added that this should not apply to the two scripts only, but it applied to Urdu and, in fact, to any other recognized language or script in India, as far as this was possible. Again they said that while this had been accepted in theory, in practice this was not done, and papers were returned. I said that this was a matter to be dealt with on a practical level to see that the practice conformed to theory, and Government should no doubt do it.

6. That there should be no compulsion for learning any of the two scripts at any particular stage of school career.
7. That Hindi should replace English at all levels of administration, and Punjabi should take the place of Urdu as the regional language.
8. That all government notifications at the district level and below should be issued both in Gurmukhi and Devanagari.
9. That all communications with the government should be allowed in any of the two scripts; and government replies should also be issued in the same script.

Point 7:<sup>10</sup> I said that this was not feasible. It would mean additional labour and expense. Also, the process of changeover from English and Urdu would take some years, and there was no reason to consider it as an urgent issue. Things would gradually adjust themselves. There need be no rigidity about these matters.

This was the purport of my conversation with them. In effect, their grievance was that while much was accepted in theory, in practice this was not given effect to. I told them that the best way to approach this question was not on the level of controversy and agitation, but in a friendly way. The Punjab Government would no doubt see that practice conformed to theory and that proper notifications to this effect were issued.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. That records at all levels should continue to be maintained in both Gurmukhi and Devanagari.

## 2. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 26, 1957

My dear Partap Singh,

Thank you for your two letters, one of May 21 and the other of May 22.

I shall not write to you anything now about the Hindu Succession Act.<sup>2</sup> The point you have raised, was discussed at some length in Parliament and, subsequently, the Act was passed as it is. It is not easy to go back upon that or to change it. Anyhow, this cannot be done in a hurry.

1. JN Collection.

2. The Act, passed by the Lok Sabha on 8 May 1956 aimed at evolving a uniform system of law with regard to intestate succession among the Hindus and for the first time gave a share of a father's property to the daughter and gave women absolute right to self acquired property.



I am much concerned at the lack of discipline in our parties. This matter will no doubt be considered fully at the Working Committee and the AICC meetings.

About the Arya Samaj agitation on the language issue, it seems to me totally misconceived and most irresponsible. I have, of course, said this previously. However, there it is, and the question is how to meet it. I understand that you have had a long talk with Mauli Chandra Sharma. He has given me a copy of the letter he wrote to you on May 20th, with which he sent you a memorandum on this subject. It seems to me that, broadly speaking, Mauli Chandra's analysis is a correct one. As you have had a long talk with him, I shall not say much more about it. But, one thing is clear to me. This is that you have to meet this agitation not passively or defensively and not purely as a law and order issue. You must, and the Congress must, take a positive and somewhat aggressive line in regard to propaganda and explain the position fully in the areas where this agitation is likely to have effect. We must not allow the Arya Samaj people to have their own way in so far as reaching the public and explaining to it is concerned. We have a good case and it should be explained fully to the people. This is the democratic way and the effective way.

As for the various points raised and your replies to them, a note on which you have sent me, my views are as follows:

Point I: I agree with what you have said, that is, though it is logical to have one language formula for the whole of the new Punjab, it is unwise and inopportune to upset the previous arrangements arrived at, which have been in force for so long.

Point II: I agree with you that the Sachar formula should continue to function and the medium of instruction in educational institutions is left to the choice of the parents.

Point III: I agree with what you have said. I think that educationally it is better to take up the two languages at an early stage, but there is no harm in making adjustments as regards the phasing or the stage when the second language is taken up. The matter can very well be left to a small committee of educationists to determine. The point is that by the end of a certain stage of early education, both the languages should be known, and the examination at this stage should be for both the languages.

Point IV: I agree with what you have said. The replacement of English by Hindi is not a matter for argument, but of practical convenience. The question applies to other States also.

Point V: This is about Government notifications being in both the languages. This has been agreed. Indeed, I am glad to notice that you have mentioned Urdu also for these notifications.

Point VI: That applications should be submitted in any language and the reply would be in the same language. This has been agreed to.

Point VII: About office records to be in both scripts. I agree with what you have written.

Thus, you will see that I agree with the attitude you have taken.

I now come to the comments of the Hindi Raksha Samiti.

Para (3): We cannot possibly agree to the proposal that there should be no compulsion about the teaching of the second regional language. That would upset the compromise agreement arrived at and, I think, is basically wrong. As a matter of fact, from the Hindi point of view, this is definitely bad, because this would affect Hindi in the Punjabi area. The only thing we can agree to, therefore, is the phasing of the teaching of the second regional language, which, as I have said, is a matter for educational consideration.

I agree with the explanations given by you generally. I really do not understand what the Arya Samaj people or others have to grouse about. It almost seems to me that they are searching for some trouble. The only real answer to this can be to explain the situation fully to the people.

I think you have been very considerate in dealing with this matter. That is right. Our attitude should always be considerate and friendly. But, at the same time, it has necessarily to be firm.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



### 3. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 13, 1957

My dear Partap Singh,

I read Swami Atmanand Saraswati's<sup>2</sup> letter addressed to me in *The Tribune* some days ago,<sup>3</sup> but I have not received the original letter yet. I have decided, however, to answer it, and I have done so at some considerable length. I enclose a copy of it.<sup>4</sup> I am sending copies also to Pantji<sup>5</sup> and Maulana Sahib.

I do not quite know where to send this letter to Swami Atmanand. So, I am enclosing the original addressed to Swami Atmanand Saraswati, and I shall be grateful if you will send it to him by some safe hand. See that it reaches him.

If he publishes, my letter, well and good. If not, then I think after a little interval, my letter should be published.

I am leaving for Europe tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. (1879-1960); an eminent scholar and leader of the Arya Samaj movement in the Punjab; associated with the founding of *Gurukuls* at Rawal near Rawalpindi and at Yamunanagar in Haryana; participated in satyagraha for restoration of freedom of Hindu religious practices in Hyderabad State, 1938-39; as President of the Hindi Raksha Samiti, he led an agitation for securing a rightful place for Hindi in the educational and administrative spheres in Punjab from May to December 1957.

3. In this letter (printed in *The Sunday Tribune* of 9 June 1957) Atmanand Saraswati averred that Nehru "misunderstood" the nature of the movement started by the Hindi Raksha Samiti. Atmanand Saraswati observed that the movement was one of the literate intelligentsia who had been taught from the very beginning, the lessons of 'desh bhakti' and 'sadbhavana'. Defending the movement, he said they deliberately did not follow the techniques of other movements to gain their ends and claimed that the Hindi Raksha Samiti acted in a "thoroughly democratic, peaceful and non-violent way."

4. See the next item.

5. "Pantji advises me to send something in reply before I go away to Europe," wrote Nehru to Kairon on 12 June, adding, "It is clear to me that this agitation is essentially political, as you say."

#### 4. To Atmanand Saraswati<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 13, 1957

My dear Swami Atmanandji,

Some three or four days ago I read in the newspapers "an open letter"<sup>2</sup> which was said to be addressed by you to me. I have waited to receive this letter, but it has not come. Perhaps the main purpose of writing a letter was to send it to the Press and not to me. I do not know if the original letter will reach me at all. I cannot wait for it, as I am leaving India tomorrow, and expect to be away for about a month.

2. Presuming the authenticity and accuracy of the letter in the Press, I am writing to you in answer on the eve of my departure. I do not wish you to feel that I have refrained from answering your letter. That would have been a discourtesy.

3. I have carefully read your letter. You have suggested in it that I should try to collect full facts about the subject of this language controversy in the Punjab. I have endeavoured to do so, as I am always interested in anything that moves our people. Apart from gathering such information as I could from various sources, you will remember that I had the advantage of meeting you and several of your distinguished colleagues. What better source could I have had for understanding your position than your own explanation of it during the long talk that we had?<sup>3</sup>

4. In the course of that talk you mentioned a number of points to which you had taken exception. I pointed out to you that some of them were based on a misconception and there really was no marked difference of opinion between what you said and what had been clarified on behalf of the Punjab Government.

1. JN Collection. On 23 June 1957, Partap Singh Kairon while releasing Nehru's letter to the press stated: "After having waited for about a week I have now decided to release the text of the letter so that the public shares the views of the Prime Minister in the matter which has been made the subject of purposeless agitation. I do hope that this letter will go a long way in removing the misunderstandings being deliberately spread by the leaders of the movement of defiance."

2. See the preceding item.

3. Atmanand Saraswati wrote on 14 July that the Prime Minister had mistaken him for Anand Swami, who led the Arya Samaj delegation that met Nehru on 4 May. Atmanand Saraswati pointed out that he had not been able to meet Nehru as he was confined to bed with high blood pressure.



In regard to one or two other points, I pointed out that they were such as could be considered from a purely educational point of view by any eminent educationist. They could not be treated as matters of controversy. Perhaps there was not complete agreement between us. But the definite impression I gathered was that there was a very large measure of agreement and that many misunderstandings had been removed. We parted company with goodwill and understanding.

5. I was, therefore, greatly surprised that even after this friendly talk of ours, this controversy continued and indeed took a more aggravated form, and what is called Satyagraha was resorted to.<sup>4</sup> I was grieved by this.

6. You have been good enough to call me "an old and thorough satyagrahi". I do not know if I deserve this description. But others who are much better than I am and who know satyagraha much more have given their opinion about so-called satyagraha in present circumstances in India. Acharya Vinoba Bhave has spoken clearly on this subject and perhaps you have seen his views. I can only regret that these methods should have been adopted by respected leaders.

7. There is another matter that troubles me. The Arya Samaj is a religious and cultural organization. For the first time we see it associating itself in a movement of defiance on a plane which inevitably is a political one. You will appreciate, I hope, that it is not desirable for religious organizations to move on to this plane. That is neither good for religion nor for the organization nor for politics. It is for this reason that we have always deprecated the intervention of communalism in our public life. Whatever the motives might be, such a connection in these circumstances can only lead to communal bitterness and thus be a grave disservice to India. If newspaper reports and other reports that I receive are correct, it is clear that some of the most confirmed communal groups in the Punjab are associating themselves with you and the Arya Samaj in this matter. This itself indicates the dangers of such a policy and the injurious results that might flow from it. Can anyone doubt that whatever your motives might be, others are exploiting them for their own ends and thus injuring the very cause you espouse as well as casting aspersions on a great organization like the Arya

4. On 30 May 1957, three delegations of Arya Samajists met Nakul Sen, Chief Secretary, Punjab. On 6 June they met Mohanlal, Finance Minister, Punjab, and the next day, met the entire Punjab cabinet in Chandigarh to press for the acceptance of the seven-point demand of the Hindi Raksha Samiti. Following the failure of these discussions, Atmanand Saraswati released to the press his letter to Nehru at Ambala on 8 June. Simultaneously, he announced the launch of a non-violent agitation to save Hindi. On 10 June he, along with other volunteers, marched from the Arya Samaj temple in Sector 22 in Chandigarh to the State Secretariat and courted arrest. This agitation continued for several months in the course of which 1,500 persons were imprisoned by the State Government.

Samaj and making it appear to be a narrow-minded group which descends to the political plane and thus tends to further disunity?

8. You have referred in your letter to speeches delivered by some people at various functions and have criticized them. I have not those speeches with me and it may well be that some words or phrases in a speech were undesirable. I am not here to defend other people's speeches or writings. I know that once a wrong step is taken, wrong results follow. Satyagraha is supposed to convince and win over the opponent. If this is not achieved, then there is something wrong about the Satyagraha.

9. I have seen, however, the correspondence which has passed between you and others and the Chief Minister of the Punjab. I have also had reports of your interviews with the Chief Minister. From these reports, I gathered that you appreciated what the Chief Minister told you and found his approach friendly and conciliatory. In fact, you accepted much that he said and agreed with it. It would appear, therefore, that while you have accepted the explanations given to you by me and the Chief Minister of the Punjab and others on behalf of Government, you have not been able to carry some of your colleagues with you. They took a more rigid line. I think that all this correspondence indicates the extreme desire of the Punjab Government to respect your wishes as far as they could, so long as they did not have to give up what is called the regional formula,<sup>5</sup> to which they had pledged their word.

10. That regional formula was not evolved by some one-sided consultation but after the most earnest consideration and after consulting many persons of various shades of opinion. It may be that it does not represent the opinion of everybody. But it was an attempt to meet conflicting opinions and to evolve something which appeared to us to be fair and just and likely to have the largest acceptance. Having given further thought to this matter, I still believe that it can only be some misunderstanding or some closing of the mind which creates this distrust and further controversy.

11. Can you believe that any of us, who are devoted to Hindi, can do anything which is injurious to the growth and development of our national language? Can you believe that this regional formula in the slightest degree comes in the way of the growth of Hindi? Hindi is not only the national language but more particularly a major language of the Punjab, which everybody has to learn. What more can you require for Hindi?

12. You say yourself in your letter that "you are not behind anybody in your love for Gurmukhi". I do not know Gurmukhi script myself. But we have

5. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, p. 299, for a description of the Regional Formula as it was decided for Punjab.



given the Punjabi language in the Gurmukhi script an honoured place in our Constitution. Indeed our policy has been to encourage even the languages which are not mentioned in the Constitution because we believe that children should be educated in their mother tongue, whatever that might be. In the North East Frontier Agency we encourage even tribal dialects. Apart from this, it is my conviction that a language grows not by conflict with another language but by its own strength and in cooperation with other languages. I have the honour to be the President of the Sahitya Akademi, whose purpose it is not only to encourage Hindi but also to encourage all the languages of India. I have deprecated the old conflict between Hindi and Urdu because it did no good to either. A language draws sustenance from other languages and an educated community is supposed to know several languages, as they often do in Europe.

13. Therefore, I have failed to understand how and in what manner Hindi suffers in the Punjab. Indeed both as regional language and as the National language it has a position of pride and importance. The only way it can suffer is by inviting conflict and making it appear as if it was a rival to some other language.

14. So far as I know, Punjabi, the spoken language, is welcomed by all Punjabis. The argument is usually about the script. Previously Punjabi was often written in the Urdu script. It may be written in the Hindi script, but it is usually written now in the Gurmukhi script. Therefore, the question is about the script. Gurmukhi, I am told, has many characters which are the same as in Hindi, only some are different. So we come to this that all the argument is about some characters of the Gurmukhi script, which presumably any intelligent person can learn in a few hours. I confess I fail to understand why people should consider this a matter of principle.

15. Our policy is to encourage Indians to learn at least one other Indian language apart from their own regional languages. Northerners, we think, should learn at least one South Indian language and, if possible, more Indian languages. You may know that in Switzerland three languages are compulsory for every student, namely, German, French and Italian. In addition to this, English is taught in the schools and is widely learnt. In all the countries of Europe, at least one foreign language is compulsory, and sometimes more than one language.

16. Punjabi is not a foreign language and the Gurmukhi script is only partly different from Hindi. Even for the sake of friendship and cooperation, it would be worthwhile for people in the Punjab to know both the scripts and Punjabi as well as Hindi.

17. But the main point is that Hindi is given every chance to progress and flourish. So far as primary education is concerned, we adhere to our principle of

the mother tongue, whatever it may be. The only question, therefore, is whether a second regional language should be learnt or not and if so, at what stage it should be learnt.

18. It is my belief that each person should learn languages other than his own. In any event one other language is the least one can do. Is it compulsion or undemocratic for another language to be taught in the schools? If so, then there is no democratic country in the world, for I know of no country where other languages are not compulsory subjects. Here also we encourage English apart from some other Indian language.

19. It is accepted, I believe, that a person in the Punjab appearing for the Matriculation examination, should pass both in Hindi and Punjabi, apart from other languages and subjects. He begins his education necessarily with his mother tongue. The question is at what stage a second or a third language should be taught. This is essentially for educationists to decide. I believe it is their opinion that the sooner a second or a third language is begun, the easier it is for the child. Anyhow, I can offer no firm opinion about this and, so far as I am concerned, competent educational authorities should settle the suitable stage for learning these other languages.

20. If I may say something about my own experience. In my childhood I learnt Hindi and a little Sanskrit and some English. When I went to school in England, I had to take as compulsory subjects, apart from English, Latin, French and German. This was the normal course. Indeed the average English boy had to take in addition, Greek also. I was allowed to take science instead of Greek. I found no particular difficulty in having to learn a variety of classical and modern languages. I am no scholar in any, but at least I gathered some kind of a knowledge of them.

21. You say in your letter that our language scheme in the Punjab goes directly contrary to our declared policy that no language can thrive if thrust down the throat by force. I do not know to what you refer. Our policy refers to the mother tongue at the initial stage of teaching and to other languages coming later. Thus other languages have to come inevitably, because people are not considered educated today if they know only one language. Personally I think that at least one foreign language, whether it is English or French or German or Russian or Chinese or Spanish, should be learnt by any person who wants to have contacts with the world or who wants to know something of the thought of the world. I would personally like as many Indians as possible to know Sanskrit which is the very basis of our foundation and culture. I see no difficulty about all this. The more languages one knows, the more one knows one's own language.

22. Where is the element of force about this? If we ask a child to learn arithmetic or geometry, is it force?



23. I have seen some points which you raised before the Chief Minister. Your first point was that there should be one language formula for the whole State of new Punjab. This appears *prima facie* reasonable. But there are many reasonable things which actually may not be wise or opportune at a particular time. Gradually things can be changed. The arrangements in the old Pepsu State functioned for a considerable time without any controversy. Why should there be any controversy at this stage when all our activities have to be diverted to nation-building?

24. Your second point was that the medium of instruction should be left entirely to the choice of parents. This is so, according to the Sachar formula or to the present regional formula. That is in fact our all-India policy. So in this matter there is no difference.

25. Your third point was that there should be no compulsion for the teaching of any of the two languages and a second language at any particular stage. I have dealt with this matter at some length earlier in this letter. So far as the teaching of a second language is concerned, it seems to me essential to have such a language not only in the Punjab but in every other State in India. As for the particular stage when the second language should be started, there is no unalterable decision about that. It is essentially an educational matter to be decided in consultation with educationists.

26. Your fourth point was that Hindi should replace English at all levels of administration. This has nothing to do with the regional formula. It is in fact our broad policy all over India and of course also in the Punjab. But the question is of feasibility and how soon this can be done without doing injury to the cause of education and mental growth. It is patent today that all the modern thought in science, technology and so many other subjects is contained in foreign languages. We have not got enough literature, even in translations and much less in original form, in our own languages. This will no doubt grow. Anyhow, there is no dispute about this point.

27. Your fifth point was that all Government notifications at the District level and below should be bilingual. This has already been agreed to.

28. Your sixth point was that applications should be allowed to be submitted in any language and the reply should also be in the same language. This was also agreed to. In fact that is the general policy we follow even in Delhi.

29. Your seventh point was that office records upto the District level and below should be in both the scripts. There is no high principle involved in this. But from a practical point of view, this means adding greatly to the labour in office and no particular useful purpose would be served by it. It should be provided that any record would be given in any language or script without extra payment. Further, statements should be recorded in any language or script.

30. I would beg you to look at this matter afresh and consider how Hindi suffers or where any undemocratic procedure comes in. Apart from this, many of the points you have raised have actually been clarified and accepted. Suppose there is some minor difference about some matter, is that a reason why we should quarrel and create bitterness and, in our attempt to serve Hindi, make many people opposed to it? Surely, that is not wisdom even from the narrowest viewpoint.

31. The more I think over this matter, the more I feel that it is not the language issue that has created this controversy but something else, and the language issue has really been made a pretext. I do not see any major conflict over the language question. When you came to see me, you were good enough to agree to what I said and then later, something else happened. What then is the real issue? Presumably, it is a purely political issue, totally unconnected with language. Is the Arya Samaj going to allow itself to be exploited for purely political issues? This is a matter requiring the most serious consideration because the consequences are deeper and go much further into the future.

32. If there are political differences, as there often are, they should be dealt with on the political level and an attempt made to find a way out. Let them not be mixed up with other issues which have nothing to do with them.

33. May I remind you of the present state of our country and of the world. We face grave economic crisis. We are struggling hard to fulfil our Second Five Year Plan and thus build a new India. In the world, the shadow of the hydrogen bomb hangs over us and from time to time test explosions take place, poisoning the air and condemning untold numbers of people to death and grievous injury in the future. This is the shape of things today in India and the world. What is our duty and what is the duty of every Indian? What is the duty of every Punjabi today? To forget these grave major issues and lose himself in unjustified controversy and, at the same time, break up the unity of the State and of India? Surely not. Punjab is one of our leading States. It is a frontier State and has special responsibilities. No responsibility could be fulfilled without basic unity.

34. I would beg of you and your colleagues to consider all these matters and to lend the weight of your influence towards withdrawing a movement which cannot possibly serve the purpose proclaimed for it and can only do injury to all.<sup>6</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. The Hindi Raksha Samiti's save-Hindi agitation was called off on 27 December 1957 as a result of efforts, among others, of G.S. Singh, G.B. Pant, Suraj Bhan, and Mehr Chand Mahajan. The Punjab Government released all the arrested persons and gave an assurance to the Arya Samaj leaders that their demands would be considered sympathetically.



## 5. To Ghanshyam Singh Gupta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 15, 1957

Dear Shri Ghanshyam Singh Gupta,<sup>2</sup>

On my arrival in Delhi today, I received your letter of the 9th July, with which you have sent a copy of the statement made by you in regard to the language agitation in the Punjab conducted by the Arya Samaj. I have read your statement carefully.

I do not think it will serve any useful purpose for me to reply to it as I have already written at length on this subject to Swami Atmanand.<sup>3</sup> Since writing that letter, I have given further thought to this matter and have also had occasion to study the teaching of languages in a number of European countries. In these countries, there are usually three, and sometimes four, compulsory second languages taught apart from the mother tongue. In Finland, ninety-one per cent of the population is Finnish speaking and nine per cent Swedish speaking. Both languages have to be learnt compulsorily by all, in addition to English and at least one other foreign language. I need not give you further instances.

It is clear that our knowledge of the world and of educational processes as well as of conditions in India differs. We think differently and perhaps because of this, we act differently. To me, nothing can be more absurd than this language agitation in the Punjab. Apart from its absurdity, what pains me is the deep injury it is doing to the cause of Hindi all over India and, of course, in the Punjab in particular. My idea of culture is evidently different from your idea or that of the Arya Samaj.

Whatever the motive underlying this agitation may be, it is obvious that the Arya Samaj has entangled itself in a narrow communal agitation with a political background and objective. It pains me to see a religious and cultural organization forget both the religious and the cultural outlook and drift in these wrong directions which can do it or the country no good.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. An Arya Samajist and Congressman; President, Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Delhi; chairman of a seventeen-member committee formed by the Sabha to give an all-India character to the save-Hindi agitation in Punjab.

3. See the preceding item.

## 6. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 17, 1957

My dear Partap Singh,

Thank you for your letter of July 15, which I have just received and read with interest.

From what I learn from your letter and from other sources, I think that you have been dealing with these so-called Hindi satyagrahis in the right way. Even though this mild treatment by the police may take longer to put an end to the agitation, I think it is the right way. Any violent conflict immediately diverts public attention in another direction. Of course, the arrested persons making mischief is another matter.

I do not think that we can give in on any basic point to this agitation. It is quite absurd for anyone to say that compulsion in teaching a language is against democracy. When I was in Scandinavia, I sent a note to Pantji and Maulana Azad about the teaching of languages there. In Finland nine per cent of the people speak Swedish language and ninety-one per cent Finnish, which is a completely different language. Yet both languages are considered national languages and everyone has to learn them. In addition to these two, at least two other foreign languages chosen from French, German, English and Russian have to be compulsorily learned. So also there are several compulsory languages in Norway, Sweden and Denmark. In Holland, I found there were four languages to be learned compulsorily.

It is apparently admitted that for the Matriculation a candidate must pass both in Hindi and Punjabi (Gurmukhi). If so, then it follows that provision should be made for teaching both. The only question that arises is the stage at which the second language should be taken up. That is a matter which, as I have said, may be treated on the educational level. I do not mind if by agreement any stage is fixed, provided the principle is accepted.

Some people in Delhi connected with the Arya Samaj have been going about saying that some suitable compromise should be arrived at. They have not come to me, and I do not wish to encourage them at all.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.



## 7. To Tara Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 21, 1957

My dear Master Tara Singh,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of the 15th July.

I am afraid I am wholly unable to agree with you in your appraisal of what happened in the course of the negotiations between the Congress and representatives of the Akali Dal. It is true that I was not personally involved in these negotiations except on certain occasions when I was also present. But I was kept in general touch. In this matter some of your own intimate colleagues like Sardar Hukam Singh<sup>3</sup> and Giani Kartar Singh<sup>4</sup> do not, as you know, agree with your interpretation of events.

There may be misunderstandings about minor matters, but I think that you have been unfair to the Congress in the charges you have been bringing.<sup>5</sup> You refer to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri having made a reference to arbitration.<sup>6</sup> I do not know what he said or in what context it was said, but any proposal for arbitration in this matter seems to me very extraordinary. The only arbiter can be public opinion. Even before the last General Elections, the public had before it your charges. The elections took place after those charges had been repeatedly

1. File No. 6, Secret Correspondence between U.N. Dhebar and Jawaharlal Nehru, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. A prominent leader of the Akali Dal, who was at this time, associated with the Sikh Missionary College, Amritsar.
3. Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha, at this time. He had won the 1957 elections from the Bhatinda Parliamentary constituency on a Akali ticket.
4. Revenue Minister, Government of Punjab.
5. Tara Singh claimed that the Congress High Command had failed to keep the promises made to Akali leaders Hukam Singh and Kartar Singh. These included: (i) at the time of grant of Congress tickets for constituencies with Sikh majorities the Akali Dal group would get nominations in accordance with its position and status in the Sikh community as made manifest at the time of the last elections to the SGPC and (ii) that the list of Congress candidates from Punjab, would be shown to him for his satisfaction before final selection and, if need be, he could protest against a decision.
6. Tara Singh wrote that Shastri had declared in one of his speeches that the "Congress was prepared to refer the matter of allegations of dishonest negotiations and bad faith to arbitration. Tara Singh said he accepted this offer and suggested that either Vinoba Bhave or Jayaprakash Narayan should be appointed as arbitrators, as they commanded "universal respect."

made by you and after you had worked against Congress candidates in various constituencies. We should, therefore, accept the verdict of the electorate in this matter.

You have particularly referred in your letter to Sardar Gian Singh.<sup>7</sup> When you mentioned his name to me when you met me long ago, I gave you my full answer. I do not think there has been anything improper, much less disgraceful in the way the Congress and Sardar Gian Singh have dealt with each other. Everything has been completely above board. What there may be between you and him is a matter about which I cannot express an opinion.

It is true that I objected to Sardar Gian Singh's behaviour some years ago when he formed a Government in PEPSU. Many years afterwards he came to me and explained the circumstances of that incident. His explanation made some difference though it did not satisfy me. More time passed. When he came to me again and asked me if I bore him a grudge because of the past incident, I assured him that I did not, although I did not agree with him about that matter. Later, again he came to see me (this too was about a year and a half ago, or more) and asked me if he could join the Congress.<sup>8</sup> I told him that this was a matter he should discuss with the Congress President. If he really accepted Congress principles and wanted to join it, I would have no objection. I added, I think, that he should think over this matter carefully and not take any step in a hurry, and provided only that he was sure of his views and of his acceptance of the Congress viewpoint. I know that no commitment of any kind was ever made to him either by the Congress President or by me.

It was long after this that we had talks with you and your colleagues, among whom was Sardar Gian Singh. Those talks ended in some kind of agreement. Later Sardar Gian Singh again came to me and said that now he had decided to join the Congress. I told him that since he had so decided after full consideration he could do so so far as I was concerned. Again there was no commitment to

7. Tara Singh wrote that he had given an assurance to the Akali Dal that since Gian Singh Rarewala, "had not got any promise of profit for himself or for his followers as prize for desertion from Akali Dal," the Dal should extend its full cooperation to the Congress. He complained that the Congress High Command treated the Dal as a mere hanger on and a minor group. Tara Singh also alleged that Rarewala had been "purchased" and "given the bait of a seat in the Cabinet and Congress tickets to his friends." Condemning these "Machiavellian tactics" as "most disgraceful just like the old imperialists anxious to purchase collaborators", Tara Singh wondered whether the Congress had set any standard for political honesty.

8. For Nehru's record of talks with Rarewala on 7 June 1956, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, pp. 360-361.



him of any kind by the President of the Congress or by me. I see absolutely nothing improper about this, and I think that your criticism has no justification. I can understand your not liking Sardar Gian Singh doing something against your wishes, but that is a matter between you and him.

Since you have been good enough to write to me, I am sending you this relatively brief reply. It will serve little purpose for us to go on arguing about this matter. Surely there are more important things to be done in this country of ours.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 8. To Atmanand Saraswati<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 22, 1957

My dear Swami Atmanandji,

I have received your letter of July 14,<sup>2</sup> for which I thank you. I am sorry for the slight delay in answering it. I have been very heavily occupied since my return from Europe a week ago.

I have read your letter with the care that it deserves. Largely it is a repetition of the previous arguments put forward by you and others, to which I had endeavoured to reply in my last letter.<sup>3</sup> I do not know that I can add anything to what I have already written with advantage. I regret to say that I am wholly unconvinced by much that you have written in justification of the language agitation that has been started by the Arya Samaj in the Punjab. I have been distressed by this agitation for a variety of reasons to which I have referred in my last letter. Firstly, the agitation, whatever its original motive, must necessarily

1. JN Collection.

2. This letter was released to the press on 21 July 1957.

3. See *ante*, pp. 216-222.

become a political agitation.<sup>4</sup> It has indeed become so and some of the most reactionary elements in our public life are obviously supporting it for political reasons. Many Arya Samajists of note have told me that this agitation is connected with a political background.

I can understand, of course, political agitations, and they may or may not be justified. But it is, I think, a serious matter when a religious and social reform organization like the Arya Samaj gets entangled in such agitations. This reminds me of the Muslim League in the old days exploiting some alleged grievance for political purposes. Inevitably that reacts on the organization and gives it a different colour which cannot be good either from the religious or the cultural point of view.

Secondly, an agitation of this kind, however peaceful the intent of its sponsors, is always likely to lead to violent approaches and methods, and then move away from the plane of peaceful satyagraha. We see again this happening in the Punjab. My understanding of satyagraha is that it is meant to win over those who have an opposite viewpoint. Instead of winning over, such an agitation aggravates the conflict and makes people on both sides more rigid in their outlook. That is the negation of satyagraha as conceived by Mahatma Gandhi.

Thirdly, the agitation does great disservice to the cause of national unity and to communal harmony in the Punjab. That is obvious and requires no argument from me. In an atmosphere of communal conflict, no progress can be made, cultural or other.

Fourthly, such an agitation does great disservice to the cause of Hindi, our national all-India language.<sup>5</sup> It seems to me an extraordinary thing that, in the name of encouraging Hindi, an exactly opposite result is produced. This opposite result is produced not only among considerable sections of people in the Punjab, but also in other non-Hindi-knowing parts of India. In fact, we have seen these reactions. Many lovers of Hindi in the Hindi speaking part of India have viewed with concern and dismay the effects of this Punjab language agitation on the

4. Atmanand Saraswati claimed that movement to save Hindi in Punjab had nothing to do with politics and added that at no stage did they ask for political concessions. He further observed that unlike the Akalis, the members of the Hindi Raksha Samiti, "were not interested in any share in the administration of the state."

5. Summing up the position of the Arya Samaj and the Hindi Raksha Samiti on the language issue, Atmanand Saraswati wrote: "We have no quarrel with Punjabi as such. Disrobe Punjabi of the veneer of politics and you will see how it flourishes along with Hindi in the Punjab. If present conditions continue, Punjabi will never become the language of the Punjab."



growth of Hindi, in various parts of India. You know that there are elements in the South and elsewhere which, I think, unreasonably declare themselves against Hindi. We have made it clear that Hindi does not wish to push out the great Indian languages, which are all national and recognized by the Constitution. There is no question of rivalry between Hindi and these languages. They should help each other, but any aggressive attitude taken by the protagonists of Hindi creates adverse reactions and injures the cause of Hindi. The language agitation in the Punjab is having this effect not only in the Punjab but elsewhere in India.

Fifthly, I fail to see any reality behind this language agitation and, even if there was some little reality and feeling in this matter, surely the way to deal with the question was not by way of agitation but by friendly cooperation and gradual adaptation.

Sixthly, the charge you make that a blow has been struck at Hindi and people are being deprived of their right to use Hindi, surely is completely unjustified. Hindi, apart from being the national language of India, is one of the recognized State languages of the Punjab. Everybody has to learn it. Thus, the scope of Hindi will spread and so also will its use. The only thing that can come in its way is prejudice created by language conflict.

Seventhly, you object to the compulsory teaching of Punjabi in the Gurmukhi script even though it has been said that this teaching may be phased after reference to educational experts and others competent to judge. In fact, you seem to think that there can or should be no compulsion about the teaching of a language. This is a proposition which I fail to understand and cannot accept. It is contrary to the practice prevailing all over the world, where more than one and sometimes as many as three languages, apart from the mother tongue, are compulsory subjects in schools. I have just been to Finland. Nine per cent of the population speak Swedish there, while ninety-one per cent speak Finnish. In spite of this great disparity, the Government of Finland have made both Finnish and Swedish the two national languages which everyone must learn, one after the other. In addition, two other foreign languages have to be learned compulsorily. These may be English or Russian or French or German. Thus there are three compulsory languages, apart from the mother tongue. In various North European countries, at least three compulsory languages are taught in the schools, apart again from the national language. In addition, classical languages like Greek or Latin are also sometimes compulsory. I could give any number of instances of this kind. Thus, to say that compulsion in teaching a language is something opposed to democracy or freedom is contrary to accepted standards and practice all over the world. It may well be that we introduce more compulsory languages in our school system, such as English and Sanskrit, for different purposes, of course.

We cannot grow as a nation if we live in a narrow enclave of thought and culture, cut off from the rest of the world. I suggest to you, therefore, that there is absolutely no force in your argument about compulsion. You say, "Why force a person to learn a language which he does not consider important enough? You make him feel that he is being deprived of a fundamental right." That is an argument which I do not understand at all.

Eightily, your second point is that there should be no restriction for transacting governmental work in Hindi at any level of administration. I do not quite know what this means. But, so far as I know, it is not proposed to restrict the use of Hindi at all. Anyone can write applications, letters, etc., in Hindi and will get replies in that language. Anyone can ask for papers in Hindi. The only point that was made clear by me previously was that it was not feasible and not desirable to have a double set of records. In actual practice, there was bound to be some overlapping as there has been and is today in regard to English, Urdu and Hindi. There may be sometimes some particular instance to which one might object. That can be taken up and any individual grievance removed.

I have tried to give as close thought as possible to all that you have written and others have written or said about this matter, and I can tell you in all honesty that I just cannot understand why a grievance should be made out of something which is so eminently reasonable and which allows full scope for the development and use of Hindi, indeed much more scope than it has ever had before in the Punjab. It will be a bad day for Hindi if its protagonists appear to India as a whole and to the world as narrowminded people who do not take a wider view of language and culture and who come in the way not only of national unity and progress, but even the full development and growth of our national language, Hindi.

You have complained of some speeches delivered by the Chief Minister of the Punjab. I do not know to what speeches you refer. But I have seen the correspondence between him and the leaders of the Arya Samaj in the Punjab. In this correspondence, the Chief Minister of the Punjab was not only most courteous, but also most accommodating. In this matter there should be no two opposing groups or even viewpoints, because the objective is common. It may be that there are some differences of opinion in regard to the methods to be employed. Surely, a mature nation or community decides differences of opinion in a cooperative and peaceful way and not by agitations which inevitably become violent and which are meant to coerce.

Much has already happened that I regret and you must also regret. I hope that this kind of thing will not be allowed to proceed any further, and the language agitation in the Punjab will be ended so that the passions that are being aroused should subside and all questions should be considered calmly and on merits



with a view to national and communal unity, our cultural growth and the healthy development of not only Hindi but our other languages also.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 9. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
25th July 1957

My dear Partap Singh,

I sent you the other day a copy of a letter I had written to Swami Atmanand Saraswati.<sup>2</sup> I leave it to you to decide when to issue this to the press. I had spoken about this letter to the Governor also when he was here and sent him a copy. Perhaps you might consult him also.

I am told that this last letter of mine has created some slight upset among the Hindi Raksha Samitists and they are considering what to do.<sup>3</sup>

Yash<sup>4</sup> came to see me today. He was naturally rather worried and asked my advice what should be done. He gave me a message from brother Ranbir Singh<sup>5</sup> of the *Milap* in which it was suggested that I might send for Mehr Chand

1. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

3. The Executive Committee of the Hindu Raksha Samiti, at a meeting chaired by Atmanand Saraswati in Ambala on 23 June, adopted a resolution stating that there was no reason to withdraw the agitation on the basis of Nehru's letter since the "fundamental points in dispute" remained "unconceded and unresolved".

4. Yash Pal (1919-1992); prominent Arya Samaj leader of Punjab; participated in the freedom movement and was imprisoned for seven years; served for many years as editor-in-charge of the *Milap* (Urdu) and *Hindi Milap*, daily newspapers published from Jalandhar; Member, Punjab Legislative Council, 1952-62; Deputy Minister of Education, Punjab, 9 April to 3 July 1957, resigned because of the Hindi-Punjabi controversy; Deputy Minister, Education and Languages, Punjab Government, 1959-61; Minister for Education, March-December 1962; elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1972; Minister for Excise and Taxation, 1972-77.

5. Ranbir Singh, Chief Editor of Urdu daily *Milap* (Delhi), 1949-82.

Mahajan.<sup>6</sup> I told Yash that I did not think it desirable to take such a step. Of course if anybody wants to see me, he can see me. But for me to send for any person would mean as if I wanted some kind of negotiations and this would be giving a wrong impression. I see nothing to negotiate about. We cannot possibly give up what we have decided upon. That would be breaking our word and we would be accused of going back on what we had pledged. No one could rely upon our word afterwards. Also, this would inevitably lead to rival agitations which would not bring peace but more conflict.

We have, therefore, to stick to our present position but, of course, we should do so in a friendly and polite way, making it easy for the other people to give up their wrong path. We have no desire to humiliate anybody and we want to make friends and cooperate. But to do the wrong thing and to surrender to a wrong agitation is not the way to make friends with anybody.

Though we cannot go behind our pledged word, it is always open to us to work this in a friendly way and we should interpret it in a way which gives the least offence. If any difficulties arise in future, they can be discussed and I have no doubt ways will be found to deal with them.

Chaman Lall and Anup Singh<sup>7</sup> also came to see me about something else but mentioned this matter to me. It was Chaman Lall who said that my last letter to Swami Atmanand had upset those people to some extent.

I am just keeping you informed.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. A former Chief Justice of India and President of the DAV College managing committee, which controlled many educational institutions in Punjab.

7. Both were Congressman from Punjab and members of the Rajya Sabha.



## 10. To C.P.N. Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
25th July, 1957

My dear C.P.N.,<sup>2</sup>

I enclose a copy of a letter sent to Sardar Partap Singh Kairon.<sup>3</sup>

I am worried at some news about Partap Singh's son<sup>4</sup> being charged with smuggling and getting into trouble with the Customs authorities. I am told that there are a number of others related to him who are also involved in some way or other. I do not know what the facts are and I hope that this is nothing serious. But this is just the kind of thing which may be used in an attempt to discredit Partap Singh. I hope that he will be careful in these matters and not allow his natural affection for his son to lead him into some wrong step. This is just for you and for no one else.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Governor of Punjab.

3. Nehru wrote to Kairon the same day: "I am distressed to see in the newspapers that your son got into some trouble with the customs authorities....I do not want people to injure you because of these matters. You should keep above them."

4. Surinder Singh.

## 11. Message to the Harijan Convention<sup>1</sup>

I send my good wishes to the Harijan Convention which is going to be held in Jullundur on August 4. We have always to remember that the progress of the Indian people has to be measured by the progress made by those in the lowest social and economic scales.

Because of our desire to progress rapidly, as evidenced by the Second Five-Year Plan, we have now to face very critical situations which affect not only the Plan but the whole of India. In order to face this grave situation we have to work hard and to utilize all our energies jointly and constructively for this purpose. It is a matter of deep regret to me that at this time specially some people's energies should be diverted to conflict which not only comes in the way of constructive effort at a time of great need but also produces hatred and sows the seeds of discord.

I have expressed my views fully in regard to the so-called "Save-Hindi Agitation" in the Punjab. I think it is totally misconceived and injurious to the Punjab and to India and, above all, to the cause of Hindi. I think I can appreciate views that differ from mine. But in this matter it is not a question of differing views but of the whole approach being such as I have failed completely to understand. I want to serve the cause of Hindi and to make it progress. I have no doubt it is progressing and will progress more. It will not do so by conflict and by creating among many people a dislike of it, as is now being done presumably in the Punjab. This is not a question of prestige for the Government or for those who organize the agitation. There should be no question of victory or defeat because we are all in the same boat in India and in the Punjab.

In the difficult trials that we have to face in the country and in the world, we have to behave with wisdom and foresight and maturity. We cannot afford to be immature and lose ourselves in petty wrangles. That would do no credit to our nationalism and love of country or language.

I wish success to the Harijan Convention.

1. New Delhi, 28 July 1957. JN Collection.



## 12. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 29, 1957

My dear Partap Singh,

Some days ago, there was an article in *The Tribune* which you must have seen. Nevertheless, I am sending you this cutting.

I am doing so because, at this moment particularly, when you have to face a very difficult situation, there should be no room for criticism in regard to the administration, more especially, the Police. Apart from this article, other complaints have also reached me. One is about Budhi Singh Bindra who, it is stated, was not even considered fit for selection grade as Superintendent of Police only four months ago. Recently, however, he has been appointed as DIG and is now DIG (CID) which is a very responsible post.

I am told also that a large number of important departments have been grouped together and put under Ranbir Singh as Secretary. To put so many vital departments under one man appears unusual, more especially when that person's past record is not that of an outstanding officer.

There have also been complaints about two police officers in connection with smuggling activities. These are Narang Singh and Chaudhry Ram Singh.

I have also received some complaints about Narain Singh Shahzadpuri,<sup>2</sup> one of your MLAs.

I hope you will not mind my drawing your attention to these matters because I am anxious to help you in dealing with the difficult situation that has arisen in the Punjab. It is true that the language agitation is a mere cloak to something else. Unfortunately, many Hindus in the Punjab are worked up to a great extent and feel that they are not being properly treated.

I hope you will consider what I have written and enquire into these matters.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Congressman and member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1957-61.

### 13. To Gurmukh Singh Musafir<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 30, 1957

My dear Musafirji,<sup>2</sup>

I see that the Punjab Congress has at last started some kind of a public approach in regard to the language agitation.<sup>3</sup> I think it is essential that the Congress should carry on a vigorous campaign to explain the Government's position and to meet the wrong and false charges brought by the Arya Samaj people and others. So far your meetings appear to have been held in the rural areas. I think they should be held in the big cities also, Ambala, Jullundur, Ludhiana, and also Amritsar.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. President, Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee.

3. At the end of July 1957, prominent Congress leaders from Punjab were asked by the Pradesh Congress Committee to undertake extensive tours of the districts of Ferozepur, Sangrur, Patiala, Bhatinda and Ambala to explain the Party's stand on the Hindi language issue raised by the Hindi Raksha Samiti.



## (ii) Delhi

1. Slum Improvement<sup>1</sup>

Speaking of the slum improvement work in general, the Prime Minister said that although the progress made so far was generally satisfactory, complaints had been received by him that in some areas where improvements had been carried out, there had again been some deterioration in conditions and the amenities which had been provided, were not being maintained in a satisfactory manner. This was particularly so with regard to the flush type latrines and water taps.

The Delhi State authorities admitted that the complaint was true to some extent. This state of affairs was mainly due to the living habits of the residents. Moreover, difficulty was being experienced in the realization of electricity and water charges. Under the law, as it stands at present, a landlord could not be compelled to provide electricity and water at his own expense. Recurring charges on account of these services could not, therefore, be recovered from the landlord but had to be passed on to the tenants who in most cases were not willing to pay them even though the amount involved was very small. Although a provision had been made in the draft Corporation Bill,<sup>2</sup> which would come up before Parliament shortly, to overcome this difficulty, no legal action was possible at present. It was,

1. Minutes of a meeting to consider the question of slum clearance in Delhi, 2 May 1957. JN Collection. Extracts. The meeting was attended by T.T. Krishnamachari, Amrit Kaur, D.P. Karmarkar, A.K. Chanda and 32 officials. Representatives from various ministries, Delhi Administration, Delhi Improvement Trust, Delhi Municipal Committee, New Delhi Municipal Committee, Bharat Sevak Samaj and Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee also attended the meeting.
2. The Bill, introduced in the Lok Sabha on 7 September 1957, was passed by it on 28 November, and by the Rajya Sabha on 17 December. It received the President's assent on 28 December. The Delhi Municipal Corporation Act, 1957 provided for the setting up of a Municipal Corporation of Delhi excluding an area of 15 square miles of New Delhi. It empowered the Corporation to have jurisdiction not only over the urban areas of Delhi but also over rural areas around the capital.

however, felt that the matter could not be left over until the Bill was passed and it was, therefore, desirable that some action should be taken immediately.

The Prime Minister suggested that the Bharat Sevak Samaj and other social welfare organizations should take steps to educate public opinion and to enlist the cooperation of the residents. For this purpose, it was considered that Panchayats should be formed in various areas and they should be made responsible not only for the proper maintenance of the amenities which had been provided but also for the realization of recurring charges. It was better to lay down a flat rate to meet the recurring water and electricity charges and some person should be appointed by the Panchayats to realize the payments. The Prime Minister also suggested that the amount charged from each family should be somewhat in excess of the charges actually payable, the balance being credited to an amenities fund. It was felt that if the residents knew that a portion of the money paid by them would be utilized for provision of further amenities in the area, there was better chance of getting their cooperation. The Prime Minister said that it should be made clear to the residents that either they should cooperate with the Government in these matters or they would have to be removed from the area....

2. The Chairman,<sup>3</sup> Delhi Improvement Trust, briefly explained the present position with regard to the Master Plan for Delhi.

The Prime Minister said that although it would take some time before the final details of the Plan were known, this should not hold up the work relating to slum clearance and improvement. What was necessary was that the broad features of the Plan should be decided upon and the ultimate details could be worked out later. Work should be carried on within the framework of the broad outlines. The Chairman, Delhi Improvement Trust, stated that the revised Plan, in so far as the broad features were concerned, would be available by the middle of June and the details would be finalized later. The Prime Minister stressed the importance of proceeding with the work as expeditiously as possible.

...The Prime Minister said that there was no doubt at all that the area<sup>4</sup> would have to be cleared so that necessary improvements could be carried out. The practical difficulties put forward by the residents should, however, be carefully

3. G. Mukharji.

4. V.K.B. Pillai, Secretary, Ministry of Health, said a decision had been taken to rehouse the persons who were to be removed from the Jamna Bazar locality, on the banks of the Yamuna river.



examined. It was no use sending people to places which were at some distance and where they would have no means of earning their livelihood. The matter should be carefully considered with a view to finding out whether it would be possible to rehouse some of these persons in the locality itself. It should also be examined whether some of them could not be moved to the newly constructed colonies like Vinay Nagar where no provision had been made for cobblers, barbers, washermen, etc. It should also be considered whether it would not be better to move some of the Government offices to comparatively distant places and to utilize the sites intended for the construction of office buildings for rehousing evictees from the Jamna Bazar area. It was suggested that a final decision regarding the action to be taken in the matter should only be taken after the Prime Minister had personally visited the site and seen things for himself. The Prime Minister accepted the suggestion and agreed to visit the area some time next week.

4. The Prime Minister enquired the present position about slum clearance in the Jama Masjid area with particular reference to the removal of fish and *kabaris* shops.

The Chairman, Delhi Improvement Trust, explained that sanction for the construction of a market in Dujana House, to which the fish shops would be removed, had been received and that work would be taken in hand shortly. So far as the *kabaris* were concerned, it was decided to move them to the Idgah area. Shrimati Subhadra Joshi<sup>5</sup> said that the site selected for the purpose was not considered entirely satisfactory. The Delhi State authorities explained that there would not be much difficulty in making suitable adjustment with regard to the exact location of the new market to which the *kabaris* would be removed. It was decided that the matter should be looked into and necessary action taken as early as possible.

5. President, Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee.

## 2. To K.C. Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 10, 1957

My dear Reddy,<sup>2</sup>

Some time ago a large number of persons came to my house and raised some slogans. On enquiry I found that they were coming from the Delhi races and complaining of malpractices at those races. In particular, they were complaining of an individual, who apparently has control of the Club.

I am not particularly interested in horse racing. But as these complaints were made, I enquired from the Chief Commissioner<sup>3</sup> of Delhi who said in effect that these charges were correct and that the Delhi Race Club was controlled by a set of unscrupulous persons who were trying to make money out of it at the expense of the public. The Chief Commissioner stated that this question of improving the management of the Club has been under the consideration of the Ministry of WH & S for two or three years, who had asked him for his views and suggestions in October 1956. The Chief Commissioner had then stated that unless all the conditions which were laid down were complied with, the Government should refuse to renew the licence for the Club.

This suggestion could easily be given effect to. In fact, at important racing centres such as, Calcutta, Bombay, Poona, Bangalore, etc., steps have been taken to prevent malpractices and horse racing has helped the horse breeding industry in India.

Apparently nothing has been done by the Ministry of WH&S since then, although the issue is quite a simple one. Will you kindly look into this matter and have steps taken soon. As far as I can see, the Chief Commissioner's suggestion is a good one and might be given effect to.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister for Works, Housing & Supply.

3. A.D. Pandit.



### 3. To K.C. Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 4, 1957

My dear Reddy,

I see that some old buildings on either side of the vista are being destroyed. Presumably some new buildings will be put up there. What are these new buildings? Are they going to be Government offices and will they be on the same model as the other multi-storeyed Government buildings that have been put up?

The new Museum that is being built on Rajpath juts out and reaches almost the little canal. I do not know why this was made to jut out so much and be out of line with the other buildings on either side. I hope no other building would be constructed which encroaches on this open space of the vista.

In view of the great need for economy, I am afraid we must give up putting up buildings which are not quite essential.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(175)/57-66-PMS.

### 4. Legislation for the Delhi Corporation<sup>1</sup>

I spoke to you on the telephone today about the draft legislation for the Delhi Corporation. You said that this had been drafted by the Home Ministry and sent on to the Law Ministry.

2. The Ford Foundation are sending to India a rather high-class team of planners. This team has specialists in various kinds attached to it. One of these is a specialist in city administration. He has knowledge of the cities of Europe

1. Note to the Home Secretary, 5 June 1957. File No. 28(15)/56-57-PMS.

and America on the administration side. I do not know how far this American and European knowledge can be of much help so far as Indian conditions are concerned. Still, there are problems which are common to big cities anywhere and we shall try to profit by his knowledge here.

3. I suggest that as soon as you have the draft bill for the Corporation at Delhi ready, a copy of this might be sent to this American expert for his suggestions, if any. This may not yield any important result but it can do no harm.

4. I suggest, therefore, that you should send a copy of this draft bill to my Secretary Srinivasan<sup>2</sup> who will send it on to Mr Albert Mayer.<sup>3</sup> Mr Mayer will see to it that this reaches the person concerned.

2. C.R. Srinivasan was private secretary to Nehru in the Ministry of External Affairs.

3. Albert Mayer, an eminent architect and town planner, was planning and development adviser to the Government of India.

## 5. To D.P. Karmarkar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 30, 1957

My dear Karmarkar,

You know that some of the Municipal workers, chiefly I believe sweepers and the like, are on strike and some are even on hunger strike. They wanted to see me. I asked them to see my Principal Private Secretary,<sup>2</sup> who met them and has sent me the attached note.

I can express no opinion about their demands. But we must always remember that these people are in the lowest social grade and are therefore apt to be treated casually and in a cavalier way. We must give them courtesy and sympathy, even though we cannot meet some of their demands. I fear that our officers normally adopt a high and mighty tone.

1. JN Collection.

2. K. Ram.



I see that you have met a deputation from them already, but while expressing your sympathy, you expressed your inability to intervene as you were not directly concerned with these demands. You were quite right in saying so. I suggest, however, that we might go a small step further to give these people a chance of putting an end to their strike as well as their fasting.

I suggest therefore that you should ask to see Shri K.L. Balmiki,<sup>3</sup> who is an MP, as well as some other members of his organization to see you again. When you see them, ask some officer of the Municipality also to come. I do not suggest any kind of a formal enquiry, but you might just discuss the matter with them together with the officer and point out to them what has been accepted and what in the circumstances cannot be accepted now. In regard to some matters you may say that they will be considered more fully and you may tell them also that you would always like to help them whenever possible. Advise them not to strike and especially to give up their fast. This is a difficult time for all of us and is peculiarly inappropriate for striking.<sup>4</sup>

In looking at the demands in PPS's note, I think there are some matters which can be improved. I have no doubt that sanitary inspectors and others treat these people badly and possibly take bribes. We must treat them gently and with sympathy.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Kanhaiya Lal Balmiki (1919-1985); Hindi poet, writer and social worker; jailed for participation in the freedom movement, 1942, 1943-45; worked for the uplift and education of Harijans and other backward classes; was associated with the Arya Samaj; Member, District Congress Committee, Bulandshahr, 1950; President: All-India Mehtar Mazdoor Sangh, 1950, and of Delhi Provincial Municipal Workers Sangh, 1951; Member, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52, and, Lok Sabha, 1952-67.

4. Commenting on the strike by municipal workers and sweepers in Delhi, Nehru stated in the Lok Sabha on 31 July 1957: "I am taking interest in this matter. I cannot promise that all their demands would be accepted. I can promise that they will have every sympathy from us."

## 6. Town Planning<sup>1</sup>

I am attaching a note by your predecessor<sup>2</sup> as Cabinet Secretary. I do not know if he spoke to you about this matter. I am, therefore, writing rather fully on the subject below.

2. At the instance of the Health Ministry (when Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was the Minister), the Ford Foundation agreed to send a high-level town-planning team to Delhi. This was to deal with Delhi first, and then later with other town planning problems in India.

3. Meanwhile, a set of architects and planners had been drawing up a plan for Delhi. They had done good work, and Cabinet had broadly agreed to their provisional plan. They were asked to proceed with it and, more especially, to finalize a skeleton plan so as to enable building operations to be adjusted accordingly. This was particularly necessary as steps had been taken to stop building in many places and the Delhi Development Provisional Authority had been constituted for this purpose.

4. Mr Albert Mayer, through whose good offices the Ford team had been arranged, discussed their work with me some two or three months ago. He impressed me with the high quality of this team which had been collected after much care and which represented various aspects of planning. He suggested that this team should be immediately associated with our own experts who would know their opposite numbers in the Ford team and work with them. In this way, an Indian team would be prepared for town planning work in a big way. After a year or two, the Ford Foundation team would return, and the Indian team then would carry on. This Indian team would not only work for Delhi, but for any other part of India. It was not possible to train up several teams for India. In addition to the Indian opposite numbers being attached to the Ford Foundation team, it was suggested by Mr Mayer that there should be a high level officer who would do the work of coordination, in addition to some other planning work. He was anxious that this officer should be chosen at an early stage.

5. The question of constituting a planning unit came up before the Cabinet some time ago, and the proposal was accepted. One question was kept open, as to whether this planning unit should function under the Health Ministry or the Planning Commission. This will have to be considered later in the Cabinet.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, Cabinet Secretary, 30 July 1957. JN Collection. Vellodi took over as Cabinet Secretary on 1 August 1957.

2. Y.N. Sukthankar.



Meanwhile, it is functioning under the Health Ministry, and there is no immediate hurry for a change, even if a change is considered necessary.

6. Shri G. Mukharji, the Chairman of the Improvement Trust and of the Delhi Development Provisional Authority, had been doing good work in connection with the Delhi slums. At one time, there was a proposal for his return to his original province, Uttar Pradesh,<sup>3</sup> but, at my special request, this proposal was dropped, and he stayed on here. I had formed a good opinion of his ability, earnestness and his success in dealing with the public. It was my idea at the time that he should become this coordinating officer in the new planning unit, to which Mr Albert Mayer had referred.

7. Before I went to Europe, Shri Sukthankar had some brief talk with me. I forget what this was. But, apparently, I gave him the impression that he should get a new officer to act as Coordinator, and the name of Shri Mathrani<sup>4</sup> of Bombay was considered in this connection. The Bombay Government was approached, and they agreed to relieve Shri Mathrani.

8. On my return from Europe, Shri Sukthankar spoke to me about this and was of opinion that Mathrani should be brought here from Bombay and appointed as Coordinating Officer of the planning unit. I was not quite clear about this. But, at one time, I was inclined to accept Shri Sukthankar's advice and indicated as much. The reason Shri Sukthankar had advanced, was that Shri Mukharji was much too heavily occupied with his other work which was of an executive kind and this should not be mixed up with work of the planning unit as such. So, his suggestion was that Mukharji should continue in charge of his various activities, and Mathrani should be the Coordinator. Of course, the two had to keep in intimate touch with each other. As I have said above, I agreed partially to this suggestion of Shri Sukthankar. But, I wanted to consult others also.

9. I have now had a talk with the Home Minister and the Health Minister. Both of them are of opinion that it would be far better for Mukharji to be this Coordinating Officer, as originally intended. Any separation of these two offices would lead to delay and some lack of coordination. I have also had a long talk with Shri Mukharji.

3. On 6 June 1957, Nehru wrote to D.P. Karmarkar, Minister of State for Health, that he was sorry to learn that Mukharji was going to leave Delhi because, "he was a good man and well suited to this important work we are doing in Delhi in regard to the slums. This work has not proceeded very far, but I want this to be pushed ahead fast. In fact, I would like him to be put in full charge of it." Nehru added: "I spoke to Pantji today about him and told him also that Mukharji should stay on here. I propose to speak to Mukharji about it also."

4. H.P. Mathrani served as Joint Secretary, Ministry of Transport, 1953-56.

10. As a result of this, I have come to the conclusion that it would not be at present desirable for us to have two officers for the various aspects of this work, and that Mukharji should, in addition to his slum work and in the Delhi Development Provisional Authority, also be a member of this planning unit as Coordinating Officer. He would have to give up some of his odd duties. That is a matter for the Health Ministry to look into.

11. I do not quite know whether Shri Mathrani is still in Bombay or has come here. Everyone agrees that he is an able officer and, in fact, there is a demand for his services from more than one place. It may be necessary later as work grows, for him to be attached to the planning unit. But, at present, there is not that much work anyhow, apart from the other considerations that I have pointed out above.

12. The Home Minister said that he would be glad to have Shri Mathrani for some other work he had in view. This could be either in Delhi or for a temporary period, for some important deputation work in Mysore State. So, there is no difficulty about finding suitable work for Shri Mathrani.

13. You should, therefore, take steps to formalize the appointment of Shri Mukharji as the Coordinating Officer in the planning unit. The Health Ministry will make necessary adjustments and relieve Mukharji of some of his odd duties, though he will continue to be in charge of the DDPA and of slum clearance.

14. As for Shri Mathrani, I do not quite know where he is. You can discuss this matter with the Home Minister.

15. Shri Sukthankar refers in his note to the four Indian architects being dissatisfied with the pay and working conditions, etc. I mentioned this matter to the Finance Minister today and he said that orders would be issued immediately on the representation made by these architects. You might find out if this has been done by the Finance Ministry.

16. Some time later, the question of the town planning unit being under the Health Ministry or the Planning Commission will have to be put up before the Cabinet, but there is no immediate hurry for this.

17. I am sending a copy of this note to the Health Ministry.



## (iii) Other States

1. To Mohanlal Sukhadia<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 3, 1957

My dear Sukhadia,<sup>2</sup>

Lieutenant General Nathu Singh<sup>3</sup> came to see me today. Among other matters, he spoke to me about the Bhooswami<sup>4</sup> people. He said that you were dealing with this question and he hoped that this would lead to a settlement of the issues involved. He added that a few of these Bhooswami leaders were bad people and out for mischief. Apparently, they are holding a meeting soon. He wanted me to continue to take interest in this matter and help in settling it.<sup>5</sup>

I told him that I was, of course, interested in it, but it was primarily a question for the Rajasthan Government and I hoped that they would deal with it satisfactorily for all concerned. I would keep myself informed and if on any occasion any help of mine was necessary, that was always available. But I could not take upon myself the burden of dealing with these intricate disputes. I had no idea how the matter stood now. I was under the impression that the only question that remained was one of implementing the decisions taken, more especially in regard to compensation. I had been told that this was being taken in hand expeditiously.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

3. (b. 1902); commissioned at Sandhurst, 1923; graduated from Staff College, Quetta, 1938; General Staff Officer-II, 4 Corps, Imphal, 1942; commanded the 9th Rajput Regiment, October 1943; Director, Selection of Personnel, May-October 1946; commanded troops in the Kamptee Sub-Area, the Deccan and UP Areas, 1947-48; General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Eastern Command, 1948-51.

4. Bhooswami Sangh, an association of small jagirdars constituting the majority of the Rajput population, sought compensation for their *jagirs* under the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagirs Act, 1952.

5. For Nehru's role as a mediator between the Rajasthan Government and the Bhooswami leaders, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, pp. 283-289.

## 2. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 16, 1957

My dear Sampurnanand,<sup>2</sup>

There is one matter which has been repeatedly mentioned here, partly in connection with a discussion on elections and partly otherwise. This is that in the UP some land has been acquired for canals three or four years ago. No compensation has been paid for this yet because it is said that papers are not ready. That is bad enough. But what appears to be most extraordinary is that the original owners or tenants of the land are still being made to pay rent for this land.

This has a comic aspect and has a gilbertian flavour. But apart from the comic aspect, it is causing us much harm and people make fun of Congress Governments.

If this is so, and I understand reliably that it is so, then surely immediate steps should be taken to put an end to it. This need not take many days. It should be a twenty-four hour matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.



### 3. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 24, 1957

My dear Prakasa,  
Your letter of May 22.<sup>2</sup>

I think I have a fairly full appreciation of the complexes that have been created in Maharashtra and to a lesser extent in some parts of Gujarat and the strong feelings that exist there. I am not at all complacent about it. I suppose we shall have to step warily and be vigilant about these matters and try gradually to tone down the passions that have arisen. I shall of course gladly go to Maharashtra when this is considered suitable and necessary. I told Chavan that.

I would be happy to meet you, but I am not stopping at Jamnagar at all on my way to Europe. We just stop there for refuelling. There would be no point in your coming there on that occasion. It would be much better for you to come to Delhi and meet some of us here.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Sri Prakasa, Governor of Bombay, wrote that the people of Maharashtra were "all full of anger" at Morarji Desai and "are alienated even from you, and want to create all sorts of situations so that they may force you to agree to a separate Maharashtra State." Disagreeing with Y.B. Chavan, Chief Minister of Bombay, that all would be well in a few months time, he felt: "all the affection and sympathy that you alone can give would be necessary to heal the wound and make the experiment of a bilingual state, a success." Sri Prakasa further said that the Samyukta Maharashtra Committee was intent on capturing all local bodies and requested Nehru "to come down and have a quiet round-table conference with fire-eaters and others, and exercise your very great influence to bring people together."

#### 4. To G.B. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 27, 1957

My dear Pantji,

A person from the Andamans came to see me today. His name is Ratnam and he is apparently connected with various Labour unions there. He told me that he is likely to see you. He gave me a paper which apparently is meant for circulation to Members of Parliament, though he said he had not circulated it yet.

I do not know about the situation in the Andamans and, of course, I could say nothing to Ratnam in regard to the various so-called "demands". But I have long had the feeling that we were not getting full benefit from the Andamans. I remember H.V.R. Iengar<sup>2</sup> seeing me after his visit to the Andamans and giving me a rosy picture of possibilities there. The Andamans contain some of the finest timber in the world of a surprising variety. We do not seem to do much about it, although I believe something is done. This is a matter for the Food and Agriculture Ministry.<sup>3</sup> The economy of Finland largely depends upon timber and timber products. For Burma too timber is most important. Also other countries. Here, in the Andamans, there is this great potential wealth which can also be a foreign exchange earner.

The Andamans, being rather cut off from us, apparently live a life of their own, and the Chief Commissioner<sup>4</sup> there is more or less a freelance. I do not know who is there now. Apparently there has been some labour trouble there.

1. File No. 17(250)/57-64-PMS.
2. H.V. R. Iengar, Governor of Reserve Bank, 1957-62.
3. The same day Nehru wrote to Food and Agriculture Minister A.P. Jain: "These islands have tremendous potential wealth in the shape of these forests from which very fine varieties of timber can be taken. It seems to me that we have made little use of these Andamans forests." Replying on 20 August, Jain wrote that the Inspector-General of Forests, who had recently visited the Andamans, "assures me that we can expect considerable improvement after the Second Five Year Plan schemes have been implemented in the South and Middle Andamans." Jain noted that for the North Andamans, a licence to develop for 25 years was given, in 1951, to Messrs. P.C. Ray & Co. He added that this company had made considerable investments and extracted appreciable quantities of timber but they appeared to be in serious financial difficulties and had not been able to put up the plants so far. Jain concluded that the matter was being vigorously pursued and, if necessary, an alternative scheme would be worked out.
4. T.G.N. Ayyar.



The entire population is a small one,<sup>5</sup> and the labour population naturally much smaller. Surely, the Chief Commissioner ought to be able to deal with this properly without coming into conflict with it and without having to stop production of the only factory there. It is possible that labour has misbehaved. But in a place like this if we have to retrench, presumably there is something wrong about our methods.

In the enclosed paper containing various demands, many of these are not feasible, at least for the present. But there are some things which appear to deserve consideration. I hope your Ministry will look into this matter.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

5. The total population of the Islands was 30,971 in 1957-58.

## II. NORTH-EASTERN STATES

### 1. The Challenge of Development<sup>1</sup>

I am glad to know that the North East Frontier Agency is bringing out a brochure on our ten years of activity in NEFA. I have not seen this brochure and so can say little about it. But I would like to say here how greatly interested I am in this important and intriguing part of India.

To me and to all of us, NEFA is a problem and a challenge. The questions it raises are different from those that we have to face in other parts of the country. We have therefore to find different answers.

The first thing to realize is this difference in approach. Any attempt merely to copy methods used elsewhere would be unfortunate both for us and for the people of NEFA.

Any attempt to try to make them like others would also be wrong. They, like other people, should develop themselves and should not be imposed upon. This is important, as there is a big gap between the social fabric of the people of NEFA and our other countrymen and there is danger that in trying to substitute another social organization, we break up the old and have nothing in its place.

We are anxious to help the people of NEFA to develop according to their own genius. But it must be according to their own genius and not something that they cannot absorb or imbibe and which merely uproots them. I would much rather go slow in our plans for development than risk the danger of this uprooting.<sup>2</sup>

I feel, therefore, that it is unwise to try to do too many things at the same time there which may result in disturbing the minds of the people or in upsetting their habits. I have no doubt that development and change and so-called progress will come to them, because it is becoming increasingly difficult for any people to live their isolated life cut-off from the rest of the world. But let this development and change be natural and be in the nature of self-development with all the help one can give in the process. After much thought I have come to this conclusion and I should like our officers and others working in NEFA to bear this in mind.

1. Message, 10 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 37, pp. 247-250 for Nehru's views on development activity sponsored by the Central Government in the NEFA.



In dealing with human beings anywhere, the wrong approach is the approach of a superior person. This is wrong even when it is well-intentioned and wants to do good. Our treatment of human beings, whoever they might be, must not have the taint of that superiority. It should be one of respect for another human being, so that he or she does not feel in any sense ashamed or unhappy or frustrated. It is only through respect and affection that people react in the proper way.

I am proud of the work being done by our officers in this NEFA region. Those I have met have been full of enthusiasm and a spirit of adventure, which one often misses in India. NEFA offers adventure certainly, but the adventure should be that of the human spirit and the human approach, so that we win over the minds and hearts of people. This is the true victory and true development follows this.

## 2. To V.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

May 15, 1957

My dear V.T.,<sup>2</sup>

I am writing to you about NEFA. I have come to the conclusion that our well-intentioned developmental activities in the NEFA might not always produce the right results. People living there are often very primitive and a sudden spurt of developmental activities tends to break up their social structure leaving nothing in its place. They are uprooted and feel quite frustrated. Also, I think it is very important that too many outside people do not go there. I was surprised to see the figure of a large number of our officers, clerks, *chaprassis*, etc., going there in connection with these various developmental activities.<sup>3</sup> The senior officers generally know how to deal with the people there. But it is not possible to train

1. JN Collection.

2. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

3. According to information gathered by the NEFA section in the Ministry of External Affairs, there were 3,776 government servants serving in the NEFA. Of this figure, 2,186 were Class III employees and 1,394 were Class IV employees.

all the junior people and lower staff and all kinds of problems and conflicts arise.

I feel, therefore, that we should go slow in NEFA and spread out our Five Year programme even to ten years. We have had a bad experience in the Naga Hills and I do not wish this to be repeated elsewhere. Let these people grow and let us help them. But I do not want any idea of imposition to come into the picture. The test of their development need not be the money we have spent or the other things that we have done. The real test is how far we have won them over and make them develop themselves. Of course I do not mean that developmental activity should stop. Some things have to be done there as quickly as possible. But everything should be judged from the point of view of its reaction on the people.

I have been trying to explain this to our officers in NEFA. I have often had an answer from them that the Planning Commission is eager to push on these activities. That is why I am writing to you. Most people think that we are doing good work there and we should pursue it with energy and speed. I agree of course but subject always to the qualification I had mentioned above. In any event I feel we should go slow.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 37, p. 253 for an earlier reference in this regard.



### 3. To Bisnuram Medhi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

May 16, 1957

My dear Medhi,<sup>2</sup>

I have spoken to you about the Naga problem. Yesterday I spoke to Tripathi<sup>3</sup> who was here. I think I have made my views clear to you. But there is one aspect of it which I want to emphasize, as it is of great importance.

For a variety of reasons, the strain of these Naga operations have been very great upon us. You have asked for help from the Central Government. We shall no doubt try to help you. But the real expenditure has fallen on the Central Government. We have met it because we thought it was inescapable. The fact is, however, that it is a great burden.

But an even greater and more vital difficulty is a different one. The world situation is a very bad and dangerous one. Atomic arms are piling up everywhere and the last half of this year is a dangerous one from the point of view of war. Further the Pakistan situation is also a very risky and explosive one. Keeping all this in view, it is most unwise and risky for us to have a good part of our army tied up in the Naga Hills. We cannot afford to continue to take this risk.

It has therefore become a matter of some urgency as well as of importance to try to solve this problem with speed so that we can remove a good part of our army from there. Because we have sent all these regiments to the Naga Hills or to the Tuensang Division, we have left unguarded many other important places.

This has become such an important aspect of this case that it has to be borne in mind. There is another aspect and that is the international one. Our credit is suffering and indirectly even the Kashmir issue is involved.

I have no doubt in my mind that whatever the ultimate arrangement may be, the first step we shall have to take will be to put the Naga Hills District under the Centre till the matter is thoroughly looked into and future decisions are taken. There has to be a break from the past before we can even fashion the future. To imagine that the situation will gradually improve and without our taking some such step is, I think, not reasonable or wise.

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Assam.

3. Kamakhya Prasad Tripathi, Minister of Planning and Development, Labour, Electricity and Industries, Government of Assam.

It is my view that ultimately all the areas of the North-East India should come under one State of Assam. But we cannot put them there now. In fact every attempt to do so would probably make this even more difficult and arouse opposition. Such things cannot be done by force. In order even to build up for a future big State of Assam, we must have an intervening period to allow things to settle down. It might be that what we do in regard to the Naga Hills might have some effect on the other hill areas. That has to be faced.

I should also like to say that much as I approve of some of the Naga leaders who are with us in Kohima and elsewhere, we cannot bring about a full settlement and peace through their means only. We have to deal with our hostile leaders and bring them round. Naturally we have to function in a way that the prestige of the loyal Nagas is not affected. But essentially a settlement must be made with those who are opposed to us and not with those who are with us.

I believe that gradually things are improving. The mere fact of people being frightened into surrender and nursing a deep grudge against us will not be enough. This will lead to trouble again and again. We have to put an end to the trouble and this can only be done by some kind of a settlement. I do not propose at this stage to discuss the details of the settlement. One point is clear that the whole demand for independence must go. Another point is also clear and I have given an assurance to the Nagas about it, that is that we shall consult them about the future arrangements.<sup>4</sup> In between this intervening period I think that the Centre must directly take charge of this area.

This is not for lack of faith in the Assam Government as I think you realize the situation. But the question is creating a psychology among the Nagas.

I am waiting for further developments there and I hope they will move in the right direction. If that happens, I may come over to Shillong for a day, but only if this is considered necessary.

I am writing to you now not because this question has arisen in this shape immediately but because it is likely to arise soon and we must have our minds clear.

I am going to Ceylon tomorrow for four days. On the 14th of June I shall be going to Europe. If possible I should like this matter to be settled before I leave for Europe.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. For Nehru's talks with Naga leaders in September 1956, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 35, pp. 142-152.



#### 4. Necessity of Withdrawing the Army<sup>1</sup>

I have not spoken to the Defence Minister<sup>2</sup> yet on this subject. I hope I shall have the opportunity to talk to him before he goes away tomorrow.

These papers have come to me this afternoon. It is true that the Chief of Army Staff<sup>3</sup> has previously mentioned to me the necessity of withdrawing some of our troops from the Naga Hills, etc. But this was rather a general statement and at that time I did not get the idea that this was a matter of extreme urgency. I am therefore a little surprised that this should come up to us now in this form.

It is obvious that, in the balance, the needs of our defence on the western border or in the east are more important than operations in the Naga Hills. At the same time it would be unfortunate that the advantage we have gained in the Naga Hills should be to some extent lost. Apart from the military consequences, this would encourage the hostiles at a moment when their own morale was perhaps cracking up. Therefore I should have liked for the withdrawal to be delayed somewhat till some kind of a settlement has been arrived at with the leaders of the Nagas. If the situation had been such that there was little hope in the near future of any such settlement, then there would be no particular point in delaying withdrawal. But there is certainly some hope of a settlement and I should not like to destroy that hope by any military withdrawal at this stage.

In the final analysis, I suppose we shall have to abide by the advice given to us by the Chief of the Army Staff, but he should consider every aspect of this case.

Meanwhile I am writing<sup>4</sup> to the Governor of Assam to warn him of what we might have to do.

I do not think that we should have a formal meeting of the Defence Committee yet to consider this matter. But we might have an informal meeting of the Cabinet Members of the Defence Committee plus the Defence Secretary and the Chief of Army Staff and anyone else that the Defence Secretary considers necessary.

I do not know how far it is possible to have fresh units of the Assam Rifles or of Armed Police to replace the Army.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, Defence Secretary, 23 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. V.K. Krishna Menon.

3. K.S. Thimayya.

4. See the next item.

## 5. To Saiyid Fazl Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 23, 1957

My dear Fazl Ali,<sup>2</sup>

For some time past, our Army Headquarters people have been impressing upon us that they cannot continue keeping a considerable part of the Army in the Naga Hills and thereabouts. This affects the defence of India in the other and more important theatres. They have now put this forward to us more formally and more urgently. Indeed, they have suggested the withdrawal from the Naga Hills of quite a considerable part of the armed forces there, more than half.

Although I was seized of this matter, I did not look upon it as one of urgency and I confess that I am rather upset by this demand. In the final analysis, the opinion of the Chief of Staff in the Army Headquarters cannot be ignored.

We know, of course, that a large-scale withdrawal of our armed forces from the Naga Hills may well create a more difficult situation there. The Naga hostiles would consider this a victory and their morale would go up. This will be most unfortunate when we seem to be making some progress both towards breaking their morale and a settlement.<sup>3</sup>

Realizing all this, we have to pay attention to the other factors, to which I have referred above. It is a difficult choice to make. But if we are compelled to make it, the choice will have to be in favour of withdrawal of some of our armed forces in the Naga Hills. Even in that event, of course some forces would remain there, probably two Brigade Headquarters and six Battalions or so, apart from the Assam Rifles and Armed Police. It may be that we can replace them to some extent by Assam Rifles and Armed Police, but we cannot rely upon this much as we have already put some considerable strain on the other States in this matter.

If we withdraw a good part of our armed forces from the Naga Hills, etc., this will mean some kind of a regrouping and avoidance of spreading out too much. I notice that in the course of talks you were asked by some of the Tribal leaders

1. JN Collection.

2. Governor of Assam.

3. Nehru wrote to the Governor of Assam the next day: "I want to make it clear that we do not propose to withdraw troops immediately or in the very near future. We shall try to avoid creating any situation which upsets our plans for the Naga Hills and perhaps comes in the way of a possible settlement. While therefore the matter is not urgent in a sense, it has still some urgency and we have to think in these terms."



who visited you that in view of their assurances, we should withdraw our forces from their particular areas. Your reply was that you would only do so when law and order was formally established.

I am writing to you to apprise you of the present situation and the dilemma we have to face. This makes it even more urgent than it was previously, for us to arrive at some satisfactory settlement with the Nagas. I do not know where matters stand now. But you should try your utmost to get such a settlement. If such a settlement is reached, we could, without any loss of prestige, withdraw some of our forces. Indeed this might well appear as a generous gesture showing confidence in the Nagas.

The political aspect of this question has thus become paramount. This political aspect has to be considered from the short term point of view as well as the long-term. We cannot discuss the long-term issue at this stage, though we have to consider it amongst ourselves. A short-term decision has become urgent and very necessary.

I should like you to see your Chief Minister Medhi and show him this letter. I am not writing to him separately because this matter must be treated as Top Secret and I do not want my letters to go about in official files, etc. But I want you to share this letter with him, so that he might realize the difficulties we are facing. We cannot consider the Naga Hills issue independently and apart from our other and sometimes more important obligations.

As you know, I wrote<sup>4</sup> to Medhi some little time ago indicating that a political settlement was becoming urgently necessary.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See *ante*, pp. 255-256.

## 6. To Saiyid Fazl Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
28 May 1957

My dear Fazl Ali,

Your letter of May 25th. Two or three days ago I received a long letter from your Chief Minister, Medhi. That letter indicated that he was somewhat distressed at my previous communication to him.<sup>2</sup> Probably, his distress must have increased when you showed him my recent letter to you.<sup>3</sup>

We have been discussing these matters for a considerable time. Whenever Medhi has come here I have referred to them. I cannot say that I converted him, but I thought that he had begun to understand some of the basic facts governing the situation. Nevertheless, I wrote to him so that there might be no doubt about these issues. So far as I am concerned, this is not a small matter of dealing with the Naga trouble, but rather a fresh approach to the whole problem of Hill States and even other areas.

There is obviously a good deal of difference in Medhi's approach and mine. In Medhi's letter, a copy of which I sent you, there is constant reference to the Naga gangsters. That word alone indicates a certain mental approach with which I am not in tune. I shall speak to Medhi when he comes here. It is my conviction that unless adequate steps are taken in the foreseeable future in regard to all these Hill States, Assam will never be able to digest them. If proper steps are taken, then there is a fair chance of close association in the future with Assam.

So far as your letter under reply is concerned, there is nothing in it with which I disagree. I wrote strongly and pointedly to Medhi and to you in order to bring out certain aspects of this matter forcibly. I fear Medhi does not fully realize what these are and thinks too much in terms of the local situation. We do not propose to take any sudden action in regard to the withdrawal of troops from there. They will remain because obviously any withdrawal will have unfortunate consequences. But the fact must always be remembered that if any kind of crisis arose elsewhere, we shall have to withdraw them immediately whatever the consequences in the Naga Hills area. That is the governing factor. I might add that personally I do not expect such a crisis to emerge suddenly.

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 255-256.

3. See the preceding item.



We have, however, constantly to think of training other forces, the Assam Rifles or Armed Police, to take the place, temporarily at least, of the regular army. It seems to me that while the situation in the Naga Hills may be said to improve slowly, and you are making every effort to this end, the basic corps continue to give trouble and will not easily be brought round. It is obvious also that we cannot throw about offers till the proper occasion for such an offer arises. That occasion will only arise when we have the situation well in hand and it might be said that the great majority of the hostiles have surrendered or come round.

It was not my intention that we should come to any decision about the future status of the Naga Hills at this stage and certainly not to announce it. I am rather sorry that this has appeared in some newspapers. But I did want to clear up this idea in our own minds and in Medhi's mind.

As for your proposal to set up a commission to enquire into the working of the Sixth Schedule,<sup>4</sup> I should like to have your advice about the time of it. When, do you think, should this be appointed? Soon, that is, within a month, or after three months or so after I come back from Europe and we have reviewed the situation again? You say in your letter that this suggestion might be considered after my return from abroad. Well, we can consider the matter then.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The Sixth Schedule of the Constitution contained provisions regarding the administration of the tribal areas in Assam.

## 7. To Saiyid Fazl Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

June 2, 1957

My dear Fazl Ali,

Thank you for your letter of May 30th.

Yesterday I had Medhi and his Deputy Minister Sema<sup>2</sup> to lunch. We had some talk, but I did not wish to say much in the presence of Sema. I am meeting Medhi again tomorrow.

Today I had a fairly good talk with Chaliha<sup>3</sup> and Fakhruddin<sup>4</sup> and explained to them the situation and told them that the Assam Government seemed to me to be functioning in a rather irresponsible way. As an example of this, I mentioned that I had made no public statement here in Parliament or outside about the possibility of the Naga Hills being taken over by the Centre. There has been no talk about it at all here. And yet, I find this being discussed in the press of Assam, apart from Cabinet discussions and the like there. It is clear that there was a deliberate leakage at the Assam end.

Thus, the Assam Government, in trying to influence us, creates difficulties for itself.

As I have told you, there is no question of our agreeing to anything which might be considered a surrender to the hostile Nagas. Nor do we intend taking any step, even as a proposal, about the future of the Naga Hills, till the position is much clearer there than it is. At that time we shall naturally have to consider various possibilities and we shall have to consult everybody concerned.

1. JN Collection.

2. Khehoshe Sema (b. 1911); joined government service as a school headmaster, Assam, 1952; civil liaison officer in the Naga Hills District, 1956; political assistant to the Deputy Commissioner; resigned from Government service, 1957; elected to the Assam Legislative Assembly in 1957 from the Naga Hills (Central) as an Independent; subsequently joined the Congress Party.

3. B.P. Chaliha, former Assam PCC President and member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57.

4. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed (1905-1977); joined the Congress, 1931; Member, Assam Legislative Assembly, 1935, 1957-62, 1962-66; Minister of Finance and Revenue, Assam, 1938-39; member, Rajya Sabha, 1954-57; Minister of Finance, Law, Community Development and Local Self-Government, Assam, 1957-62, 1962-66; elected to the Rajya Sabha, 1966; became Union Minister for Food, Agriculture and Cooperation and Community Development, 1971; President of India, 1974-77.



It is absurd for Medhi to threaten to resign if something or other happens. Nobody wants him to resign and matters of public importance are not settled this way.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 8. To Saiyid Fazl Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 6, 1957

My dear Fazl Ali,

I had a good talk with Medhi yesterday and told him frankly what the position was in regard to the Naga Hills, etc. There is no intention of our taking any sudden step in the near future, but it was clear that we cannot carry on as we have done. This will not be good for Assam or for India. Indeed in the long run this may produce more disruptive tendencies in Assam.

For the moment of course we carry on. But we cannot wait for too long. I had made some suggestions previously in my letters to you and Medhi. But these were in the nature of preparation of the mind so that we should give thought to the matter.

The President sent me a note<sup>2</sup> the other day in which he expressed his grave

1. JN Collection.

2. Rajendra Prasad in his note on 2 June stated that administration in Assam had become a matter of anxiety, with the general awakening among the tribals and an open rebellion by the Nagas. According top priority to finding a solution to the Naga problem, the President observed that use of military force alone would not allow settlement of the issue "on account of the terrain and the determination of the Nagas." He added that the military approach did not fit it with the Government's policy not to suppress any group of people, community or tribe. Rajendra Prasad forecast that if a solution was not found soon to the Naga problem, "It is conceivable that at no distant date the other tribals also will take a leaf from the experience of the Nagas and join them, with the result that the entire tribal population living in the hills...will form one single group and revolt."

The President suggested convening of conferences of the tribals to find solutions and asked the Government to evolve a scheme which, "while maintaining the unity and integrity of India," would allow the tribals autonomy. Rajendra Prasad's note also dealt with problems in other states, as well as the challenges with the Second Five Year Plan.

apprehension about various developments not only in the Naga Hills but in other parts of Assam State and pointed out that we must take some steps to solve these problems in so far as we can.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 9. To Saiyid Fazl Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 16, 1957

My dear Fazl Ali,

I returned yesterday from my tour abroad. I have just glanced through your letter to the President dated July 5. I shall write to you later about the Assam Refinery question.<sup>2</sup> For the moment I need only say that we shall of course gladly meet the Chief Minister or any other person who may come with him here to discuss this question with us. It might even be desirable for him to bring the Opposition Leader with him, also the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee.

For the moment I am writing to you about our Armed Forces in the Naga Hills. You know that our Army Headquarters have long been anxious to withdraw two Brigade Headquarters out of the four there and eleven Infantry Battalions out of seventeen. That is to say that they want to withdraw more than half the forces at present functioning there.

A recent meeting attended by our leading officers as well as representatives of the Ministries of Defence, Home Affairs and External Affairs, considered this matter afresh. The Army Headquarters laid great stress on the urgency of the withdrawal. According to them, it would take three to four months for any troops withdrawn to be used elsewhere and they did not want to be caught napping. The situation is undoubtedly a risky one.

1. JN Collection.

2. See *post*, p. 269.



I am writing to you briefly now and shall write to you more later. I should like to have your appreciation of the Naga situation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 10. Protecting the Loyal Nagas<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: The question as framed refers to the North East Frontier Agency. In order to remove any misunderstanding, I may say that the Naga Hills District is not in the North East Frontier Agency. In fact in the NEFA area there is very little trouble. It is in a different area—that is in the Naga Hills District—which is under the Assam Government. Presumably, the honourable Member's intention was to enquire about what was happening in the Naga Hills District although the words used are NEFA.

About the steps that are being taken to protect the loyal Nagas, I may say that normal steps that are taken to give protection are taken. I do not know how to answer it differently. A little time back, in order to give protection and to prevent hostile elements from raiding the buildings, in certain large areas, where people were spread out in odd places they were encouraged to come in a particular place where there were arrangements for protection, feeding, etc. This policy has met with considerable success.

Gajendra Prasad Sinha:<sup>2</sup> May we have an approximate idea of the hostile Naga leaders who have not yet surrendered—the number?

JN: I do not know the number of leaders. Some have surrendered and some have not. I could not give the exact number of the leaders who have not yet surrendered....

1. 18 July 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. III, cols. 4022-4024. Extracts.
2. (1919-1973); Congressman from Bihar; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-62; Member, Bihar Legislative Council, 1962-73.

H.N. Mukerjee:<sup>3</sup> May I know if, in the Prime Minister's view, it is not about time for, apart from necessary punitive measures, the Government seeking to conciliate the Nagas by such offers as the long awaited amendment of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution in the interest of the tribal people?

JN: I do not know what the honourable Member means by saying it is about time. That has been our policy throughout, right from the beginning. The punitive measures have not been considered by us as the only way to deal with the situation. In fact, in the last month or two, discussions have taken place with various leading elements there about the present and to some extent about the future. I have stated many times that we are perfectly prepared to consider amendments to the Sixth Schedule in consultation with the people concerned and that there is no difficulty about that. But, it is difficult to consider these detailed amendments unless the law and order situation is completely restored.

N.G. Ranga:<sup>4</sup> May I know whether the Government has received any report from the Governor of Assam that far too much publicity has been given to the activities that are going on in this very small part of the eastern frontier?

JN: I do not know. The Governor of Assam writes to us frequently about this question. It is true that persons who may not be considered very friendly to India are giving free publicity to these in foreign countries, more especially in our neighbour country.

Jaipal Singh:<sup>5</sup> In view of the fact that a good deal of the feeding of this hostility comes from a territory which is almost no man's land to the east of the Indian territory near North Burma and South Lushai Hills, may I know whether the Government has done anything whatever to isolate that hostile activity from being fed from the territory to the east of the Naga Hills District and south of the Lushai Hills?

JN: That is a question which I am unable to answer without enquiry. Broadly speaking, it seems natural that such policy as suggested by the honourable Member should be followed and I presume it has been followed.

3. Communist Party of India member of Lok Sabha from Calcutta North-East, West Bengal.

4. Congress Party member of Lok Sabha from Andhra Pradesh.

5. Jharkhand Party member of Lok Sabha from Ranchi, Jharkhand.



## 11. Dealing with the Tribal Areas<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: I shall endeavour to deal briefly with some of the remarks, comments and criticisms made.

To begin with, honourable Member H.N. Mukerjee spoke about the policy governing our tribal areas and expressed his appreciation of what I had said the other day,<sup>2</sup> that is that the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution could be amended. I was a little surprised to learn that because I have often said that before too. In fact, I have said something more. Our attitude in regard to the Naga Hills District or any other tribal area, in fact, is that we should give them as much autonomy as possible and we should amend the Sixth Schedule by consultation. That has been proclaimed repeatedly and I should like to make that clear even now.

And further, there is no question of our pursuing even those who have been opposed to us, or even those who have done much which is highly deplorable. We do not wish to have any reprisals, and we want to deal with them as our fellow countrymen and take as lenient a view as possible even of what might be called criminal offences in the course of these troubles. Our approach has all along been friendly, but a friendly approach means nothing at all unless it is also a firm approach. Otherwise, the friendliness is only supposed to be weakness and fear. Therefore, it has to be firm and at the same time a friendly approach.

The honourable Member V. Raju said many things to which I listened with considerable amazement so far as the facts are concerned. There is no question of my being surprised at his ideas because it is open to him to hold any ideas he likes, however absurd they might be, but so far as facts are concerned, there is a certain limitation, I take it, that they should conform to reality.

He laid great stress on apparently some terrible thing that had happened in these areas in the east, that one area had been divided by us into four, this one area being Tripura, Manipur, the Naga Hills and NEFA. I do not know at what time this was one area from any point of view – politically, geographically, historically or culturally. I do not know. Because it was never one area. Each part of it is as different from the others as anything can be. Take even Manipur and Tripura which have been States for hundreds and hundreds of years, separate States with very distinctive cultures. Most Members know something of their famous culture, their dancing and other things. There is nothing in common, if

1. 23 July 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. III, cols. 4818-4833. Extracts.

2. See *ante*, p. 266.

I may say so, between let us say the Manipuri dance and many things that you might see in the NEFA region. It is as different as two human beings can be different in Europe and America and India and anywhere.

So, to imagine this was one area which has been split up because of some nefarious design on the part of Government is completely without foundation.

To some extent we are always bound by certain historical developments. I do not know but maybe a time may come when these areas may be brought together under one administration. It might be a good thing. I am not opposed to it. In fact, I am rather inclined to think it might be a good thing. But it is not our desire to compel these areas against their will to do so. There was a very strong feeling in Tripura, in Manipur, against any such merger of theirs with other parts and we recognized that for the time being. I do not know what the future will be.

Anyhow, my submission is that the whole basis of his argument was so fallacious about this one solid area being split up that almost everything that followed from it was wrong.

He referred then to our treating this area, or perhaps only the Naga Hills District, in the same way as the British used to treat the North West Frontier Province, bombing, etc., but I ventured to point that there has been no bombing. He said: "All right, then, shooting." I cannot deny that there has been shooting, but I would like honourable Members to consider what would normally happen in any country, what might have happened in British times, or might happen even now in other countries where a kind of revolt of this type took place which was carried on with sniping, murder and all kinds of things, and then compare it with what we have done. Compare even the casualties. They are amazingly few. There are parts of the world where things are happening today. Guns go off quickly and bombs are dropped. Nobody likes this kind of conflict. We hate it. But I think we may justly say that our army there, apart from odd instances, regrettable instances, have behaved with restraint, and that has been one reason why the army could not perform its function as rapidly as it might have done. But we preferred taking much more time over it than sowing the seeds of hatred and bitterness which will carry on, because we are out to win those people, make friends and comrades of them, not enemies....



## 12. To Saiyid Fazl Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 25, 1957

My dear Fazl Ali,

Thank you for your letter of July 20. I hope that you have got over your muscular pain and fever. You will be welcome here whenever you can come.

We have had long talks with the Chief Minister of Assam and the others who came with him here about the refinery. I am afraid we have not been able to convince each other on the merits, but it does appear that we have not got adequate facts and figures to enable us to know exactly what the position would be in case the refinery is located at Gauhati. The figures that the Assam Government put forward are not reliable and have little basis in fact. It is obvious that from the consumption point of view and the price of oil, etc., Barauni will be more suitable. It will also be more suitable from the point of view of more rapid development. What the difference would be is not clear. If the difference is very small, we need not attach much importance to it.

However, we have decided to ask for a Project Report for the Gauhati side also, in addition to the Barauni location. We can then consider both fully and come to a decision. This is more or less in line with what the Chief Minister and others suggested to us. We are today drafting some kind of a statement<sup>2</sup> on this issue which, I hope, will be helpful.

I quite realize, as you have pointed out, that the political aspects of this question are of great importance, and we shall try to help in every way. I saw a telegram today from the Assam Government addressed to the Chief Minister here. In this, it was stated that some of the Opposition people want to create trouble on the 29th. Obviously any kind of obstruction will have to be dealt with in the normal way, but care should be taken not to do anything which will aggravate the situation.

I have not had time yet to discuss the Naga situation fully with the Chief Minister. I hope to do so tomorrow, and I shall write to you again about it. But I have discussed it with some others of the Assam people. I think they realize that we have to make a move and we cannot remain stuck up where we are.

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 144-146.

I have considered carefully what you have yourself written on this subject and am almost completely in agreement with it. I have also seen a fairly long report from S.M. Dutt,<sup>3</sup> the Intelligence Officer, on this subject. In this report he has advised strongly that one of two courses should be adopted. One is that the Naga Hills District should revert to its pre-Independence status as an excluded area administered by the Governor. The Naga Hills might be amalgamated with Tuensang, the Assam Government to have no control over the administration in the Naga Hills except that the Governor will consult them as and when he considers it necessary, but the responsibility will be solely of the Governor. The Sixth Schedule to be modified as required. Naga representatives may be sent to the Assam State Assembly, thus keeping the political link alive. Other details can be worked out.

The other alternative is that the Naga Hills and Tuensang be taken over under Central administration for a stipulated period of ten years. After the expiry of this period, the Nagas may decide whether they would continue under Central administration or rejoin Assam.

I am agreeable to either of these two alternatives, and I am sure my colleagues in the Central Government will also agree. According to Dutt, Assam Cabinet preferred the first course mentioned above, that is to treat the Naga Hills District as an excluded area, etc.

Dutt has laid great stress on the fact that some direction should be sent to guide our people in regard to the All Tribes Conference that is going to be held.<sup>4</sup> If the Conference is allowed to be held without any attempt to mould its decisions, they are bound to ask for a separate State. This would create difficulties when we refuse it. He thinks, however, as you have yourself written to me, that it might be possible to get them to pass a suitable resolution which could be accepted by Government. I think, therefore, that we should try to mould Naga opinion on the lines suggested above and get a resolution passed on the lines indicated above, which may be acceptable to us.

It is clear that this will have repercussions on the other Hill Districts. In regard to that all we can say is that we are prepared to consider the amendment of the Sixth Schedule.

I think that Medhi is likely to agree to this approach. Anyhow, I shall speak to him tomorrow and write to you again then. But as time is limited, I think you

3. S.M. Dutt, Deputy Director, Intelligence Bureau posted at Shillong.

4. A convention of representatives of various Naga tribes in the NEFA met in Kohima from 22 to 26 August and on the last day formally decided to give up the demand for independence. The convention also demanded that all areas inhabited by Naga tribes in North-East India should be constituted into one Centrally-administered unit.



can go ahead and advise our people in touch with the Nagas that they might act in this way and try to mould opinion.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 13. Cable to Saiyid Fazl Ali<sup>1</sup>

I wrote to you yesterday<sup>2</sup> about Naga situation. I agreed with you that efforts should be made on our behalf to mould the opinion of the Tribal Conference to be held next month, so that they might pass some resolution or recommendation, which we can accept.

Two proposals are made. One is that the Naga Hills be treated as an excluded area as during the pre-Independence days, and after amalgamation with Tuensang, to be administered directly by Governor of Assam as representative of Government of India through Ministry of Home Affairs. Assam Government to have no control over the administration of Naga Hills, but Governor would consult the Ministry as and when he would feel necessary. Naga representatives may however be elected to Assam State Assembly where common problems may have to be discussed.

The second course is that Naga Hills with Tuensang Frontier Division to be taken over directly under Central administration for a period of ten years, at the end of which the Nagas may be allowed to decide whether they could continue under Central administration or rejoin Assam.

Personally I am agreeable to either of these proposals whichever is considered more likely to find acceptance. I spoke to Chief Minister Medhi today. He preferred the first proposal and said that he would work on these lines. I have asked Medhi to see you as soon as he returns.

Even in the second proposal it may perhaps be possible for Naga representation in the Assam Assembly. Obviously the Nagas are not going to lay down details

1. New Delhi, 26 July 1957. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

in any resolution they pass. They will probably lay down the general line. I hope that this will be in accordance with your wishes.

In addition to the above, we shall of course try to give them local autonomy as much as possible. We may also agree to withdrawal of some of our Armed forces as a sign of goodwill.



### III. A NEW HOUSE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

#### 1. Proposal to Move to a Smaller House<sup>1</sup>

It has been the Prime Minister's wish for some time past to move from his present house, called the Prime Minister's House,<sup>2</sup> to a much smaller one. There was some difficulty in finding a suitable house where he could carry on his work with his staff, not only in the daytime but at night also, and where other necessary arrangements could be satisfactorily made.

To overcome this difficulty it was suggested that a small house might be built for the purpose. The Prime Minister agreed to this. It is proposed now to build this small house at the southern end of the grounds attached to the present Prime Minister's House. This would be separated from the grounds of the Prime Minister's House and would have a separate entrance on the southern side. As soon as this house is ready, the Prime Minister will move into it.

It is proposed to utilize the present Prime Minister's House as a State Guest House for important State guests. Hyderabad House, which has been used for this purpose, will no longer be required as a Guest House and will therefore be released for other purposes.

1. Announcement drafted on 12 June and issued to the press on 13 June 1957. From *The Hindu*, 14 June 1957.
2. Located at the junction of South Avenue with Teen Murti Marg, about one kilometre to the south of Rashtrapati Bhavan, this house was built in 1929-30 as the official residence of the Commander-in-Chief and Defence Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. After the departure of the last British incumbent of this office in 1948, it became the official residence of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who moved in in the first week of August 1948. In course of time this house came to be popularly known as Teen Murti House.

## 2. To Indira Gandhi<sup>1</sup>

London

27th June, 1957

Darling Indu,

On arrival here two days ago<sup>2</sup> I received two letters from you, one dated 14th June and the other 18th June.

About the building of a house for us, you are right in waiting till the estimates are passed by us.<sup>3</sup> After all, I shall be back in two and a half weeks' time and meanwhile many details can be considered and no building operations actually should begin.

I am not very much concerned with people attaching motives.<sup>4</sup> Some people have a habit of doing so and whatever we may do, some motive or other will be suggested. One thing is quite clear. We have now to move from our large present house. It is not possible to stay on there for long after what has been announced. Apart from this, my mood can no longer be attuned to that house and I shall feel unhappy in it. I have felt that vaguely in the past, but lately this has become much more of a mental occupation. I want to live by myself with you and the children and perhaps a very occasional family guest, without the large paraphernalia that has attached itself to us in the present PM's House. In many ways I want to simplify many of my activities and to keep my personal house partly dissociated from most of these activities. I should like the large staff attending upon me also to be somewhat reduced.

The question therefore is whether we should move in an existing small house or have a new house built. I do not particularly mind, though I fear that the existing houses will create some difficulties. On no account will I move into the so-called Ministers' houses on King Edward Road or Queen Victoria Road.<sup>5</sup>

1. JN Collection.

2. Nehru reached London after making a goodwill tour of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden from 15 to 25 June.

3. Indira Gandhi wrote to Nehru on 18 June that she had sent a message to M.R. Sachdev, Secretary in the Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply, asking him not to go ahead with the construction of the new house until the Prime Minister had sanctioned the estimates.

4. Mrs Gandhi wrote: "It seems now that our motives for building the small house are in doubt. It is said by some that it is a ruse so that we will have 'two houses'."

5. These two roads are now known as Maulana Azad Road and Rajendra Prasad Road respectively.



They are dismal and dark and badly arranged. We shall discuss this matter later further.

Your second letter refers to Yadunath Singh's visit to you regarding the lady whom I had suggested for the Government Hospitality Organization.<sup>6</sup> Of course, I shall not write to the President about this and I shall speak to him when I return. I am very much surprised to learn however that there is the question of increasing allowances for the President. That would be completely absurd.

I was much impressed by my visits to the Scandinavian countries<sup>7</sup> and I believe that my visit did a lot of good also. Certainly I had rather extraordinary welcomes there from all classes of people. Sweden, which is supposed to be rather a formal and rigid country, did not behave to me in that way at all. The newspapers there were full of my visit with innumerable pictures. Very little was said in the London papers about my visit to Scandinavia. Almost it was ignored.

I have now been here for two days. Tomorrow evening I go to Chequers for the night. The next day I shall proceed to Broadlands for another day and night. Then return to London. It is very warm here, almost like early October weather in Delhi.

Last night I had to go to Windsor for a banquet there.<sup>8</sup> I had never been to Windsor Castle before. I must say that I was impressed by the collection of treasure there. The rooms are very gorgeous indeed. The room we dined in contained pictures of the people who attended the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to settle the fate of Napoleon. There is a story that when de Gaulle<sup>9</sup> visited that room and saw all these pictures, he said: "What a lot of people it took to face

6. Yadunath Singh, Chief Commandant, President's Bodyguard, told Mrs Gandhi that President Rajendra Prasad had asked him not to take action on Nehru's letter about the appointment of Mrs Mathias to the post of Deputy Comptroller of the Government Hospitality Organization (GHO) since the President wished to discuss the matter with Nehru on his return. Informing Nehru of this development, Mrs Gandhi wrote, "It seems that the President has a proposal that RB [Rashtrapati Bhavan] should be taken out of the GHO and that he should be given increased allowances and be allowed to look after the guests who will be put up at RB." For Nehru's letter to Rajendra Prasad about Mrs Mathias see *post*, p. 326.

7. For Nehru's visit to the Scandinavian countries, see *post*, pp. 477-597.

8. Queen Elizabeth II gave a banquet at Windsor Castle.

9. Charles de Gaulle (1890-1970); French general and politician; organized the Free French troops fighting the Nazis, 1940-44; President of Provisional French Government and Commander-in-Chief, Free French Forces, 1944-46; founder, Rassemblement du Peuple Francaise, 1947; withdrew from politics, 1953-58; called to form a government when national bankruptcy and civil war in Algeria loomed, 1958; Prime Minister, June 1958-January 1959; President of France, January 1959-1969.

Napoleon". When Bulganin and Khrushchev<sup>10</sup> went into that room, they spotted immediately a big painting of Czar Alexander I<sup>11</sup> and referred to him: "Oh, there is our national hero".

But the most attractive part of Windsor was the library which contained fascinating old books and prints.

Suhrawardy<sup>12</sup> was there. He was rather glum during dinner partly because Mrs Diefenbaker,<sup>13</sup> wife of the new Canadian Premier, who was sitting next to him ignored him completely and was overwhelmed by Prince Philip<sup>14</sup> on other side. After the dinner, and no doubt during it, Suhrawardy consumed quantities of alcoholic drinks. A little before we left late at night, Suhrawardy became quite boisterous in his behaviour. Indeed, the Duke of Gloucester<sup>15</sup> gently told him that he was losing control of himself.

Nevertheless, Suhrawardy is a clever man and he is being made much of here. He is out to pour out, privately at least, the most vitriolic and false propaganda about India.

Krishna Menon received a letter from Chhoti Phuphi<sup>16</sup> today. As usual with her letters, this is quite an extraordinary document threatening all and sundry with dire consequences. It deals with the Rossellini episode.<sup>17</sup> Why she has brought poor Krishna in the picture, I do not know because he has had hardly anything to do with it. I am writing a letter<sup>18</sup> to her, a copy of which I enclose.

I have been given very lovely vases and crystal pieces in Finland and Sweden.

Love,  
Papu

10. Prime Minister of the USSR and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party respectively. They visited the UK in 1956.

11. Czar of Russia, 1801-1825.

12. H.S. Suhrawardy, Prime Minister of Pakistan, 1956-57.

13. Olive Evangeline Diefenbaker, wife of John George Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada.

14. Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Philip (b. 1921); husband of Queen Elizabeth II; served in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific during World War II; founded the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme to encourage creative achievement among young people, 1956; was created a prince of the UK, 1957; awarded the Order of Merit, 1968; publication: *Birds from Britannia* (1962).

15. Duke of Gloucester, Prince Henry William Frederick Albert (1900-1974); brother of King George II of the UK; Governor General of Australia, 1945-47.

16. Krishna Hutheesing, Nehru's younger sister.

17. See *post*, pp. 287-296.

18. See *post*, pp. 290-291.



### 3. Unsuitability of Teen Murti House<sup>1</sup>

....There is one small matter which I might mention. There was a question in the Lok Sabha about the proposal for a house to be built for the Prime Minister. That is to say, for me to move out of my present residence and a new house to be built. Naturally people have asked why it is necessary to have a new house built when there are plenty of houses in Delhi. Well, I will tell you what I think about it. My original intention was to move into a house, a small house, next to the present Prime Minister's House. But all kinds of difficulties arose and objections were raised chiefly by my colleague, the Home Minister, that is, from the point of view of his Ministry, security, etc., and all that and he said it would be difficult. But, in the main, remember that a house is not merely a place of residence, specially for a Prime Minister. It is a house for doing work, it is a workshop, and it would be a waste, and a wrong thing, to make the workshop bad for the work to be done. Presumably a Prime Minister and a Minister has to deal with important matters which require quiet, which require an atmosphere where he can work without interruption. It is not a question of big or small; it is the location of the house where he can have quiet and work efficiently with his tools, such tools as he may require, stenographers, this, that, and the other.

Whether I lived in a small house or big but if I could not have that quiet for work, it would affect my work and take me more time than it ought to take. I claim that whether I work rightly or wrongly I work efficiently, and I do a great deal of work in a relatively short time, because not only am I more or less efficient, but I have got an efficient staff with which I work till late hours in the morning and all that but I cannot do that everywhere. Those are the difficulties that arise. Now, frankly, the houses that were built long ago for ministers where my colleagues and others stay are houses where I could not exist for long without suffocation. I just could not work there. I would not go into the reasons for it but they are big houses for show only; they are rotten houses for work. The sooner they are destroyed the better. They are going to be because all those houses are gradually being put out of action and big buildings for officers and others are going to be built.

Now, you will build a house not for my temporary accommodation but presumably for Prime Ministers who can stay there, not only I but others. There

1. Address to members of the Congress Parliamentary Party, New Delhi, 15 July 1957. AICC Tape No. M-25/C (ii), NMML. Extracts.

was of course the immediate cause for all this. I have had this in mind for a considerable time to make a changeover for my own convenience, that is, I do not like living in a house, which is rather like a hotel, large numbers of people staying there, people coming and going, there is no privacy there. It is run on hotel lines and I pay for my daily expenses. Like in a hotel a bill comes to me everyday – so many meals supplied, so much washing and I give them a cheque for so many meals supplied, and so much washing done. So I wanted to move from there for some time past but sheer laziness, difficulty of uprooting oneself in a place where one has been for some years, delayed this. Then of course this question of economy came up and this became another reason which impelled action. Of course, my leaving this house by itself means no economy because this big house has got to be maintained up for guests; it is in fact chiefly a guest house now, with my occupying some part of it; the rest is occupied by guests who come and a number of my staff people who live there, quite a number of them who live there, who will have to be accommodated somewhere else. So the house will continue to be used and the expenditure on that house will not be any way less or maybe a little less. But when this was connected with the idea that Hyderabad House, which is also an official guest house, be not kept for this purpose, it meant that this only should be kept. That meant a saving, a considerable saving, a net saving of over a lakh a year, but that is just a net amount paid for it; the saving would have been a little more than that.

But, I tell you, the real savings which we should think about, and we are thinking about, are not so much effected by cuts in salaries and this and that, although those are important psychologically, but the other expenses which do not apparently come up but which are associated; all kinds of other expenses take place. Now, I am getting a little frightened of touring in India. People ask me to go, but I am reluctant because my tours cost a great deal not because of me so much, but because of the extraordinary security precautions taken. I cannot help that the amount spent on my security is ten times or more my salary and allowances combined. I cut off ten per cent of my salary gladly, but really the major items of expenditure are quite apart from it, which are spent on security and other things not only here, but also when I travel. It then becomes much more and unnecessarily more. I am all for security, I do not say there should be no security arrangements, but I think there can be savings on that. I think there can be a great deal of saving on many other things in Delhi including the running, let us say, of huge gardens, like at the Rashtrapati Bhavan. I want those gardens to be maintained and well maintained because they are public institutions. We must have these institutions but I think saving can be done.

However, there is another reason, that is, I would prefer, for reasons of convenience not only for myself but for future Prime Ministers, for the Prime



Minister's House to be in the President's Estate, controlled by the organization running the President's Estate. It is simpler for me; I do not have to trouble. I get of course this big house, they had to take a lot of trouble; in the small house they won't have to do anything. Now, that has been the practice for the last ten years. If I go out somewhere, further expenses are involved in making new arrangements. There are a variety of reasons but the main reason is, apart from some economy, a quiet place where efficient work can be done should be provided. After all you make Ministers and the Prime Minister to do work, not to get some kind of salary merely for show purposes. They may be worth the salary, or they may be worth less than the salary or more than the salary. That is for you to judge, that is a different matter, but the work is the most important thing and it is necessary that it should be efficient work. In other places, of course, very elaborate arrangements are made specially for Prime Minister. They have country houses given to them. I am just coming from Holland where a huge country house is given specially for the Prime Ministers to go there quietly apart from their official residences. And nowadays the old custom is past when only rich men were Prime Ministers. Therefore, they want to provide amenities for the man who cannot afford to keep a big house to do quiet and efficient work, where he can invite people, where he can meet people, discuss with them, all kinds of people come in and meet Prime Ministers and Ministers.

I was told that a suitable place would be at the back of my present house. A small corner, maybe less than an acre, I should think, maybe half an acre or three-fourths of an acre, to be cut off from the present Prime Minister's compound, separated and this new house to be built there, the house with about four rooms, about four bedrooms and office rooms, etc., which is normal size of a middling house here. Now, from the point of view of location, the situation is good, it is very quiet, disturbances are unlikely there, it is at back, you have to go all round to go there. I would really prefer a house, if I may say so, two or three miles out of Delhi, not too far but still out of Delhi where I could go quietly and not be disturbed in my evenings and night; in the daytime I am in the office.

So this was the line of our thinking in regard to this matter. I think that although that was not the primary reason, it does, in fact, afford not only an immediate saving but a continuous saving directly and I think more so indirectly. Because in this particular house, I believe, subject to what the Home Minister might think, that the expenditure on security will be far less than this big establishment that I run or if I went to any other place. So these things do not come up before you. But there is much more expenditure involved in them, than the house rent or anything, so that for all those reasons I thought it would be desirable for a small house to be built there and not only for me but a kind of permanent Prime Minister's House, because all these other houses are likely to come and go,

maybe not now but a year or two year later. As they have lived their life they are not very strong, some are on the point of collapsing, and they take up far too much room without giving the benefit of their space to the resident. Also I want to separate my life, as far as I can, my family's life, from all kinds of other people who live there. I do not know, I get a huge electricity bill, because, I do not know, 100 or 200 policemen are also included in that electricity bill, or all kinds of people are included. There is no check. I do not know how much I spend on myself. I want to live in a compact place by myself and I may know what I am spending. I can have some check on it and have quiet and at the same time security and other arrangements may be made. I have looked at it partly, of course, for my own convenience but more so, apart from the personal factor, from the point of view of what would be suitable without any special or extra or unusual expenditure for any future Prime Ministers or others who may live there. I wanted to explain this to you...

#### 4. To Mohanlal Saksena<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 21, 1957

My dear Mohanlal<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of July 18.<sup>3</sup>

The press report of what I have said at the Congress Party meeting is of course incomplete and incorrect, because that was a private meeting.

I have not decided to move into a new house in order to make a mere gesture, though I suppose some gestures have also some value. I decided some time ago for a variety of reasons to move into a smaller house. Among these certainly

1. JN Collection.

2. Congressman from Uttar Pradesh and Advocate, Supreme Court.

3. Referring to the report of Nehru's address to the Congress Party meeting on 15 July, Mohanlal Saksena said that Nehru's decision to move to a smaller house was "a much needed gesture for creating a favourable atmosphere for an austerity drive." However, he was not enamoured with the idea of building a new house: "For not only the type of the house visualized is likely to cost much more than a lakh but it is not likely to provide for necessary security and convenience which Prime Minister will require."



was the question of economy, economy not merely the direct economy involved but many indirect ways also in which this was likely to be affected. Another reason was that I did not wish to continue living in a kind of hotel, as I do now, with guests coming and going. At the present moment this house in which I stay is used as a guest house for certain VIPs, in addition to Rashtrapati Bhavan and Hyderabad House for these VIPs, which would not be necessary if I lived here by myself. In addition to me, of course, a number of my staff live here who have to be provided [for] anyhow somewhere.

To some extent a new situation arose about guests by the construction of the Ashoka Hotel. It was not so necessary then to have so much space for VIP guests in these three big houses. Therefore it was possible to do away with one of them. Obviously the Hyderabad House was the one indicated, provided I left my present house and this was utilized mainly for guests.

The Hyderabad House belongs to the Andhra Government.<sup>4</sup> It can be sold, of course and there are some possible buyers. Apart from this, it can be used for other purposes, such as offices, etc. there is great need still for office buildings and in fact the old proposal was to put up some additional buildings for offices.

My present house is not suited for office work, as there are too many bath rooms and dressing rooms, etc.

You suggest that I might move into one of the houses in the Rashtrapati Bhavan Estate. I thought of this, but then gave up the idea for two reasons. One was that the two possible houses there are already occupied and I do not wish to push out others. The other was that the whole Rashtrapati Bhavan Estate is difficult of access to the public and I do not wish to stay in a place where it became even more difficult for people to go to.

I might mention that there can be no question of the External Affairs Ministry moving into my present house<sup>5</sup> as the Ministry requires about three times the space, if not more, and as I have said above, this house is totally unsuited for office work.

I thought at first of moving into an existing house in New Delhi. The Home Ministry objected to this, as they said that it would be difficult for them to make suitable arrangements for security there. Most of the houses are too near the road and all kinds of demonstrations sometimes take place. Also, the old houses

4. Mohanlal Saksena suggested that the Hyderabad House might continue to be a State Guest House until it could be put to better use. He argued that if it was returned to the Andhra Government, they would not be able to make proper use of it without the assistance of the Union Government.

5. Saksena suggested that Nehru's residence should not be made a State Guest House and that the Ministry of External Affairs might be shifted there.

built for the Ministers are in a bad state and not likely to last long. They are also rather dismal houses not built for doing any work. Some time or other these houses will have to be knocked down and the space used to much better purpose. This is an idea for the future.

The obvious saving of about a lakh of rupees by our giving up the Hyderabad House was only a small part of the saving, because the whole arrangement would be different if I lived in a separate house. It was decided, therefore, that a house should be built in the back part of the grounds of my present house and a small plot would be separated from the rest of the land attached to it. This is a quiet place easy to look after and much more convenient for any kind of work. This house was not only merely meant for me but for any future Prime Minister. Probably it will cost about a lakh of rupees or so, so far as this house is concerned, in addition to furniture, etc. As you mention in your letter, the old houses have cost a great deal even in repairs. Looking at it therefore, from the point of view both of economy and good work and for the future, it seemed much more desirable to have this new house erected.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal



## 5. Some Points of Detail<sup>1</sup>

I have read your note about the proposed new house for me.

1. I do not want a second storey or a lift.<sup>2</sup> Nor do I see the point of Shri Rustamji's observation.<sup>3</sup>

2. I do not see how a separate road from the Lane will be expensive.<sup>4</sup> I might make it clear that the security personnel, as you have stated in the paper, will have to be reduced very considerably. In this matter, I am going to have the last word.

3. The pathway which exists through the Prime Minister's House now, can, of course, be used on occasions.<sup>5</sup> But, it should not be in normal use by me or anyone else.

4. Government Hospitality Organization should continue to be in charge of the house. But, the staff will be very small indeed. Just one or two persons, and no more.

5. I shall have no so-called official entertainments in my house. But I shall certainly invite, when it is considered necessary, a few persons to a meal. Only major official entertainments will take place in the big house.

6. As a rule, I shall have my interviews in External Affairs. But, I might see individuals, whether Ambassadors or non-officials, in the new house. The new house will be used when a few persons come to see me. No meetings are likely to be held there.

7. I shall not come to the State Guest House to see the morning visitors as now. Some other arrangement will have to be made for them, possibly in External

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, 26 July 1957. JN Collection.

2. Mathai thought that it was worthwhile considering having Prime Minister's bedroom and study and possibly a small sitting room upstairs, with provision for a lift.

3. K.F. Rustamji, Chief Security Officer to Prime Minister, had pointed out that the site chosen for the new house being too near to the public road, an evildoer could easily throw a grenade at the house from the road.

4. Mathai noted that the "separate gate and connecting road to Roberts Lane" would have to be considered carefully from the point of view of expense and strength of security personnel.

5. As the proposed road via Roberts Lane would add to the distance, Mathai suggested that the existing pathway in the Prime Minister's House estate might be made into a pucca road.

Affairs. I do not wish to come to the State Guest House except on relatively rare occasions when there is some special function.

8. I propose to change my hours of work as far as possible and not to work late at night.<sup>6</sup>

9. I think that, to begin with at least, a few rooms may be occupied in the big house for staff purposes.<sup>7</sup> Those rooms will anyhow not be occupied normally by any guest, and might thus be used. Mrs Atal<sup>8</sup> should stay on in the big house.

10. There will be one guest room in the new house, which will only be used on special occasions.

The other matters you have mentioned can be discussed later.

6. Mathai presumed that the small office room in the new house would be used by the Personal Assistants for their typing work at night.

7. Mathai enquired whether the general office would continue to be in the existing house.

8. Mathai noted, "Obviously Mrs Atal will have to stay on in the State Guest House. I think she should move to the bedroom adjoining her office."

## 6. Decision to Remain in the Existing House<sup>1</sup>

I have been giving further thought to the question of the new house.

2. The next few months and, indeed, a much longer period, are full of difficult problems and troubles for us. My mind and my activities will be completely taken up by these problems, and I do not want unnecessary diversions if I can help it.

3. If this is so, I do not wish to have to think of this new house, what it should be, etc. It is inevitable that, if the house is being built, I will take interest in it, and problems will arise from day to day, which I might have to deal with. A little later, the question of furniture and fittings would arise and, finally, the actual transfer to that house. The mere fact of transfer is simple enough, so far as we are concerned, but it will be no easy matter to decide what to do with all our

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, 28 July 1957. JN Collection.



books,<sup>2</sup> papers and innumerable other articles that have accumulated here.

4. It is possible, of course, that a part of this house might be reserved for my use, and many of my things might continue to be kept here. But, anyhow, all this would be an additional burden for me.

5. I am, therefore, thinking whether it would not be better, at present at least, not to get entangled with the building of this new house and to keep my mind free for other and more important activities.

6. My purpose in going to the new house was partly one of economy, but perhaps more so to have a little more peace of mind. While that might be the ultimate result, the immediate result would be neither economy<sup>3</sup> nor peace of mind. So far as the Hyderabad House is concerned, that will, and should anyhow, be vacated by External Affairs. Their guests (such as do not go to Rashtrapati Bhavan) could go to the Ashoka Hotel. They could also come, to some extent, to my house, even though I occupy a part of it. Even now, there are a number of rooms which can be used for this purpose.

7. If, however, I have the new house built and go over to it, it means an immediate expenditure for that house and for my shifting over. Further problems will arise about some members of the staff who live here, and our goods, chattels and papers. It may be necessary, as you suggested, to take another house nearby for this purpose. All this means extra expenditure, and not economy.

8. I had hoped that in shifting over to the new house, the heavy expenditure on security would be much reduced. *Prima facie*, it is much easier to ensure security in a small house with a small compound, than in this huge house and area in which I live now. That is logical. But, I am afraid I do not understand the working of the mind of those who organize security. It is, therefore, quite possible that their future arrangements for the new house might be so elaborate that it would mean no particular saving.

9. Then, there is another matter which, though not very important, yet has come to my mind. In the details provided for the new house are some articles like bath tubs, wash-basins, flushing system, etc., which presumably have to be obtained from abroad, probably England. This means foreign exchange. No doubt,

2. In a letter to Indira Gandhi, written from Oslo on 21 June 1957, Nehru had stated, "In the new house that is being built for us, I think the study room should have built-in book shelves, as many as possible."

3. Mathai stated in his note of 26 July, "I have heard some comments that converting the present PM's House into a State Guest House along with the existence of a number of rooms for this purpose in Rashtrapati Bhavan will not only not result in economy, but in needless expenditure."

the amount would not be large. But, still, it will be doing something which I should like to avoid at the present juncture.

10. For all these reasons, I have come to the conclusion that we should postpone indefinitely the building of the new house. We may think about this again some months later, if circumstances are more favourable then. Meanwhile, the plans and other particulars for it should be completed and kept for future use, whenever required. The trees, etc., which were proposed to be planted, might well be planted.

11. I have discussed this with Indiraji and she agrees.

12. One other matter to which we might give thought. As, in effect, we are offering some guest rooms to External Affairs for special guests, we might perhaps try to arrange our living rooms so that this can easily be done without interfering with our normal life.

13. You might explain this to WH&S.



## IV. THE ROSSELLINI AFFAIR

1. A Foreign Film Maker's Romantic Affair<sup>1</sup>

This is a complicated matter. Apart from the financial implications involved, we should naturally be interested in the future of Mrs Dasgupta.<sup>2</sup> I see that an assurance has been given to Foreign Secretary<sup>3</sup> by Mrs Bimal Roy<sup>4</sup> that the husband is anxious to get his wife back.

2. I am, therefore, principally interested in Mrs Dasgupta coming back to her husband and then considering any other step that we might take. That other step might well be a refusal to extend the visa of Mr Rossellini.<sup>5</sup>

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, 16 May 1957. JN Collection.
2. Roberto Rossellini, an Italian film director, was at this time staying in Mumbai to make some documentaries and a film on India. He found himself entangled in a relationship with a 27 year old Indian lady, Sonali Sen Roy Dasgupta, who had been reportedly recommended by her husband, Hari Dasgupta, a film producer, to assist Rossellini in the production of his film. As Sonali Dasgupta went over to live in the same hotel where Rossellini was staying, her relatives alleged that he had taken her away from her husband and demanded his expulsion from India. Rossellini's stand was that Hari Dasgupta had forcibly brought Sonali to the hotel and that he (Rossellini) was only trying to give her help and protection, which no one else seemed to want to give her.
3. Subimal Dutt.
4. Manobina Roy, wife of Bimal Roy, renowned director and producer of Hindi and Bangla films. She was closely related to Sonali Dasgupta.
5. Roberto Rossellini (1906-1977); Italian film and operatic director; produced fascist propaganda films during World War II but also secretly filmed anti-fascist activities; his *Open City* (1945) was acclaimed as one of the first examples of Italian neo-realism; his other famous films include *Paisan*, *Germany Year Zero*, *The Flowers of St Francis*, *Journey to Italy* and *General della Rovere*; starting with *Stromboli* (1949), he collaborated with the Hollywood star Ingrid Bergman, whom he later married, over a six-year period on seven films; in December 1956, he travelled to India where he worked on two films including *India Matri Bhumi* a series of four episodes on contemporary India, each documenting the interaction between human and animal, tradition and technology; in the sixties he abandoned commercial film making in favour of works for the stage and television features on science and history.

3. In any event, I think Mr Rossellini should be sent for by SG and should be told that in our opinion he has acted in a very wrong way. Whatever truth there might be in his allegation that Mrs Dasgupta was being harassed by her husband and was practically driven out of their home – and according to our information this is not true and her husband is still willing to take her back – this does not in any sense justify Mr Rossellini's conduct. Although this is a private affair between some individuals it has large public consequences and the Government of India has been greatly distressed and embarrassed by it. We have been urged to take immediate action. For the present, however, we are interested in Mrs Dasgupta returning to her husband.

4. Something on these lines might be said to him and he should be given an opportunity to have his say. If SG thinks it necessary, he might tell Mr Rossellini that we cannot allow Mrs Dasgupta to leave India<sup>6</sup> and point out to him that his visa has already expired and it is for us whether we will extend it or not. Whatever the views in other countries might be about such happenings, public opinion in India strongly disapproves of them and it is obvious that unless this matter is satisfactorily settled, it will make it difficult for us to have any dealings with Mr Rossellini. We have no desire to make a fuss about this or to give undue publicity and, therefore, we hope that it will be possible for Mr Rossellini to accept our advice.

5. SG will know how to talk and I need not add anything more.

6. Shri Krishna Menon<sup>7</sup> reacted strongly to this matter when it first came up before him. You might show him these papers so that he might advise again at this stage.

6. Rossellini intended to send Sonali Dasgupta to Italy to supervise the finishing of his film.

7. Defence Minister.



## 2. To Manobina Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 12, 1957

Dear Mrs Roy,

Thank you for your letter of the 10th June. I had myself seen the news item of the *Time* magazine.<sup>2</sup> This also appeared, I think, in the *Blitz* of Bombay. I was rather distressed by it, because it was untrue. I am glad to learn from you that you said nothing about it. Apart from you, no delegation came to me. Indeed, I have not discussed this matter with any person except the officers of my Ministry. It is difficult to correct these misstatements. But, perhaps, you might write to the Editor of the *Blitz* at least and tell him that this report is wholly incorrect. This letter need not be for publication. If you like, you can write to the Editor of the *Time* magazine also for his information but not for publication.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. *Time* reported on 3 June that a delegation from Sonali Dasgupta's family had called on Nehru with the purpose of persuading him to rid Sonali of Rossellini. According to the magazine, "They hinted that Rossellini claimed to be a pal of Nehru's. Neutralist Nehru took side instantan. 'That rascal!' cried he. 'Does he say I'm his friend? I barely met him. He's no friend of mine!' Somebody suggested that the family should have hired a gang of *goondas* (goons) to thrash the rascal. 'Why didn't you?' snapped Nehru."

### 3. To Krishna Hutheesing<sup>1</sup>

London

27th June, 1957

My dear Krishna,<sup>2</sup>

Krishna Menon showed me the letter which you had written to him and which he received today. You asked him to show this to me. In this letter you say that you are writing to me also, but I have not received any such letter.

You have written to Krishna about the Rossellini episode. As perhaps you have received wrong information about this, in so far as I am concerned, I am giving you the facts below. Somebody showed me a number of *Time* which attributed something to me in this connection. That was completely false. I never said a word to any delegation or anyone else about Rossellini on the lines given in the *Time* magazine.

I first heard of this incident from Dutt, our Foreign Secretary. The question came before us in connection with the extension of the visa to Rossellini. The Government of India were concerned chiefly with the work Rossellini was doing on behalf of our I&B Ministry.<sup>3</sup> I asked Dutt to inquire further as to what the position was. I spoke to nobody else about it.

That evening or the next day I had a visit from Mrs Bimal Roy, a lady whom I had not met previously. She came with two other women one of whom, I think, was Sucheta Kripalani.<sup>4</sup> She told me that Mrs Dasgupta, whom of course I did not know at all, had left her husband and had gone over to stay at the Taj Mahal Hotel with Rossellini. She said something about Rossellini's visa not being extended. I listened to her and put her some questions trying to elicit the facts. I told her that this was a private matter in which we did not interfere, but as Rossellini was doing some work for Government, I would find out what the position was.

I discovered the next day that Rossellini himself had come to see N.R. Pillai<sup>5</sup> and given him his version. Meanwhile I found out about the contract which the

1. JN Collection.

2. Nehru's younger sister.

3. As per an agreement with the Government while Rossellini would bear all the expenses on his film, the Films Division would give him technical and logistic help.

4. Sucheta Kripalani had rejoined the Congress Party in 1956 and won a seat to the Lok Sabha from the New Delhi Parliamentary constituency in the second General Elections in 1957.

5. In the first week of May 1957.



I&B Ministry had entered into with Rossellini about their work. We were only concerned with this matter. I had a brief talk with N.R. Pillai as he had seen Rossellini, and suggested that he might again see him and discuss the matter with him. Naturally, we did not want anything in the nature of a public scandal, but we wanted him to continue the work he had done for us. A few days later N.R. Pillai did see him and had a talk with him. I do not know exactly the details of this talk. But N.R. Pillai told me that Rossellini had told him that he would leave the Taj Mahal Hotel.

That is all I have had to do with this matter and so far as I know the Government of India also had nothing to do further with it.

So far as Krishna Menon is concerned, I had no talk with him on this subject at all. I think he had a very brief talk with Dutt. I do not think he interfered in any way at all with this matter. Indeed, we had little to do with this. N.R. Pillai, as I have said above, had two talks with Rossellini, which, I gather, were friendly talks. Probably he laid stress on our desire to avoid any public scandal, more especially because Rossellini was doing some Government of India work. So far as I can remember, these are the facts.<sup>6</sup>

In your letter to Krishna Menon you refer to somebody named Janet. I do not know who this person is and have not heard of her.

Krishna Menon tells me that Rajni Patel<sup>7</sup> had nothing to do with this matter. He heard of this from Mrs Bimal Roy whom he referred to Dutt.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

6. See also *post*, p. 815.

7. Congress politician and advocate from Bombay State.

#### 4. To Subimal Dutt<sup>1</sup>

London  
4th July, 1957

My dear Dutt,

I have today sent you two telegrams about the Rossellini affair.<sup>2</sup> Some days ago I had various reports from India and elsewhere which surprised me. I asked N.R. about them and he was also surprised. These reports broadly were that policemen were shadowing and harassing Rossellini and anybody who went to see him, that a situation had been created when he could not possibly go on with the work he was doing in regard to making films, that he could not send his films for development to Italy, and that he was being asked to leave India fairly soon.

I did not understand all this because we had definitely told him that he should go ahead with his work and finish it and after that he could leave India. It is understood that this will take possibly two or three months. N.R. Pillai had suggested to him that he should part company with the woman, Mrs Dasgupta. Rossellini had agreed and he had left the Taj Mahal Hotel. Mrs Dasgupta also left and went to live with some members of his family or friends in Bombay.<sup>3</sup>

Quite a number of people said that if they tried to see Rossellini they were shadowed by the police. As for Rossellini himself he could do no work at all because of all kinds of difficulties that had been placed in his way.

I was surprised and I hardly credited all these statements. Two days ago, however, a Frenchman of note, who had been to India recently and who presumably is a friend of Rossellini, sent a note to my sister giving a version

1. JN Collection.

2. Nehru stated that, according to certain aspects of the Rossellini case that had come up before him, there apparently was a "deliberate attempt" by some Indian film people and journalists and some foreign correspondents in Mumbai to blackmail Rossellini and that Rossellini was shadowed by Intelligence or police. Nehru added "It appears to me that story previously related to us was not so simple as made out. As Rossellini is well-known figure, publication of fuller accounts in foreign press might bring some discredit to government." He asked Dutt to see that police interference was stopped and Rossellini was given "full chance to do his work". The representatives in India of the United Press of America were reported to be against Rossellini and sensationalizing his case.

3. According to a friend of Rossellini, Sonali Dasgupta went to live with the family of Mr Herman, a Frenchman who worked with Rossellini, after "seeing many of her Indian friends turn against her, thanks to Mrs Roy's propaganda."



about the facts of the Rossellini affair as he had been able to find them out.<sup>4</sup> I read this note. It may well be exaggerated and incorrect in some parts, but I have the feeling that there is a good deal of truth in it and that the story we had so far believed about this affair was not a truthful one.

Since then some other facts have come to my notice which seem to corroborate, broadly speaking, the note by the Frenchman a copy of which I enclose.

The first thing I cannot understand is why the police should be brought into the picture. I presume this is the Bombay police. Whatever it may be, it seems to me highly improper to use the police in this way to shadow a person who is not a criminal and who has been asked by us to carry on his work. Not only Rossellini, but also those who may go to see him are shadowed.<sup>5</sup> I consider this very bad and I dislike intensely this kind of behaviour as in a Police State.

Secondly, we gave an assurance to Rossellini that he would have full freedom and opportunity to complete his work. What has happened for this assurance to be broken? Our word and assurance should have some value. So far as I know, there is no question of any contacts between Rossellini and Mrs Dasgupta and they live separately.

I gather that one of the persons who have been after Rossellini trying to blackmail him is the editor of *Filmindia*<sup>6</sup> who is notorious, knave and scoundrel. Also, that there is some jealousy in the film circles about Rossellini. I am told that he sold his films to the Government of India at a much lesser price than what others charged. This has annoyed some of the Indian producers. Anyhow, however this may be, what business have we to go about shadowing people and making it impossible for them to carry on their work when we have asked them to do so?

4. The Frenchman, who remains unidentified in the copy of the note available, stated that after only a few meetings between Rossellini and Mrs Dasgupta, all of them held in the presence of her husband's family, Hari Dasgupta told Rossellini that his relations with his wife had become impossible because of her love for Rossellini. Rossellini was flabbergasted to hear this. Then one night, Hari Dasgupta left his wife at Rossellini's hotel against her wishes and despite her pleadings that her work contract with Rossellini might be cancelled. A few days later, the Frenchman added, Hari Dasgupta went "round town saying that his wife had left to stay with Rossellini" and Mrs Roy also started "going around the newspapers agitating against Rossellini."
5. This was stated by the Frenchman in his note. According to him, Herman's residence, where Mrs Dasgupta had been staying, was also under constant surveillance by plain clothes policemen.
6. The Frenchman wrote that the editor of *Filmindia*, Baburao Patel, claiming to represent Hari Dasgupta, had phoned Rossellini one day and charged him with having taken Mrs Dasgupta away from her husband. Patel also asked Rossellini to visit his office to discuss things with him.

I have a strong feeling that Dasgupta is not a man whom one can admire and that he has not behaved properly at all.<sup>7</sup> I doubt very much if Rossellini really took any initiative in this matter of the woman and rather think that she was thrust upon him.

Then there is the question of the visa. When we have told Rossellini that he must finish his work, we have no business to deny him the extension of his visa till he has finished his work. It may be that the Home Ministry, with its peculiar ideas, has said that the visa should not be extended. I do not agree with this. We have some reputation to keep up in the world and cannot behave in this irresponsible and Police State manner.<sup>8</sup>

I hope, therefore, that you have taken action in accordance with my telegrams and informed both the Home Ministry and the I&B Ministry. Also the Bombay Government should be clearly told that we consider it highly objectionable for the Police or Intelligence to be employed in this matter. If the I&B are putting some difficulties in the way of Rossellini, they should desist from this. Why do they not permit him to send his films for development to Italy?<sup>9</sup>

If we do not act with some prudence in this matter, we shall get a bad name, apart from doing the wrong thing. I am, therefore, writing to you immediately, although I shall be seeing you fairly soon. I am anxious that no such wrong step should be taken even before I return.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Hari Dasgupta, the Frenchman noted, was considered by those who knew him as "a weak, changing and sentimental fellow," and apparently many members of his family "were unable to believe that Mrs Dasgupta, whom they have always considered as a non-entity, was a highly intelligent person and could be of great use to Rossellini. They were unable to see this as anything else than an ordinary love affair, and probably mocked the husband until he grew mad."
8. The Frenchman noted that if Rossellini's visa was not renewed, it could not only mean an enormous financial loss and morally a very grave situation for Rossellini, but foreign opinion would be painfully surprised.
9. Rossellini had, with great difficulty, managed to get his films developed by a firm linked with the cinema world of Mumbai, the Frenchman noted, but the Films Division, being "closely connected" with the same group of cinema producers as "Dasgupta and Mrs Roy's husband", were refusing to give clearance for sending them to Italy on the ground "that they have not been allowed to [do so] by Delhi."



## 5. To Manobina Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 29, 1957

Dear Mrs Roy,

I have received your letter of 27th July. The letter you enclosed with it is being returned.

When you came to see me some time back, I told you that I will ask my Ministry to enquire into this in so far as Government was concerned. Normally Government does not interfere with personal affairs as they are for the courts or have to be otherwise dealt with. I did not see Rossellini or anyone else in this connection, apart from some officers of the External Affairs Ministry.

The Secretary General of the External Affairs Ministry reported to me that he had seen Rossellini who gave him his account of the story. I was not interested in this. But I found that Rossellini had been asked to do some work for Government and that he had not apparently finished this. Thereupon, the Secretary General told Rossellini that we did not wish to get involved in scandals and the like and that he should keep away from any such things. He should finish his work as rapidly as possible and then return to his own country. Rossellini agreed.

That is all I know about it, and I was informed that Rossellini had kept up to what he said at the time. When I was in England, Ingrid Bergman<sup>2</sup> came to see our High Commissioner.<sup>3</sup> I happened to see her also. She told me that her husband was being shadowed by the police and not allowed to finish his work which Government had entrusted to him. I told her that I could not understand why Government should shadow anybody through the police and that we had asked

1. JN Collection.

2. (1915-1982); Swedish actress; starred in Swedish, German, American, Italian, British and French films; some of her famous films include *Intermazzo*, *Casablanca*, *Gaslight*, *Spellbound*, *Notorious*, *Anastasia*, *Indiscreet* and *Murder on the Orient Express*; between 1949 and 1955 she acted in seven films directed by Rossellini, with whom she had her second marriage (1950); appeared on the stage in New York, Rome, Paris and London; performed in the opera *Joan of Arc at the Stake*; awarded three Oscars; wrote (with Alan Burgess) *Ingrid Bergman: My Story* (1980).

3. Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

Rossellini to finish his work as quickly as possible and then return. That is all I told her.<sup>4</sup>

I told the Secretary General of this talk and mentioned to him that if by any chance the police were shadowing Rossellini or anybody, this was not proper and I hoped that Rossellini would finish his work soon.

This is all I know about this matter. I do not understand what you mean by saying that Government's attitude had changed. Nor do I know what people are saying about one side or the other. There is no question of any political colour being given. There is no politics in this so far as I know. I do not know exactly what you expect Government to do in such a matter, apart from what is being done.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. In *My Story*, Ingrid Bergman has described her meeting with Nehru in London for which she had especially flown from Paris at Rossellini's suggestion. During talks with Nehru she realized that he already knew about Rossellini's case. Nehru said, "I'm sure he'll be allowed to leave sooner or later." When she said that Rossellini couldn't leave India without his film, Nehru told her, "That's the whole reason for his existence... Well, I understand there are many stories and scandals and many troubles connected with that. I hear there are many problems." Ingrid said, "Yes, I am sure. He always has problems. But he's such a good man. He's a great artist... I think it would be very generous if you would allow him to take his film out of India." Nehru said, "Yes, yes it will happen." Ingrid wrote in her autobiography that the very next day Rossellini received permission to take his film out of India.



## V. GENERAL

**1. Arrangements for Prime Minister's Security<sup>1</sup>**

I shall be going to Ceylon on the 17th of this month. On my return on the 20th of May, I shall visit the Neyveli Lignite Project. This will involve, apart from air journey, a road journey of about 30 miles or so and some kind of function where the ceremony is going to take place.

2. Recently, when I went to Chakrata on a private visit,<sup>2</sup> the arrangements made for so-called security all along the road were formidable and objectionable. I find that in spite of my repeated requests, no improvement in this matter has taken place and I am put in an exceedingly embarrassing position and the public is inconvenienced very greatly.

3. Whenever I go outside Delhi and point out that the arrangements are excessive to the point of absurdity, I am told by the State Government that they are merely carrying out the Home Ministry's directions. The Home Ministry says that they are not responsible for this excessive enthusiasm for security. I do not, therefore, know who is responsible, but the result is most unfortunate and deplorable and, apart from other consequences, casts a heavy burden on the public exchequer.

4. I do not wish to put up with all this in future and, unless very radical changes are made in these arrangements, I shall have to give up touring. Also I find it difficult to cooperate with any arrangements which I think are not proper.

5. I should like this matter, therefore, to be considered afresh. It is not enough to send vague circulars to the States concerned which can be interpreted in many ways. Please take the directions of the Home Minister in this matter.

6. Immediately, I should like to inform the Madras Government as to what should be done and what should not be done when I go to the Neyveli Project on

1. Note to the Ministry of Home Affairs, 4 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. Nehru had gone to Chakrata, in the last week of April for rest.

the 20th of this month.<sup>3</sup> I do not want the road to be lined with policemen, uniformed or plain clothed, and I do not want an excessive display of police even at Neyveli.

3. In fact, Nehru wrote, on 3 May, to C. Subramaniam, Minister, Madras Government, asking him to tell the State Minister in charge of police that during his forthcoming visit to the Neyveli project, "on no account must large crowds of policemen be gathered together for security and like reasons." Nehru added, "This kind of thing has become a perfect scandal. If I see too many policemen, it is quite likely that I shall just refuse to move and your whole arrangements might be upset." He further said, "When I speak to the Home Ministry here, they tell me that it is the fault of the State Government. When I speak to the State Government, they refer to the Home Ministry. Whoever may be at fault, I suffer from it and the public suffers and there must be an end put to this kind of thing."

## 2. A Case of Unjustified Dismissal<sup>1</sup>

I am sending you the complete file of Miss Najoo P. J. Billimoria. This matter has come up repeatedly before you and me in the course of the last eighteen months, and we have inscribed notes, which are given in the file. I have felt unhappy about this case, not only because I thought it was a clear case of injustice to an individual, but even more so because it disclosed the way our Government sometimes functioned.

2. Although this was my reaction from the beginning, I was not quite sure of the facts, and I asked my PPS<sup>2</sup> and the Home Secretary<sup>3</sup> to go further into them, which they did. I was not satisfied even then. All that could be said was that the I&B Ministry could dispense with the services of a temporary employee. That may be strictly correct, but it did not dispose of the basic question raised.

3. Months passed. As this matter had been raised by the Bombay Police, I suggested to Shri Morarji Desai<sup>4</sup> to see the lady himself. Again months passed,

1. Note to G. B. Pant, Union Home Minister, 5 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. K. Ram, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.

3. A.V. Pai.

4. Chief Minister, Bombay, 1952-56; Minister for Commerce and Industry, 1956-1959.



and then he gave her an interview. So far as I can see from the record, this was not a very satisfactory one. Everything hinged on a certain intercepted letter which was the basis of the action taken against her. This intercepted letter could not be placed before her because it was intercepted. She was told something about "incriminating letters". She denied having written any incriminating letters.

4. The matter weighed on my mind, but owing to my heavy work I could not deal with it myself. The elections came. After that I decided to see her myself and I have met her. She has created a good impression on me.

5. There is no question about her ability. There is absolutely no evidence on record anywhere against her or about any objectionable activities. All that there is is a letter which she wrote to a friend of hers, Manek Gandhi,<sup>5</sup> who was associated with the Congress for many years, went to prison, etc., and later was associated with the AITUC, which is communist dominated and also with some of the activities of some cultural organizations working under communist direction. Even so far as Manek Gandhi is concerned, while his activities were not desirable from our point of view, there appears to be nothing very terrible about them. But for Najoo Billimoria, who had known him for many years previously when he was in the Congress, to write to him a brief letter can hardly be considered an offence. There is a passage in this letter to which grave objection has been taken. This was written because a train was late by four hours and she had to spend the night at the Delhi Station waiting for it. This was not a very pleasant experience. She also refers to the delays that occur in contacting people on the telephone. She goes on to say:

"So you know what efficiency there is in all the essential services of the nation's capital. Let us hope the situation will be vastly different when the people's Government comes into power."

6. This sentence is the basis of the charge against her for which she was removed from service. I think this is a very feeble basis and, by itself, it may mean much or nothing at all. As there is no other charge against her of any activity, I think that it was not proper to take the action we did simply because of this intercepted letter. A letter like this can easily be written in a moment of huff and may have no serious meaning. In any event, to hold it up for ever seems to me highly improper.

7. As I have said above, the impression she has created on me after an interview is entirely in her favour.

5. Maneklal Maganlal Gandhi (1901-1989); Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1937-46; Congress Party member of Lok Sabha, 1952-62.

8. This is an individual case, but it becomes a symbol of the way we sometimes function. Herein lies the importance of this. I think we have done wrong and if we continue to function in this way, we shall continue doing wrong not only in her case, but in other cases. The least we can do is to prevent this kind of thing happening.

9. This lady has been assured by me, as well as the Home Minister, that there is no bar to her accepting some suitable assignment and yet, in spite of these assurances, there appears to be a complete bar in practice, and in effect she is unable to do anything worthwhile.

10. I should like the Home Minister to look into this matter himself again. I attach importance to it as it raises questions of principle.

### 3. To Mehr Chand Khanna<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

May 6, 1957

My dear Mehr Chand,<sup>2</sup>

I understand that Syed Khalil Ahmed has written to the Ministry of Rehabilitation about Roshan Ara Begum,<sup>3</sup> who is due to receive cash compensation from you for her property. Khalil Ahmed has made a proposal that this cash compensation should be invested in Government securities in the name of the minor. I think this is a good suggestion. There is no point in giving her or the guardian cash. The income of it can be given to her for her expenses. If the income is not adequate at any time, the question can be considered further.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Rehabilitation.

3. A young girl, Roshan Ara, presumably the only surviving member of her family, the other members having been killed in a large-scale slaughter in the wake of Partition, had filed an application for restoration of the properties of her father and uncle in Jind (Haryana). The MEA had appointed Khalil Ahmed as her guardian. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, pp. 228-232 and 239-240, for a previous reference.



#### 4. To G.B. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 7, 1957

My dear Pantji,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 7th May<sup>3</sup> sending me your note about security, etc. As this is a preliminary note, I need not say much about it. But I would like to see the new proposals made both for my own security and that of other Ministers.

I think that this question should be looked upon strictly from the security point of view, in addition of course to the public point of view. That is to say that security arrangements should be made only where necessary. I just do not see why every Minister should have some kind of a uniform rule for this purpose wherever he goes. More particularly, I think Deputy Ministers need not have any particular arrangements of this kind, unless on special occasions this may be considered necessary. Deputy Ministers have complained to me that in spite of their wishes, these arrangements are thrust upon them.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Home Affairs.

3. Nehru had written to Pant from Chakrata complaining about the excessive arrangements made for his security there. [For Nehru's letter of 26 April to G.B. Pant regarding security arrangements at Chakrata, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 37, pp. 317-318.] Pant noted on 3 May that in view of the embarrassment caused to the Prime Minister, it was necessary to examine the whole position and to revise the rules in order to avoid recurrence of such situations. He also set out his preliminary views on the security of the Prime Minister and other Ministers.

## 5. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
10 May 1957

My dear Rajendra Babu,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 10th May about the appointment of Governors. As you know, I have kept you informed of the steps we have been taking and of the names proposed.<sup>3</sup>

I think that the adverse comment to which you refer has little justification, if any at all.<sup>4</sup> A person has to be judged on the merits and the fact that he has stood for election for the Lok Sabha or other Assembly and been defeated, has no particular relevance in this connection. I can understand, of course, that there may be nepotism in the appointment. This would apply even in the case of a person being appointed who has not stood for election. We have to choose our best people, and the choice is often rather limited. Defeat in an election, so far as I am aware, has not in any country been considered a bar to similar appointments. People are defeated in elections for a variety of reasons. Thus, Pataskar<sup>5</sup> has been recently defeated over the linguistic province question, although he is widely respected by most people. Giri<sup>6</sup> was technically defeated. But, as a matter of fact, this defeat did him no discredit whatever. Double votes were cast for the reserved seat and he lost by a very small margin.

1. File No. 1/57, President's Secretariat.

2. President of India.

3. In his letter of 21 May to Rajendra Prasad, Nehru recommended the names of V. V. Giri, H. V. Pataskar and Zakir Husain for the posts of Governor in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar respectively. An announcement about these appointments was made the next day.

4. Rajendra Prasad drew Nehru's attention to a news item in *The Statesman* of 9 May which, speaking about the imminence of an official announcement about the appointments of Giri and Pataskar as Governors, stated: "Both are former Ministers in the Central Government and both lost their seats in Parliament through defeat at the last General Election. . . Their appointment as Governor is taken as a clear recognition of the esteem in which they are held in the Congress Party, specially in view of the fact that they lost in the election."

5. Pataskar, Minister for Law and Civil Aviation, lost in Bombay State.

6. V. V. Giri was a former Minister of Labour.



Suppose someone loses by just a few votes. Are we to ban him because of that? I think this would be rather an absurd conclusion.<sup>7</sup>

There may be cases, of course, where a defeated candidate would obviously be ruled out. Thus, if I may mention some names, Chandra Bhan Gupta<sup>8</sup> or Krishna Ballabh Sahay<sup>9</sup> or Mahesh Prasad Sinha,<sup>10</sup> all these three have been badly defeated for a variety of local reasons. To pick them out for further appointments would certainly be undesirable.

In England, there has never been any convention about not appointing defeated candidates to high office. In fact, this is often done. The talk about this in India is, I think, wholly misconceived.

You mention Chief Ministers also.<sup>11</sup> Here, I would say that a Chief Minister who is retired, is normally likely to be most suitable for a Governorship; far from banning him, I would put him high up in the list of those whose names are to be considered. All the four names of ex-Chief Ministers that you have given, namely, Sachar,<sup>12</sup> John,<sup>13</sup> Ramakrishna Rao,<sup>14</sup> Gurmukh Nihal Singh,<sup>15</sup> ceased to be Chief Ministers not because of any defeat, but for other reasons.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Rajendra Prasad noted "that the original draft placed before the Constituent Assembly contained a provision for the election of Governors but that was amended and appointment by the President substituted for election." He argued that "the amendment cannot be regarded as going to the other extreme of giving preference to persons defeated at the polls in election to Parliament or to the Legislature."
8. Minister, Uttar Pradesh Government, 1947-57.
9. Minister, Bihar Government, 1946-57.
10. (b. 1901); took part in freedom struggle and jailed several times; member, AICC, since 1924; Minister, Bihar Government, between 1952 and 1967.
11. Rajendra Prasad referred to the appointment of four former Chief Ministers as Governors of States.
12. Bhimsen Sachar had been Chief Minister of Punjab, 1949 and 1952-56, before his appointment as Governor of Orissa in 1956.
13. A. J. John had been Chief Minister, Travancore-Cochin, 1952-54, before his appointment as Governor of Madras in 1956.
14. B. Ramakrishnan Rao had been Chief Minister of Hyderabad, 1950-56, before his appointment as Governor of Kerala in 1956.
15. He had been Chief Minister of Delhi, 1955-56, before his appointment as Governor of Rajasthan in 1956.

## 6. To S. Nijalingappa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 10, 1957

My dear Nijalingappa<sup>2</sup>

I have been rather disturbed at some statements<sup>3</sup> you have made about the functions of the Zonal Council and about Belgaum city. I do not think they were wise statements. I do not wish to upset things and I shall be happy if Belgaum city remains with Mysore State. But I do not think you are helping this cause by announcing publicly that this and like questions cannot be reopened or considered by the Zonal Council. This will only lead to counter agitations and the like and we shall get back to a state of public conflict. I find already that the Marathi Press has taken up this matter with its usual virulence.

The Zonal Council can consider any question. What it decides is another matter and obviously decisions can only be by consent. To say that it is debarred from considering anything is merely to irritate. We should be prepared to consider any question calmly and objectively.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Mysore.

3. Y. B. Chavan, Chief Minister of Bombay, had drawn Nehru's attention to an announcement by Nijalingappa at Hubli on 1 May in which he had said, among other things, that the issue of Belgaum had been "settled once and for all and there is no question of reopening it." On 29 April, when asked by pressmen about the Marathi-speaking areas in Belgaum, etc., Chavan had stated that the question of all such border issues would be taken up by the Western Zonal Council when it met.



## 7. The Approach to Security<sup>1</sup>

I agree. I am entirely opposed to any kind of a general ban as was suggested. Each case should be examined on the merits.

I do not understand how this constitutes a grave security problem. We talk a great deal of security and probably keep out many inoffensive persons. We do not succeed in keeping out the really undesirables or even in keeping many of our papers secret. I think the whole past approach has proved to be ineffective. We have lost ourselves in the trees and lost sight of the wood.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 11 May 1957. JN Collection.

## 8. To N.C. Chatterjee<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 11, 1957

Dear Shri Chatterjee,<sup>2</sup>

I had apparently missed the report of a speech<sup>3</sup> of yours that you made in February. In this you refer to my travelling at Government expense for election purposes and for using Government machinery for election work. My attention has only been drawn to this just now.

It is true that many of my journeys were undertaken on an IAF aircraft. I had no desire to use it, but all kinds of security arrangements have unfortunately and perhaps unnecessarily to be made. It was found that it was much cheaper to go by aircraft than in any other way.

1. JN Collection.
2. President, Hindu Mahasabha and member of Lok Sabha from Hooghly, West Bengal.
3. N.C. Chatterjee said this at a public meeting in Bhopal on 17 February 1957, when campaigning for the second General Elections was in progress.

Some years ago, that is, at the time of the previous general elections, the Auditor-General and others went into this matter and decided that I should travel by aircraft where possible and pay my own and my companion's fares.<sup>4</sup> This practice has been followed.

As for using Government machinery, I am not aware of having done so anywhere or anyone else having done so on my behalf. The unfortunate part is that when I travel, security arrangements surround me and this may appear to people as if Government machinery was being used. I made it clear everywhere that no Government official should in any way be connected with our election work.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. This matter first came up in 1951. See *post* pp. 309-310.

## 9. To Chaman Lall<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 12, 1957

My dear Chaman Lall,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your note of May 12 about the election petition filed in Allahabad.<sup>3</sup> I have no notice of this yet and the whole matter may be dismissed in the

1. JN Collection.

2. Congressman from Punjab; member of Rajya Sabha, 1952-68.

3. Sita Ram Khemka, an independent candidate who opposed Nehru in the second General Elections in the Phulpur double-member constituency, had filed a petition before the Election Commission challenging Nehru's election and that of his running mate Mansuriya Din on grounds of "corrupt practices" and undue official influence on the electorate. Some of the alleged corrupt practices were that (i) Nehru had travelled to his constituency in an IAF plane; (ii) Nehru and the Congress Party had collected large sums of money from various persons and companies; (iii) Nehru had presided over meetings of the Indian Cabinet which denied the use of All India Radio to any other political party or individuals.



preliminary stage. If by any chance it goes through and is heard later, I do not wish to attach too much importance to it. Asking you to go all the way to Allahabad would mean attaching some importance to it. I would rather leave it to some local person in Allahabad.

Thank you all the same.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 10. To B. Ramakrishna Rao<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 13, 1957

My dear Ramakrishna Rao<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 9th May.<sup>3</sup>

Pantji mentioned to me about your not feeling quite happy in Kerala. I had a talk with him about this also. I feel however, and Pantji agrees with me, that it would be very difficult for us to ask you to leave Kerala in the near future. I do not like the idea of anyone leaving a place because difficulties arise there. It would obviously appear that you wish to leave the place because you do not like the present Government there. Further, the new appointment would create additional difficulties. It might not be easy for agreement to be found between us and the Chief Minister.

I think, therefore, that it would be far better if you stayed on there. Leaving after a few months only would seem very odd and would prove embarrassing.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Governor of Kerala.

3. B. Ramakrishna Rao wanted to be shifted somewhere else from Kerala. Reminding Nehru that he had not been quite happy at being sent to Kerala in 1956, Ramakrishna Rao wrote, "You are fully aware of the later developments and that conflict has started." A communist government, with E.M.S. Namboodiripad as Chief Minister, had come to power in Kerala in April 1957.

## 11. To J.B. Kripalani<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

May 16, 1957

My dear Jivat,<sup>2</sup>

In your speech in the Lok Sabha,<sup>3</sup> you referred to a case of an officer of the External Affairs Ministry buying three cars within a short space of time, on loans obtained from the Government. I enquired into this matter. In fact, certain notes sent by the External Affairs Ministry to the Public Accounts Committee have not yet been published by them, and so, presumably, were not available to you.

The facts are that, during four years (1948-52), the officer served at six different stations abroad and also returned to India twice. Because of this, he sold his cars. It is true that in some cases, he could not obtain prior approval of Government. But, this approval was subsequently obtained. The advances taken for purchase of cars were fully recovered, and there is no loss to Government. The only profit that the officer made in these transactions was about rupees one thousand by the sale of one of these cars. That amount also was recovered from him and credited to Government.

Yours affectionately,

Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. J. B. Kripalani, was elected leader of the Praja Socialist Party in the Lok Sabha on 9 May 1957.

3. On 15 May 1957. For Nehru's mention of this issue, see *ante*, pp. 28-29.



## 12. To N.C. Chatterjee<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 22, 1957

Dear Shri Chatterjee,

Thank you for your letter of May 21st.<sup>2</sup> The question of my using IAF aircraft for purpose of tours otherwise than official in character was first raised in 1951. Before the matter was considered by Government, it was referred to the Comptroller and Auditor-General early in October 1951. The Comptroller and Auditor-General, Shri V. Narahari Rao,<sup>3</sup> sent a memorandum on the subject to the Finance Minister, Shri C. D. Deshmukh, on the 7th October 1951. I enclose a copy of this memorandum for your private information. In a covering letter to the Finance Minister, the Comptroller and Auditor-General observed:

“I would like to make it quite clear that these security considerations cannot properly be held to apply to any other Ministers in the Centre or in the States while travelling for purely party or political purposes.”

He also observed:

“By paying to Government the amount the Prime Minister and his party members would have spent on fares for ordinary air travels, due regard will have been paid to considerations of propriety.”

Soon after the Finance Minister received the memorandum from the Comptroller and Auditor-General, a committee, with the Cabinet Secretary as Chairman and the Defence Secretary and the Financial Adviser in the Ministry of Defence as members, examined the question and laid down elaborate rules. These rules had also the approval of the Comptroller and Auditor-General.

I still felt that Government's decision on the subject should be publicly stated. Accordingly, a Press Note was issued at my instance by the Ministry of Defence on the 20th October 1951. This Press Note appeared in full in all the newspapers

1. JN Collection.

2. In reply to Nehru's letter of 11 May (see *ante*, p. 305-306), Chatterjee wrote that many people, including Chatterjee himself, were not aware of the decision of the Auditor-General and others on the question of the use of IAF aircraft for journeys undertaken by the Prime Minister for non-official purposes, and wanted that this decision should be given publicity.

3. Vyakarana Narahari Rao, Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, 1948-54.

of India. The Press Note also had the approval of the Comptroller and Auditor-General.

There have been several questions in Parliament regarding this matter and the relevant papers were also laid before Parliament.

As is the practice in most Air Forces in the world, the Indian Air Force maintains a Communications Flight for the use of the President (who is the Commander-in-Chief), the Defence Service Chiefs, important foreign guests and a few others. These aircraft, as is the case with other aircraft of the Indian Air Force, have anyhow to do a certain hours of flying every month, both from the point of view of practice for Air Force personnel and to keep the aircraft technically trim. Such flying will have to be done whether anyone goes in them or not. The journeys done by me or others entitled to the use of these aircraft are supposed to be within the specified hours of flying by each aircraft. In a sense, therefore, no additional budgetary cost is incurred.

About the security arrangements, I agree with you that they should be the minimum necessary;<sup>4</sup> and I have repeatedly drawn attention to this fact. I believe that they have been reduced.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Chatterjee wrote that "elaborate security arrangements on many occasions for Ministers at election meetings or party meetings lead to the inference that governmental machinery is being used to impress the electors" and suggested that steps should be taken "to dispel all such grounds of suspicion in the interest of fair and free elections."
5. Chatterjee found this letter of Nehru's to be "a revealing letter." In his reply of 25 May, Chatterjee said that the press note referred to by Nehru had escaped his notice and that it had not got the attention it deserved. He added that Nehru's letter would, "to a large extent, clarify the issue and put the matter in proper perspective."



13. To Y.N. Sukthankar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 23, 1957

My dear Sukthankar,<sup>2</sup>

Mahalanobis<sup>3</sup> came to see me today. In the course of his talk, he referred to the question of having a Statistical Service, that is, a new cadre. Apparently this matter is coming up before the Planning Commission tomorrow and some kind of a draft note has been prepared for Cabinet.

Previously, the proposal was for a joint Economic and Statistical Service and presumably the draft note is based on this proposal. Mahalanobis thinks that it would be far better not to mix up the Economic Service and the Statistical Service, but rather to have a separate Statistical Service. Statistics have become so important and specialized now that they can hardly be treated just as an offshoot of economics. So far as we are concerned, our planning and food production, etc., require careful and scientific statistics and practical groundwork to that end. Therefore people experienced in groundwork have to be collected or recruited.

I think there is a good deal of substance in this proposal and it requires thorough examination. Mahalanobis gave me a note<sup>4</sup> on this subject, a copy of which I enclose. I suggest that you might have a talk with Mahalanobis on this subject and that the draft note for Cabinet should be prepared after full consultations have taken place.

You will remember my telling you that I should like close contacts and coordination of the Cabinet Secretariat with Mahalanobis and the CSO.<sup>5</sup> While

1. File No. 17(241)/57-58-PMS.

2. Cabinet Secretary and Secretary, Planning Commission, 1953-57.

3. P. C. Mahalanobis; founder director, Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata; Statistical Adviser to the Union Cabinet; Member, Planning Commission.

4. Pointing to the increasing need for collection and analysis of statistics for purposes of planning and for assessment of plan progress, Mahalanobis argued that the future work would become increasingly technical in nature for which statisticians with training in modern statistics would have to be recruited in large numbers. He therefore suggested the constitution of a statistical service for statisticians of this type. He also noted that economists engaged in primarily economic work would not fit into the statistical service, and, if necessary, a separate service could be established for economists.

5. The Central Statistical Organization was formed in 1951 by transferring to the Cabinet Secretariat the unit for statistical coordination in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

there are these contacts of course, sometimes this appears to be lacking and this leads to ultimate delay. We should like to get this machine moving as fast as possible and I suggest that you might arrange for your Secretariat to keep in constant touch with Mahalanobis in any matter which directly or indirectly concerns statistical work.<sup>6</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Enclosing a copy of this letter to V. T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, Nehru stated: "I think that before anything is finalized for consideration by the Cabinet, this matter might be fully discussed with Mahalanobis and his viewpoint considered. We are growing fast in the statistical field and it is desirable that we lay sound foundations for future growth."

#### 14. To G.B. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 23, 1957

My dear Pantji,

Mahalanobis saw me today and discussed the question of a Statistical Service. There has been a proposal for some time for a joint Economic and Statistical Service. But as you will see from a note which Mahalanobis gave me and a copy of which I attach, he thinks that it would be far better to have a separate Statistical Cadre specializing in groundwork connected with statistics. I think there is much in this suggestion. We are obviously spreading out fast in the statistical field and it is necessary that we do so because a good deal of our planning will be affected by it, more especially in regard to food production and the like. Therefore, we might as well lay sound foundations for our statistical organization and service.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.



## 15. To Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 30, 1957

My dear Maulana,<sup>2</sup>

K. C. Neogy<sup>3</sup> of the Planning Commission wrote to me some days ago pointing out that the separation of the Geological Survey of India from the mining activities of the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel was not a good arrangement. He suggested, therefore, that the Geological Survey might be transferred to the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel from the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research. On looking into this matter, I felt that there was much force in this contention.

I asked the Cabinet Secretary to discuss it first with Professor Thacker.<sup>4</sup> Thacker gave it as his personal view that it would be desirable for the Geological Survey to be transferred to the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel. At the same time, he thought that the Indian School of Mines, which is now under the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel, should be transferred to the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, as it was one of the principal technological institutes.

It seems to me that this is a good proposal and I hope you will agree to it.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister for Education & Scientific Research.

3. Kshitish Chandra Neogy, Member, Planning Commission.

4. M.S. Thacker, Director-General, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

## 16. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 31, 1957

My dear Morarji,<sup>2</sup>

I am writing with reference to your letter dated May 27, 1957, on 'Fertilizers'. I agree that all 'Fertilizers', as stated in the Presidential Order, should remain with the Ministry of Commerce & Industry. As you have pointed out, this will enable a national fertilizer policy to be evolved with regard to production and distribution and coordination of manufacture of nitrogenous, phosphatic and other fertilizers.

You have, however, specifically referred to the fertilizer factories proposed to be set up at Rourkela and Neyveli and expressed the opinion that they should also be under the Ministry of Commerce & Industry. As you are aware, these two factories will be intimately connected for their efficient working with the Iron & Steel Plant at Rourkela and the Lignite Plant at Neyveli. It will, however, be some time before these factories will be set up and I understand that even all the preliminaries in connection with the establishment of these factories have not been completed. Since the fertilizer unit at Rourkela will be dependent on the Iron & Steel Plant for almost all its raw materials and the position at Neyveli is also, more or less, similar, it will, perhaps, be of advantage if the two projects are not split up for the present and continue to be dealt with by the Boards of Management of the Rourkela Iron & Steel Plant and the Neyveli Lignite respectively. It is, however, essential that all matters connected with the fertilizer units in these two projects are settled in full consultation with your Ministry and in accordance with the policy generally governing the production of fertilizer. A representative of the Ministry of Commerce & Industry and/or a representative of the Fertilizer Corporation which you are proposing to set up should, therefore, be nominated to the two Boards so as to ensure that the general policy of the Ministry of Commerce & Industry regarding fertilizers is followed in respect of the factories to be set up at these two places. The presence of your representatives on the Boards will also facilitate selection of technical consultants, end-products, processes, recruitment and training of personnel, etc., in so far as fertilizers are concerned. If any disagreement arises between your representative and the Boards

1. JN Collection.

2. Minister of Commerce and Industry.



regarding matters coming within the scope of the general fertilizer policy of your Ministry, he can, of course, reserve it for your consideration and decision. When the fertilizer factories at the two places have been constructed, the matter can be looked into again with a view to decide that the stage has arrived for the transfer of the control of the factories to the Fertilizer Corporation under your Ministry.

I hope these arrangements meet your requirement and you would be in favour of giving effect to them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 17. The Promotion of Scientists<sup>1</sup>

Professor G.I. Finch<sup>2</sup> came to see me today to bid me goodbye. He gave me a summary report on the National Chemical Laboratory, which I enclose.

2. Broadly speaking, the general principles he has laid down in his report appear to me the right ones. At page 8 of his report he deals with the promotion and selection of scientists. I agree with him entirely that talent must be recognized and we cannot promote scientists chiefly by seniority. That is really an insult to science. We have already lost some good people who have gone abroad. The principle is right enough. Of course, there may be some difficulties in giving effect to it and in recognizing real talent.

3. I remember that this question was raised by Dr Bhabha<sup>3</sup> in connection with his Atomic Energy Department. We agreed with him that where he thought it

1. Note to M. S. Thacker, Director-General, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, 6 June 1957. JN Collection.

2. George Ingle Finch (1888-1970); Australian scientist; Professor of Applied Physical Chemistry, Imperial College, University of London, 1936-52, and Professor Emeritus since 1952; Director, National Chemical Laboratory, Pune, 1952-September 1957; President, Alpine Club, 1959-61.

3. Homi Jehangir Bhabha, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, Government of India, and Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy.

necessary and desirable, quicker promotions than normal should be given to his associate scientific workers.

4. In the case of any person of outstanding talent we should go rather out of our way in encouraging him. I do not mean that encouragement should be by higher salaries, though sometimes that has to be done. A real scientist wants recognition of his worth and opportunities of work more than higher salaries. If there is any really outstanding person, we should really create a place for him rather than allow him to go away.

5. What Professor Finch says at page 9 about his five Assistant Directors and the senior and junior scientific officers deserves notice. According to him one of the five Assistant Directors is very good, one is good and the three others are no good. Further that the senior and junior scientific officers are good and deserve promotion and recognition of their talent.

6. Naturally, this question of promotion has to be done by a selection committee, but I am inclined to agree with Professor Finch that too large selection committees may not serve the purpose.

## 18. To T. T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

June 6, 1957

My dear T.T.,<sup>2</sup>

This is in answer to your letter of June 3rd about a separate Service for economists and statisticians.<sup>3</sup>

There can be no doubt whatever that we want a considerable number of economists. We also want statisticians, presumably in a lesser number. A pure

1. File No. 17(241)/57-58-PMS. Extracts.

2. Union Finance Minister.

3. T. T. Krishnamachari did not favour the setting up of a separate statisticians' service as distinct from a service of economists. Saying that it was untenable to contend, as Mahalanobis did, that most of the work done by economists in the Government was statistical, Krishnamachari pointed out the need for more economists as "we have too little of economic analysis and appraisal of various aspects of our policy projects." He recommended a joint Economic and Statistical Service with two wings and felt that the service could be split if the number of statisticians increased.



statistician, just as a pure economist, is likely to function in an ivory tower. The two do overlap to some extent.

In this respect, while what you say is true,<sup>4</sup> there is one difference. The economist tends to become too theoretical. The statistician presumably works in the field and comes in contact with human beings more and their problems.

In any event, there are likely to be far more economists than statisticians and if they are to be just in one branch, the economists will rather overwhelm the statisticians. After all, statistics has grown greatly in the last dozen years and more and has become very specialized. It is true that their material may all be neatly indexed and docketed in an office,<sup>5</sup> but this is not necessary and should be avoided.

I entirely agree with you about giving continuity of service, regular grades, promotions, etc., to the economists and others.

I imagine that the best course would be to have one Service of economists and statisticians, but that this should have two wings, one for economists and one for statisticians. It might be possible to transfer one to the other, if necessary. Some association of the two will be helpful and, at the same time, the statisticians will be able to advance in a specialized way much more....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Krishnamachari wrote that "perhaps we have gone too far in treating statistics as a self-contained branch of science, and statisticians as a body of experts who can find answer to all our problems." He stated that the economists and the statisticians had to work together: "Statistics is, in a way, a handmaid to other disciplines. The more the statisticians are thrown together with others, especially the economists, the better."
5. Krishnamachari said that "collecting all kinds of statistics without relation to what is required either for economic policy-making or for administration seems to be becoming a fashion with us." A lot of statistical data had been collected by the National Sample Survey, for example, "but they lie neatly indexed and catalogued in the Indian Statistical Institute," he added.

## 19. To Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 8, 1957

My dear Maulana,

After my talk with you yesterday about the Geological Survey of India, I tried to fix up a meeting with Dr J.C. Ghosh,<sup>2</sup> Professor M.S. Thacker and the Cabinet Secretary. I found that Ghosh had gone to Bangalore and was not likely to come back for about a month. So I saw Thacker and the Cabinet Secretary today.

In the course of the discussion, Thacker said that he would be opposed to splitting up the Geological Survey rather suddenly and in an arbitrary manner, although some division of it might be feasible later. Roughly, the Geological Survey of India consisted of about fifty per cent of scientific work and fifty per cent of practical work connected with exploration and opening up of mineral deposits. It might be said that the former could well be dealt with by the Department of Scientific Research. The second part in regard to the exploration, etc., of mineral deposits, would fit in much better with the Department of Mining in the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel. He had himself drawn up the paper containing the division of functions, which you gave me. But he was not intimately acquainted with the working of this subject, and therefore his paper was rather in the nature of an essay than a well thought out division.

Any division, he said, if it is to be brought about, should be after more intimate knowledge of the working of the Department. Otherwise, it might create an upset and difficulties. He was further of opinion that at the present moment, as the importance of our oil work was very great and rather urgent, it would be desirable that the Oil and Natural Gas Commission should immediately be allowed to deal with all this exploration and opening up of mineral deposits. This should, in fact, form an essential part of the work of the Bureau of Mines. But, as he had stated previously, he was afraid of splitting up the Geological Survey of India without much more careful thought. Therefore, the whole of the Geological Survey of India might, to begin with, be transferred to the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel, and then gradually Thacker and Khera<sup>3</sup> could work out what part of it should be sent back to the Department of Scientific Research. He said that the question was not an easy one, but this appeared to him the

1. JN Collection.

2. Member, Planning Commission, 1955-59.

3. S. S. Khera, Secretary, Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel.



better approach. His view was chiefly governed by his desire to expedite the work of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission, which was considered so important now.

He further said that the School of Mines should be transferred to Scientific Research.

In any event, of course, there should be the closest coordination in regard to these various activities between the Department of Scientific Research and the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

Thacker told me, however, that Dr J.C. Ghosh was opposed to the transfer of the Geological Survey of India to the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel. This was Ghosh's opinion when he was first consulted. Then Ghosh went away to Bangalore and there has been no further talk with him on this subject.

It seems to me that Thacker's opinion as stated above is a reasonable approach to the problem. I have told him, however, to have a talk with you and whatever your final decision is in this matter will be carried out.

I have again written to Ajit Prasad Jain about the Forest Research Institute. In regard to this matter, Thacker thinks that it should be transferred to Scientific Research. Thacker was himself a member of the Champion Committee to which reference was made by Ajit Prasad Jain. I am waiting for the Report of this Committee.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

## 20. To Bisnuram Medhi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 8, 1957

My dear Medhi,<sup>2</sup>

The Auditor-General<sup>3</sup> has drawn my attention to a decision of your Government, sanctioning a grant of rupees sixty-five thousand to the Constructive Wing of

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Assam.

3. Asok K. Chanda, Comptroller and Auditor-General of India.

the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee for a number of purposes, such as, the erection of an open air stage for children, an orphanage for hill tribals, opening of welfare centres in the Naga Hills and Garo Hills. All these are very desirable purposes, and no one can possibly object to them.

But, a question might arise as to how far it is right to give a grant to a political party, even though it is our own. If the grant was given to some organization, such as the Bharat Sewak Samaj, it would be different. You will appreciate that if we give direct grants like this to a wing—even though it is the Constructive Wing—of the Congress, then we open the door to grants being given by some Governments to other political parties.

Surely, it should not be difficult for you to arrange so that this money is spent, if not directly by Government, then by some organization, which is not, on the face of it, political. I realize your difficulties in Assam, because you have not, perhaps, got such organizations available. But it should not be difficult to organize them. They may certainly consist mostly of Congressmen. The point is that an organization, which is a political one or is an adjunct to a political party, raises difficulties.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 21. To Bisnuram Medhi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 8, 1957

My dear Medhi,

There is another matter to which the Auditor-General has drawn my attention. It appears that your Government issued a letter on the 6th May 1957, to the Director of Consumer Goods, Assam, in regard to an ad hoc allotment of 500 tons of GCI sheets for the All India Congress session to be held in Assam.<sup>2</sup> The cost

1. JN Collection.

2. The Indian National Congress session at Guwahati was held on 18-19 January 1958.



price of these sheets is stated to be Rs 3,80,000/- and the handling cost Rs 5,000/-. There will no doubt be other costs also.

The point is that your Government is incurring expenditure out of public funds in connection with the Congress session. If you will refer to a letter sent by our Home Minister to all Chief Ministers on the 2nd April 1956, you will find the principles laid down there for the guidance of State Governments in meeting expenditure incurred by them in connection with Congress sessions. I do not think this purchase of 500 tons of GCI sheets comes within the scope of permissible expenditure by the Government.

It is true that you expect the sheets to be returned by the Congress after use and sold to normal consumers. Further that any loss or damage during the Congress session will be borne by the Congress Committee. If these sheets were in stock with you at the time of the Congress session, you would certainly be entitled to hire them out to the Congress Committee. But, to purchase them six months before the session and to keep them for the session, is another matter.

I am afraid that if this sanction continues and is not revoked, there is bound to be audit criticism of this transaction, and then the matter will come up before the public. In a way it is not desirable. I suggest, therefore, that you should look into this matter and make some other arrangements to avoid all these difficulties.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 22. To Bisnuram Medhi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 8, 1957

My dear Medhi,

This is the third letter I am writing to you today about some financial criticisms made by the Auditor-General.

1. JN Collection.

It appears that he wrote to you on the 4th April, 1957, drawing your attention to certain sanctions relating to the Speaker<sup>2</sup> and your Ministers, issued by the Assam Government. According to him, these were not in accordance with the canons of financial propriety.

The points raised by him are:

1. The headquarters of the Speaker had been declared to be Jorhat, which was his home town, but a house at Shillong had been placed at his disposal rent free. He thus drew both travelling allowance to and from Shillong and daily allowance for his halts there. This amounted to a large sum of money. Obviously, the headquarters of the Speaker are at Shillong, and it is quite absurd for him to draw both his salary and a daily allowance when staying there.
2. Your Deputy Ministers are apparently entitled to conveyance allowance of Rs 100/- per month. They are also entitled to use pool cars on a payment of a maximum of Rs 20/- for a month's use. A conveyance allowance is given for the purpose of maintaining a conveyance. If a car is not maintained, then the question of paying this allowance does not arise.
3. Then there is the question of the conveyance allowance to Ministers who are also provided with State cars. When on tour, they receive road mileage allowance. They have even drawn this road mileage for empty haulage of their cars. I need not go into the details of this, but what the Auditor-General has pointed out, appears to have a point.

The Auditor-General has also referred to the State Government granting advance increments to some of the officers on appointment. This is very unusual procedure, not followed in any other State.

Although the Auditor-General wrote to you on this subject, he has not received any reply. The result is going to be that he will criticize it in his annual report. I hope, however, that you will deal with this matter and inform the Auditor-General of it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Kuladhar Chaliha was Speaker, Assam Legislative Assembly, from March 1952 to June 1957.



## 23. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

8 June 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

I have been examining a statement showing annual expenditure on security arrangements in respect of the President, Heads of States (that is Governors), and Union and State Government Ministers. The total amount spent on these security arrangements appears to me formidable.<sup>2</sup> I know that I am one of the principal guilty parties and I propose to have this matter examined and the expenditure reduced not only for myself but for Central Ministers. I am writing to you about the amount spent for the security arrangements for the Governors and Ministers of State Governments.<sup>3</sup> These amounts vary very greatly in both cases. It is not clear to me why there should be such tremendous variation and why in some cases the amount is unconscionably high.<sup>4</sup> I do not understand why we should require so much protection, though I realize the necessity for security.

I shall be grateful to you if you will be good enough to look into this matter and reduce this expenditure very considerably.

Apart from the expenditure aspect, there is also the public aspect. A Governor certainly requires to move about with dignity, though this can be overemphasized. The Ministers are public men who should mix with the people and who should have no pomp and ceremony attached to them. Where necessary, of course, some security protection should be taken. But this should be unostentatious and inexpensive.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. The total annual expenditure on this account was Rs 45,70,304, as per a statement given to Nehru on 8 June by the Comptroller and Auditor-General.

3. The expenditure on security arrangements in respect of Governors was Rs 12,48,275; in respect of state Ministers, the expenditure was Rs 23,29,416.

4. For instance, the figures for Governor's security arrangements in Madras and Mysore were Rs 3,16,920 and Rs 3,02,353 respectively; the figures in respect of Ministers in these States were Rs 38,106 and Rs 24,265 respectively.

## 24. To Sri Krishna Sinha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 8, 1957

My dear Sri Babu,<sup>2</sup>

I have been examining figures for the annual expenditure incurred on security arrangements in respect of Governors and Ministers of State Governments. I think that all this expenditure is very much on the high side and must be reduced. But what has amazed me is the figure for the expenditure on security arrangements for the Ministers of the Bihar Government. This figure for one year is given at Rs 3,81,721. This is a tremendous figure for security of the State Ministers (excluding the Governor which amounts to Rs 94,443 separately).

In most other States the cost of Ministers' security varies from Rs 8,500 to Rs 60,000 or so. I do not understand why the Bihar Ministers should have to spend this very big sum for security for themselves.

Personally I think this whole security matter has been mishandled and the less we think about security the better. Why should we go about attended by numbers of people? Occasionally security is necessary, but we cannot become such a great burden on the State.

Will you kindly look into this matter and take early steps to reduce this figure very considerably. As it is, it is about ten times the cost in most other States.

I think that the Governor's security arrangements should also be simplified.

I am sending a letter to all Chief Ministers on this subject.<sup>3</sup> But as the figure for Bihar was astonishing, I am writing to you separately also.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Bihar.

3. See the preceding item.

4. Nehru also drew the attention of the Governor of Madras, A. J. John, to the excessive expenditure on the security arrangements of the Governor. As regards Mysore, Nehru wrote to G. B. Pant, "The Governor of Mysore also spends a tremendous amount for his security. But I did not want to write to the Maharaja."



25. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

June 9, 1957

My dear Rajendra Babu,

You were good enough to speak to me the other day about the large scale of expenditure on the maintenance of Rashtrapati Bhavan. I entirely agreed with you that this matter might be looked into and suggested that your Secretary, Venkatachar,<sup>2</sup> and an official of the Finance Ministry might carry out a preliminary survey.

At present the sanctioned amount for Rashtrapati Bhavan is about Rs 50 lakhs per annum. This does not include, I think, the expenditure incurred by the PWD on the gardens, nor does it include the defence expenditure on the maintenance of the bodyguard.

In a talk I had with the Auditor-General a day or two ago, I found that even this expenditure on Rashtrapati Bhavan has been exceeded on occasions. As he is not responsible for examining this expenditure, he could not say how this had happened. I do not know if there is any kind of an audit of this large expenditure. This is a matter for you to consider also.

Yesterday I saw a statement of expenditure on security arrangements of the President, the Governors of States, Central Ministers and Ministers of State Governments. I found that this amounted nearly to Rs 50 lakhs a year. I was surprised to see these figures. They varied greatly in the States. One of the States, which had a very high figure for security arrangements for Ministers only, was Bihar. This amounted to over Rs 3 lakhs a year. I do not understand how this is spent.

I have sent a letter to all Chief Ministers on this subject.<sup>3</sup> I enclose a copy of it. I have written separately also to some of the Chief Ministers on this subject.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 13(2)/57, President's Secretariat.

2. C.S. Venkatachar, Secretary to the President of India, 1955-58.

3. See *ante*, p. 323.

4. See the preceding item for Nehru's letter to Sri Krishna Sinha. Nehru also wrote to B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, where the expenditure on the security arrangements of Ministers was Rs 13, 02, 912. Nehru, however, suspected that "there was some mistake in this figure."

## 26. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 10, 1957

My dear Rajendra Babu,

You will remember that I ventured to suggest to you that it would be desirable to have a woman in charge of various internal arrangements in Rashtrapati Bhavan. Normally, this is a woman's job, that is, provided the woman has some training for that purpose.

I am told that a suitable woman is available, who would probably fill this post with advantage. I have not myself met her, but Indira has seen her and thought well of her. I think General Yadunath Singh<sup>2</sup> has also met the lady.

This woman is Mrs Mathias. She was born in North India, but married a military officer from Mangalore. This officer died in 1948. Since then, she has been in charge of a high grade military hostel in Ootacamund and, later, in charge of catering in several important hospitals. She has been abroad four times. She has got one son who is undergoing training in England as a mining engineer.

Some senior military officers who know her, speak of her efficiency and integrity.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Military Secretary to the President of India.

3. Also see *ante*, p. 275.



## 27. The Case of B.S. Grewal<sup>1</sup>

I had a talk today with Foreign Secretary<sup>2</sup> and Special Secretary<sup>3</sup> who told me about the draft Audit paragraph relating to the case of Shri B.S. Grewal.<sup>4</sup> I have seen this paragraph. I have also seen a note giving the facts of this case in brief. I have seen a few other papers also in the file, but I have not gone through all the relevant papers. I should have liked to have done so, but I have no time as I am leaving early tomorrow morning for Europe.

2. The facts as stated, however, to me and as contained in the note by Special Secretary are clear enough. In this note, there is reference to the Ministry of Home Affairs, who investigated the case, being of opinion that disciplinary action need not be taken against Shri Grewal beyond telling him that he had failed to conform to the standard of behaviour expected of a senior officer.

3. It is not quite clear to me if the Home Minister himself studied this case. To some extent he undoubtedly did so. But, I gathered from him this evening that when he expressed his previous opinion, he was not aware of certain developments that came to light later.

4. In any event, I should like to express my opinion about this matter immediately, I think that this whole affair reveals a deplorable state of affairs and a certain looseness in matters affecting public funds, which is really extraordinary. I am not only inclined to agree with the draft paragraph in the Audit Report, but I would myself make further criticisms about various other aspects of this case.

5. I do not think that Shri Grewal has given any satisfactory account about his drawing £26.5s. per week when the rental was for £23.00 only. The fact that the landlord complained about being asked to give a receipt for a higher amount than what had been paid and even carried this complaint to an Air Marshal of the UK Air Force, is very relevant, and the long explanation that Shri Grewal has given is not at all satisfactory. To say then that this can be condoned by telling him that he had failed to conform to the standard of behaviour expected of him, is to treat a serious offence with extreme leniency. I wonder if this leniency would have been shown in the case of a subordinate official or a junior officer.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary and Special Secretary, MEA, 13 June 1957. JN Collection.

2. Subimal Dutt.

3. B.N. Chakravarty.

4. Joint Secretary, Ministry of Defence, 1953-56; Ministry of Production, 1956; Ministry of Commerce & Industry, 1957.

Senior officers are supposed to set a much higher standard of behaviour than others and have, therefore, to be judged more strictly.

6. I am surprised to learn that our officers who go abroad are permitted to spend Government money at this extravagant rate for their board and lodging. I am quite certain that it is possible to obtain quite decent and convenient accommodation in London at much less than was permitted. Our officers are not supposed to function abroad as Maharajas or captains of industry. They have to remember that India is a poor country and that the average Indian lives in extreme poverty. Taxes come from him, which we spend so freely. I realize that a certain dignity and decorum have to be kept up. But for an officer to be permitted to take a flat at £26.5s. a week seems to me bordering on the outrageous, more especially when this is for a lengthy period and not for a few days. If it is true that this is an almost inevitable expenditure, then it is better not to send our officers to the Imperial Defence College for courses of instructions or, indeed, for any other purpose. Let us save this money for more worthwhile expenditure in India.

7. At any time, this expenditure would have been objectionable and should have been checked and enquired into. It appears all the more shocking when we talk so much of economy.

8. I am told that the flat that was engaged by Shri Grewal was a very large one, and there was absolutely no justification for such a large flat to be taken. I do not know what the rules are about families accompanying officers abroad. If there is such a rule, then it should be changed, and certainly Government should not be made to pay for a large family to live for many months or a year abroad simply because the officer has gone for a course of training.

9. I am surprised that when the Financial Adviser objected to the term suggested for a flat, he was overruled. The least that could have been done was a reference to the headquarters here. Shri Gundevia<sup>5</sup> is reported to have said that he had no powers to compel Shri Grewal to accept accommodation at a cost lower than that permitted in the Government order. I do not quite understand what precise Government orders would have been violated. To say that because of Shri Grewal's status, he had to stay in an expensive hotel or in a very expensive flat, is surely a misinterpretation of Government rules and orders. In any event, those rules and orders should be reconsidered and changed, and every officer should be made to realize that he has no business to waste public funds in this way over his own comfort or to maintain his status abroad. To say that hotel charges for a single suite would have cost four to five guineas a day may be

5. Y.D. Gundevia was Deputy High Commissioner, London, 1954-56.



correct. But, why Shri Grewal should go to a hotel which charges so much, requires some explanation.

10. I think that Shri Grewal's conduct in this matter was highly objectionable and showed a lack of financial integrity as well as care for public funds.

11. As for the then Deputy High Commissioner, I think that he was careless in this matter and also does not appear to have attached importance to the necessity of public funds not being wasted.

12. I should like the Home Minister to consider this matter again and see the additional information that has become available since he saw this case previously. Whatever other action he may consider proper in the circumstances, I think that Shri Grewal should in any event be asked to pay a proportionate share of the money spent per week on his family. Some rough calculation will give this figure. I think this is the least that can be done. I gather he took an Indian servant with him also and I suppose Government paid for him.

13. This case is an unsavoury one. But, what troubles me is that such extravagant expenditure can be incurred by our officers abroad and some Government rules quoted to justify it. I am quite sure in my mind that in future we should not send anybody for any long period abroad if this scale of expenditure is considered necessary for him to maintain his status. It is better for him to keep to his status in India.

14. But the right way is to change the rules so that this kind of thing cannot occur again.

## 28. To T. T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

London  
4 July 1957

My dear T.T.,<sup>2</sup>

Whenever I go abroad, and especially when I come to London, I hear stories about the behaviour of Indian officials and others which distress me. Occasionally, some of them behave neither with dignity nor propriety. They take to drinks even when their capacity to hold it is not evident.

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Finance Minister.

I want to bring one case to your notice which occurred only this evening at a large party at the Guildhall. Ambegaokar,<sup>3</sup> who is apparently on leave here, was evidently drunk and behaving rather in a boisterous manner. What is more, I am told that he went about pinching women. There was a big crowd at the party of several hundred persons. I did not myself come across him in this crowd or possibly he avoided me. But I heard about this from reliable witnesses. If I had seen him, I would have given him a bit of my mind then and there.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. K.G. Ambegaokar, Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, 1950-54. He served as Finance Secretary and Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, before being appointed interim RBI Governor from 14 January to 28 February 1957.

## 29. Police Ethics<sup>1</sup>

Cases have sometimes come before me of totally unnecessary handcuffing of persons arrested. I remember a very bad case just before I left India. I suggest that it would be a good thing to issue instructions to the police not to handcuff any arrested person unless this is considered absolutely necessary. Handcuffing should be rare and not done as a matter of routine.

You have frequently spoken to me about some instructions or rules regarding firing by the police. It would be desirable to make it clear to them that firing should not be resorted to except on very grave provocation when life is endangered.

1. Note to the Home Minister, 15 July 1957. JN Collection.



### 30. The Petition Against Nehru<sup>1</sup>

The allegation that I took the support of Government officials in my election campaign, is completely without foundation.<sup>2</sup> So far as I was concerned, these Government officials, security officers, etc., were a great nuisance, and I have consistently tried to reduce their number. But, in this matter concerning security, I have practically no say, and orders are issued by the Home Ministry in accordance with the rules laid down. These rules are lengthy and precise, and each State Government is supposed to follow them. Each State Government, in its turn, calls upon the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police of the place I visit, to make themselves responsible for security and to make adequate provisions according to the rules. I have tried repeatedly during the last few years to lessen these security measures, although I recognized that some such measures were necessary. I have not met with any marked success in this matter, though some minor alterations have sometimes been made to meet my wishes.

2. These security measures are always applicable to me as Prime Minister wherever I am, whether in Delhi or travelling in India or abroad. When I go abroad, the Government concerned makes itself responsible for security. In India, it is the State Government in addition to some officers from the Centre, who are continually responsible.

3. In travelling, it was found that more elaborate measures were necessary if I travelled by road or by railway train, apart from more time being taken. Normally, therefore, I am called upon to travel by air which simplifies and reduces many of these security measures. I travel, therefore, almost always by Indian Air Force aircraft belonging to the Communications Squadron, which are specially meant for the President, the Vice-President, the Prime Minister and some other Ministers. The IAF aircraft and their pilots have in any event to do a certain measure of flying to keep in practice. When they take the President or the Vice-President or me, the flying hours involved are thus usually those that they will have to do anyhow and, in that sense, no extra expense is involved.

4. This is the normal practice when I go for official tours. Six years ago, that is, before the first general election, the question arose about my travelling for election purposes. I did not want this to be connected in any way with official

1. Note to Shyam Krishna Dar, former Judge of the Allahabad High Court, 16 July 1957. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 305-306, 309-310.

business, although, even when I went for private business, I had always to keep in touch with official business, and telegrams and papers came to me daily, which I had to answer immediately. The Prime Minister is not supposed to be off duty at any time, even though I might be in election.

However, when I expressed my wish that my travelling for private business should be separated from official business, this matter was considered in 1951 by a special committee consisting of the Cabinet Secretary, the Comptroller and Auditor-General, the Home Secretary and some other senior officials. The then Finance Minister was also consulted. As a result of this, certain rules were framed by this Committee in regard to the Prime Minister's tours. A Press note was also issued, giving briefly the decisions arrived at by this Committee. Subsequently, this Press note was also placed before Parliament. This was in October 1951.

5. In the course of a note by the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India dated the 7th October, 1951, in which he considered the question of my touring for purposes other than official, he stated as follows:

"Shri Jawaharlal Nehru is not free to choose the manner of his journeys in view of the security considerations arising from his unique position in the country and the inseparable fact of his being the Prime Minister. Government cannot permit him to travel as he pleases and they are bound to make all the necessary security arrangements at the expense of the State. It follows that for whatever purpose he may travel, Government will have to insist upon his conforming to security requirements and to travel in a special plane."

6. Certain arrangements were suggested and accepted about certain payments to be made by me when I was travelling by a special plane. I might add that, in accordance with security arrangements, strong exception is taken to my travelling by the normal service planes and I have, therefore, almost always to travel by an IAF plane, except sometimes when I go abroad.

7. The Press note issued at the time stated:

"The Prime Minister, in his capacity as the Leader of his political party, has recently had, and will in future continue to have, occasion to undertake journeys by air for other than official purposes. The nature of the journey on such occasions is different from normal official tours, but the Prime Minister cannot on this account divest himself, for the period of the journey, of his position and responsibilities as head of the Government. The business of the Government never comes to a standstill, and the Prime Minister is never off duty. Whatever the character of the journey performed by him, the need for eliminating delays in travel, for providing facilities for the transaction of official business during the journey and for making suitable



security arrangements remains unchanged. It is, therefore, considered advisable that, even for journeys by air for other than official purposes, the Prime Minister should, as far as possible, travel by IAF aircraft."

The rules laid down in 1951 for the Prime Minister's journeys, either for official purposes or for non-official purposes, have been consistently followed ever since, as also the security arrangements which are made and which have no relation to the purpose of the journey. The payments laid down then for non-official journeys have been made whenever such journeys have been undertaken.

8. It is true that I continued as the Prime Minister of India during the election and could not possibly divest myself of that office. Because of this also I was compelled to put up with the security measures laid down by the Home Ministry. There was no choice left for me and, in spite of my frequent protests, these security measures continued to be applied. Because of these security measures, officials of the Government of India or of the State Government sometimes accompanied me without my asking them or wishing them to do so. Indeed, my repeated requests that security should be lessened, were not heeded because, I was told, the orders issued by the Home Ministry had to be carried out.

9. During my visit to Allahabad or elsewhere for election purposes, I did not use any Government officer or any Government vehicle, nor, to my knowledge, did any of my agents use any Government officer or vehicle in any way. I am not aware of the police or the security men in any way impeding the election campaign of the petitioner. It is completely untrue and without foundation that any Government servant was employed directly or indirectly to canvass for me or support my election in any way.

10. My visits to Allahabad were usually brief, for a day or two, and during my stay there, I travelled most of the time in private cars. In the course of these visits, however, I continued to do my official work and received papers daily from Delhi by special bag. I also had some official engagements, such as visiting the *Magh Mela* and the Industrial Exhibition in connection with it.<sup>2</sup>

11. It is not true to say that the Government of India denied the use of the All India Radio to political parties or individual candidates. Neither the Prime Minister nor the Government of India had anything to do with this matter. The Election Commissioner,<sup>3</sup> who functions independently, had decided to recognize

2. The *Magh Mela*, one of the biggest bathing fairs in India, commenced at Allahabad, on 14 January 1957. Also a ten-day exhibition depicting the development activities of the Uttar Pradesh Government began on 28 January 1957.

3. Sukumar Sen.

four all India parties. In accordance with this decision, the All India Radio offered these four parties opportunity to broadcast their respective programmes, each on one occasion. This offer was not accepted and in fact no political party broadcast its programme on the All India Radio. But, in their news items, summaries or extracts from various speeches, including the Prime Minister's, were given from time to time, as is normally done by the All India Radio so as to give publicity to items of public interest.

12. In the course of a speech I delivered in February 1957 at the Kayastha Pathshala College grounds in Allahabad,<sup>4</sup> I referred to the agitation for banning cow-slaughter. I stated that cattle and especially the cow, were very valuable in India more so than in other countries, and it was desirable to protect them and encourage their breed. But, we should consider this from the economic point of view and no other, and the agitation was wholly misconceived. For my part, I liked all animals and, even as I attached value to the cow, I attached value to the horse also. I liked all animals.

13. I have no knowledge about the alleged procession in connection with cow protection or what is supposed to have taken place then. The day after my meeting, I heard a brief account of some people creating trouble in the Magh Mela grounds. I also heard that Shri L.G. Thatte<sup>5</sup> had been arrested on that occasion and released the next day. These incidents had nothing to do with me and I was not aware of them till long after they had happened. They took place some miles away from my meeting, and the police dealt with them as law and order problems.

14. No Government money was spent on my election. Certain precise security rules have long been in operation in regard to all the public meetings that I address. These rules have been applied for the last seven or eight years. I was informed that security measures had to be the same whether the meeting was official or non-official. According to these rules, the meeting has to be arranged in a particular way, the rostrum has to be of a particular height, and there has to be a certain distance between the rostrum and the public gathered for the meeting. According to the security rules, State Governments, and through them, the local District Magistrates or Superintendents of Police, are directed to see to it that these rules are followed in regard to the meetings. It is further stated that if these rules are not being followed, the district authorities or the police should

4. For Nehru's speech on 6 February at Allahabad, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, pp. 89-105.

5. Thatte, General Secretary of the All India Hindu Raj Party, was arrested on 6 February 1957, at the Magh Mela grounds while protesting against the alleged refusal by Nehru to ban cow-slaughter.



themselves see to it that an appropriate rostrum is erected and proper spacing allowed, as laid down. Any expenditure incurred on this by the authorities has to be recovered from the private organization concerned in the case of non-official meetings. This rule has been followed throughout and any expenditure incurred has been so recovered.

15. In the election petition of Sita Ram Khemka, so many entirely false and imaginary statements are made that it is difficult to deal with all of them. If any particular fact has to be ascertained, I shall gladly send the necessary information so far as I possess it or I remember it.

16. This is a general note on some of the subjects referred to me this evening. I have not specifically dealt with the separate paragraphs of the petition or the schedule. But, I think that I have covered most of the points raised. I shall gladly give any other information that may be considered necessary.<sup>6</sup>

6. K. K. Banerjee, the single-member election tribunal trying the election petition against Nehru and his running mate Mansuriya Din, dismissed the petition on 30 July 1957 on the ground that the petitioner, Sita Ram Khemka, had not complied with certain provisions of the Representation of the Peoples Act. Khemka had contested the second General Elections as an independent candidate from Phulpur constituency, from where Nehru had contested. On 27 July the election tribunal trying the election petition against Nehru rejected a preliminary objection raised by Sita Ram Khemka, that the tribunal had no jurisdiction to try the petition.

### 31. To G.B. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 17, 1957

My dear Pantji,

When I was in Holland recently,<sup>2</sup> I received a letter,<sup>3</sup> a copy of which I enclose, together with a chapter in a book. I should like this case to be examined in your Ministry.

Apart from this particular case, I think that we should review our procedures in regard to foreigners and the issue of visas. We have already got a bad reputation in Europe in this matter. Even though very few persons have actually been effected or asked to leave India, the impression exists that we are constantly pushing out people. Also there is enormous delay in the issue of visas. We seem to look upon foreigners as some kind of enemy agents.

In nearly the whole of Europe, the entire system of visas have been abolished and people come and go as and when they please. These countries found that this was a far better policy than the previous restricted one which at the most enabled them to keep out a few odd persons who were considered undesirable.

I think that we shall have to consider this problem in a much more liberal way than we have done thus far.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Nehru was in Holland from 8 to 9 July 1957.

3. With his letter of 9 July 1957, Walter A. Keers, a radio-reporter and correspondent from Holland, enclosed copies of the only negative chapter from the manuscript of his forthcoming book, *My Love is India*, based on his own experiences in India. He wrote in his letter, "Other alleged victims of Home Ministry xenophobia are such people as Margaret Bourke-White and photographer Cartier-Bresson, both of whom did very much to make India popular and understood in the world, but made the mistake to publish a picture of a beggar or some such thing."



## 32. Keeping Official Secrets<sup>1</sup>

Will you please circulate the following note from me to all the Members of the Cabinet who attended the meeting of the Cabinet held yesterday morning, 18th July:

“Some of the newspapers<sup>2</sup> this morning, 19th July, contained a fairly correct summary of our discussions in Cabinet yesterday morning on the subject of the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry for the Central Services. It is obvious that this information could not have reached any newspaper unless someone present at the meeting inadvertently gave this information to someone else outside. One cannot believe in clairvoyance or in thought reading in regard to this matter. Thus it is clear that either someone among the Ministers present or one of the officials present must have said something to a journalist or to someone else who mentioned it to a journalist.

This is a matter which has caused me, as it must cause you, the gravest concern. If we cannot keep secrets in the Cabinet of the Government of India, then we can hardly expect to have any secrets anywhere else.

I can only imagine that this leakage must have taken place inadvertently and through carelessness. Whatever the cause may be, it has to be investigated, and I seek your help and cooperation in this matter. Could you kindly let me know if you mentioned the discussion in Cabinet, directly or indirectly, or in any other way, to anyone who was not present at the Cabinet Meeting? This is the first step that we have to take before proceeding further in this matter. I would repeat that sometimes some casual remarks are made without any intention of saying anything definite but which gives some secret information away. If even such a casual remark to anyone was made, I shall be grateful if you will let me know.”

1. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 19 July 1957. A.P. Jain Papers, NMML.
2. *The Hindustan Times*, for instance, reported that the Government had decided upon in principle the setting up of a Pay Commission to enquire into the salary structure of Central Government employees. The report stated, “The opportunity may be availed of to rationalize the entire salary structure by reducing the number of categories and also removing the anomalies with regard to increments and promotions in each category.” It further said that the enquiry body would be “expected to take into account the general economic situation in the country, employment conditions in other sectors, demands of the Second Five-Year Plan, concessions and amenities given by the Government to their employees and the employment conditions of State Government employees.”

2. This note applies not only to all the Ministers present, but to the officials present at that meeting also.

### 33. To Asok K. Chanda<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 21, 1957

My dear Asok,

You will remember telling me about certain grants made by the Assam Government to the Constructive Wing of the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee. I wrote to the Chief Minister on this subject.<sup>2</sup> I have received his reply,<sup>3</sup> copy of which I enclose.

2. I have been discussing this matter with some of my colleagues also. It is not free from difficulty. While it is obvious that it would be improper for Government to give a grant to a political organization, it is clear that Government does give grants to specific institutions under its normal rules, such as a school or a hospital. I presume that if a school is started even by a political organization but otherwise fulfils all the tests laid down by the Education Ministry or Departments, it will get the normal grant. So also as regards a hospital. The test,

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 319-320.

3. Bisnuram Medhi stated that when the Constructive Wing of the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee (APCC) approached the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, for financial assistance for the organization started by them to do welfare work among the tribal people of the Mikir Hills and the Garo Hills, the Commissioner indicated that if the Assam Government agreed to contribute 50 per cent of the expenditure on the proposed scheme, "it might be possible to contribute the balance of the 50 per cent of the expenditure from the Government of India." Therefore, when approached by the Constructive Wing of the APCC, the State Government decided to give "some reasonable financial assistance" for the scheme. Subsequently, the Union Home Ministry, on being approached by the Constructive Wing of the APCC, indicated that "as the Assam Government gets a substantial grant from the Centre, they could grant whatever amount they considered reasonable to the society for welfare schemes for the benefit of the hill people." Medhi added that the Assam Government had taken "all these views into consideration" before making their decision in the matter.



I take it, is that the institution concerned must itself have nothing to do in its work with politics, even though it might have been started by some political organization.

3. In India there is a lack of social and cultural organizations. Government does some work directly. But it is natural and desirable for Government to help social or cultural organizations if they function in a proper way and do not offend any rule or regulation laid down by Government. If Government stopped helping these organizations, then progress in such social work would be very much limited.

4. If some branch of a political organization takes up a Small Savings Campaign, presumably it gets a commission allowed for the collections made. Then again there is the Central Social Welfare Board which helps a very large number of non-official or private organizations engaged in social work. So far as I know, they help specific institutions for social work, if they approve of them. Such institutions may stand by themselves or may have been started by some political or semi-political organization. It is sometime difficult to draw a line. Thus, the Arya Samaj runs many educational institutions which are often helped by Government. The Arya Samaj is a religious and social organization. But it indulges in political activities also. At the present moment it is carrying on an agitation over the language issue in the Punjab.<sup>4</sup>

5. There are of course the Christian Missions, the Ramakrishna Mission, etc., which also carry on social activities. Dr Ambedkar started some colleges for a particular and, I think, desirable purpose. They are being helped by Government, even though they were specially meant for the Scheduled Castes.

6. There is the Khadi Board which has undertaken, at the instance of the Government, a vast programme of popularizing the Ambar Charkha. It is almost impossible for the Khadi Board to do this work without the help and cooperation of various organizations dealing with Khadi production. Many of these organizations were started by the Congress or are distantly related to it, though they concentrate their activities on Khadi production. I understand that the Khadi Board has started centres with the help of these organizations and has given them money for this work.

7. Another type of work would be family planning which can only succeed if a large number of social organizations or other non-official organizations undertake it. Quite rightly the Family Planning Board of the Health Ministry is taking the help of these other organizations, even though they might indulge in politics in some other sphere of their activities. Thus, the All India Women's

4. For items on the agitation over the language issue in Punjab, see *ante*, pp. 209-224, 227-231 and p. 234 and 236.

Conference, which definitely deals with political matters, is one of the chief agencies of the Family Planning Board.

8. There are thus many types of activities, essentially social, which are done by non-official organizations which are political or non-political. Cottage industries would be another such type of work. The tribal areas stand in particular need of development. From experience we find that direct official work, though good, does not go very far and we must therefore bring in non-official organizations and encourage them. It was with this object in view that a special and separate wing of the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee, called the Constructive Wing, was started. This was registered as a social welfare organization under the Societies Registration Act and they keep separate independent accounts which are audited by Government auditors, who are supposed to see that the money is spent for the purpose for which it was granted. This has nothing to do with the political activities of the Congress and no funds can be utilized for political purposes.

9. The sole test, as far as I can see, is for a grant not to be given to organizations as such but to be confined to specific institutions which are doing work which the Government wants to encourage and which function in regard to accounts, etc., under the rules framed by Government.

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru



### 34. To Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 22, 1957

My dear Minister,

I should like you to come to my house on Thursday, 25th July (after the Lok Sabha rises) at about 6 p.m. I am inviting some of our colleagues in the Government to have an informal talk then with the Finance Minister in regard to the various taxation proposals in the budget. I hope you will be able to come.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. The Prime Minister and the Finance Minister stressed the need for economy and toning up of the administration at their informal meeting on 25 July with the Ministers. The Prime Minister was also reported to have underlined the need for the Ministers to avoid "loose talk" in discussing government policies.

### 35. To Swaran Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 23, 1957

My dear Swaran Singh,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of July 23rd about the work in connection with abducted persons.<sup>3</sup> I am myself anxious to continue the work as far as possible; but there is some reason for apprehension that the Rehabilitation Ministry might not be able to get on well with the social workers concerned. I have no personal objection to the External Affairs Ministry carrying on this work under your guidance for a little while longer. It would be good thing to associate social workers in an advisory capacity as you have suggested.

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 6(25)-AP/57, MEA.

2. Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

3. Swaran Singh suggested that after the expiry of the Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act on 30 November 1957, the residual work relating to abducted persons might continue to be handled in the Ministry of External Affairs, instead of making the Rehabilitation Ministry responsible for it, as had been decided with Nehru's approval. He added that in view of the peculiar nature of the work, he was "disinclined to be on the wrong side of the lady social workers if it could be avoided without sacrificing any point of principle."



36. To V.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 28, 1957

My dear V.T.,

A few days before I left for Europe in June, I received some papers and letters relating to a proposed Service for Statisticians and Economists. I could not consider these at all carefully and unfortunately when a meeting of the Planning Commission was held on the 12th June to consider this matter, I was not present. But it appears from the record that at this meeting of the Planning Commission a letter of mine dated 6th June 1957,<sup>2</sup> addressed to the Finance Minister, was read out and two or three sentences from that letter are even quoted in the record containing the decision of the Planning Commission. These sentences are:

“I imagine that the best course would be to have one Service of economists and statisticians, but that this should have two wings, one for economists and one for statisticians. It might be possible to transfer one to the other, if necessary. Some association of the two will be helpful and, at the same time, the statisticians will be able to advance in a specialized way much more”.

It appears from the summary record of the Planning Commission meeting that this was agreed to.

I had written the letter referred to above to the Finance Minister in answer to a letter I had received from him a day or two before and without giving much thought to the matter. Soon after I received a letter dated 11th June from the Home Minister on this subject. In this letter the Home Minister expressed his view that there should be a separate Statistical Service.<sup>3</sup> Almost immediately

1. File No. 17(241)/57-58-PMS.

2. See *ante*, pp. 316-317.

3. G.B. Pant expressed his general agreement with Mahalanobis's line of approach regarding the organization of a Statistical Service. (See *ante*, pp. 311-312). He noted that statistics was not confined to solely economic matters and covered the entire social field. Pant stated that economics and statistics being highly specialized subjects, it might create difficulties if statisticians and economists were lumped together into one group. He also felt that in view of the practical nature of statistical work, statisticians were expected to “combine human and scientific approach”, and suggested that candidates appearing for the Statistical Service might also be examined in general subjects, apart from statistics.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

receiving this letter I left for Europe and therefore could not deal with this matter then.

I have been looking into some papers now and I am not at all clear in mind that the decision of the Planning Commission, apparently arrived at chiefly because of my letter, which was read out, was correct. In fact I am not quite sure as to what my own suggestion precisely meant or was understood to mean. I said that there should be one service, but with two wings. I was rather laying stress on the two wings, and yet another person might well lay emphasis the other way.

However, it is not a question of interpreting my letter, but having a clear decision. On reading the Home Minister's letter and other papers in connection with this subject, I feel now that a separate Statistical Service would be advisable. As I said in my letter to the Finance Minister, I do not like people and even specialists to live in ivory towers of their own and that was one reason why I expressed my opinion then in favour of the Service, though I qualified it by saying that it should have two separate wings. On reconsideration it appears to me that this will not be satisfactory. Statistics certainly require very specialized training. It is a subject growing both in importance and in its operations. We should encourage this growth and specialization. There might be a good deal of confusion by one homogeneous Service containing both economists and statisticians. I should like, of course, to have close contact between the two.

Economists have played and will continue to play a very important part in our work and they might well have a Service as suggested by the Finance Minister, though I hope that all such services will maintain contacts with the Universities and Institutes, etc., where such economists and statisticians function.

I think therefore that this matter requires further consideration in Planning Commission or the consideration may take place in Cabinet. So far as I know, the matter has not gone to the Cabinet yet. It would be better if, before it goes to the Cabinet, the Planning Commission gave it fuller consideration. My own view now is more or less in line with the Home Minister's view as contained in his letter of the 11 June 1957 addressed to me.

Whether there are entirely separate services or one service with two separate wings, the main point is as to whether recruitment takes place separately as also promotions, transfers, etc. If all these are to be separate, as I believe will be necessary, then to call it one service has no particular meaning.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



### 37. Unrest Among Government Employees<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister gave an account of his talks with the representatives of the Posts & Telegraph employees,<sup>2</sup> and said that the concessions that Government were willing to make had not, apparently, satisfied them. The threat of strike therefore continued<sup>3</sup> and there was nothing else to do but to face it while keeping the door open for further negotiations.

2. There was, besides, the larger issue of bringing about greater coordination between the activities of the different Ministries and different sectors of the economy, so that serious situations did not arise for which the Government and the country were not adequately prepared. The nation was facing a grave economic and financial crisis and yet there were many signs indicating disjointed efforts and lack of planning. He did not know to what extent the present critical foreign exchange shortage could have been minimized if there had been better planning. Again, food prices were ruling high owing to inadequacy of supplies and, on the other hand, food ships were waiting in harbours for long periods without being unloaded or the grain was not being moved in time to the consuming areas. Meanwhile, trouble was brewing in Pakistan, and our resources would be strained to the utmost in meeting it. Because of this, the Defence

1. Minutes of the Cabinet meeting, New Delhi, 29 July 1957. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Nehru met the representatives of the National Federation of the Posts and Telegraph Employees on 26 July. After the meeting, a spokesman of the Federation stated, "The Prime Minister was in a conciliatory mood and he did not mind whether the proposed enquiry committee was termed as pay commission and agreed to the proposal of inclusion of the question of revision of the pay structure of the Gazetted Officers in the terms of reference. In connection with the demand for the increase of Dearness Allowance (DA) in accordance with the Central Pay Commission recommendations, he categorically expressed his inability to say anything in the matter. . . As regards the merger of DA he did not make any commitment and the other items were not discussed." *The Hindu* reported on 27 July: "Mr Nehru is understood to have appealed to the Union leaders to create an atmosphere in which the employees could do their best in helping the country to march ahead. He said he wished to do everything possible to strengthen the country during the remaining years of his life and all should help him in this task. The Government would do its best to fulfil the needs of the employees to the maximum extent possible."
3. After Nehru's meeting with the representatives of the employees' federation, the Labour Minister Gulzarilal Nanda proposed that the question of interim relief be referred to the pay commission. As the proposal was not acceptable to the federation, they announced their intention to go ahead with the strike, which was scheduled to begin on the midnight of 8-9 August.

Committee had decided, after the most anxious considerations, to purchase aircraft of a better type than we possessed. All this pointed to the necessity of Government as a whole taking steps to coordinate the activities of different departments and to eliminate all causes of unplanned activity, and of establishing competent and adequate machinery in each department to deal with all matters of dispute with promptness and dispatch.<sup>4</sup>

3. During the discussion that followed, it was agreed that, while the door should always be kept open for the consideration of all reasonable proposals, there was nothing further that the Government could do at present in the way of offering inducements to avoid the strike, and that, therefore, the situation should be faced, and handled with firmness. This did not mean that we should be hard. Secondly, it was necessary to issue an ordinance, declaring strikes to be illegal in departments performing essential services. Such an ordinance would have a salutary effect, particularly with regard to the uncommitted section of the employees. Thirdly, detailed preparations and plans should be made immediately by the Ministries concerned in full consultation with the Ministry of Home Affairs for meeting the strikes as soon as they materialized and maintaining the normal life of the community as far as possible. Lastly, it was desirable that the Prime Minister should broadcast to the nation, at an early date, clearly explaining the concessions that had been offered to the employees of P&T Department and others, and the serious consequences to the country's economy that would accompany the strike, so that the public might know the real facts and cooperate with the Government in dealing with it<sup>5</sup>....

4. Nehru sent a note on 23 July to the senior officers of the MEA, in which he stated that the Cabinet's view on unrest among Government employees was that "there must be a positive approach to prevent a situation developing which was likely to create trouble. Thus we should have some continuing procedure for consultation with the staff. There should be a feeling among them that any grievances that arise are fully considered. It is not just enough for petitions to be put up and decided upon. Small as well as big problems arise from time to time and they should be dealt with when they arise and not postponed till they assume much bigger dimensions." For this purpose Nehru pointed to the need to evolve proper agencies as far as the MEA was concerned.
5. The Cabinet constituted a committee, consisting of eight Union Ministers, to examine and to coordinate the detailed preparations of the Ministries concerned in respect of the impending strikes.



38. To G.B. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 29, 1957

My dear Pantji,

Some time ago, Diwakar<sup>2</sup> wrote a letter to the President. With this he attached a note<sup>3</sup> on the office of Governor. I do not know if you saw that note. I am enclosing it for your consideration.

I do not agree with all that he has said, but I do agree – and I know you agree – about the pomp and show part of it. It is quite absurd, I think, to fire guns and the like in the modern set-up. Also about security. Only today I sent a paper to your Ministry about security arrangements when Zakir Husain<sup>4</sup> was travelling and the number of armed policemen guarding his railway carriage. Surely, this kind of thing can be and should be avoided.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. R. R. Diwakar was the Governor of Bihar till 5 July 1957.

3. Dated 5 July 1957.

4. Zakir Husain took over as Governor of Bihar on 6 July 1957.

### 39. Dealing with the Government Employees' Strike<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 31, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

I suppose that it is almost inevitable now that we shall have to face a number of strikes in eight or nine days from now. I imagine that the two centers most affected by these strikes will be Calcutta and Bombay. We are taking all the steps that we can to meet this situation. These steps are legal as well as alternative arrangements to the extent possible.

I am inclined to think that this struggle will be fairly prolonged. We have to face it. It is none of our seeking, but when it comes, in spite of us, we cannot run away from it.

I think that attempts are bound to be made to create disturbances and provoke the police. That has become a well-recognized practice now. Once a conflict occurs with the Police then public sympathy is asked for and often obtained, regardless of circumstances.

You will no doubt be taking all precautions and making all possible arrangements to meet the contingencies that might arise. It is important, I think, that everyone should realize that we must try our utmost to avoid conflicts and, more especially, any kind of action that results in injuries to people. As for firing by the police, this, as you know, always had very adverse reaction on the public. It should be avoided even under stress.

Our attempt must be first to keep our nerve and show that we keep it. To appear to get excited encourages those who are against us. This applies not to a few top people only but to others also. They should be made to realize this.

2. To maintain order of course, but to do so in a way to avoid conflict unless this is absolutely thrust upon us. Even if the conflict is thrust, to behave in a way not to aggravate the situation.

3. To run the services to the best of our ability. Obviously the services of those who have struck work will suffer greatly by the strike. I do not know what the strength of the strikes will be and it is possible that the strikes are partial. In any event, we should try to run skeleton services or more if possible. We should be prepared to do this for some considerable time.

1. JN Collection. This letter was sent to B.C. Roy and Y.B. Chavan, Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Bombay respectively.



4. The general public should be made to appreciate that the inconvenience caused to them is not due to any government action but in spite of all our efforts to prevent strikes and to meet all reasonable demands. In fact, we had met the main demand of Pay Commission and many smaller demands have also been agreed to.

5. We recognize the difficulties of many of our employees owing to rise in cost of living, but this applies to everyone. We are trying our best in difficult financial circumstances to meet this situation. To agree under threat of strike to something which may have adverse effects not only generally but even in regard to those who are striking, will be foolish indeed. We have to face threats of inflation. If inflation comes, then the raise in salaries and wages would disappear and in fact the condition may be much worse.

6. It may be pointed out that the trouble we are facing is not of India alone. Many other countries have to face the same problems and difficulties today. These problems can only be solved peacefully and cooperatively and not by threats or counter-threats.

7. Government does not wish to threaten anybody, but it has to carry on the work of the country and the services necessary for the community. We shall endeavour to do so peacefully and with the cooperation of the public. It hopes that those who have been misguided enough to take to these extreme forms of action will realize that this is not the way and will return to work.

The point I should specially like to stress is that we must try our utmost to avoid new situations of conflict arising, which divert public attention and sometimes make the public hostile to Government. All our officers should realize this fully. This is not and cannot be a mere test of strength, though strength comes in to some extent. It has to be a test of winning popular goodwill and cooperation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru





## PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS





## 1. The Importance of Conventions<sup>1</sup>

Mr Speaker,<sup>2</sup> Sir, may I on my own behalf and, I believe, on behalf of all the other Members of this House offer you our respectful congratulations on your election to this high office? You are not new to this office, Sir, and in electing you the House has not, if I may say so, taken a risk. We have—some of us who were also Members of the previous Parliament—come into intimate contact with you in your capacity as Speaker and previously as Deputy Speaker of this House.<sup>3</sup>

The Speaker occupies a very high position in accordance with our Constitution. But, if I may say so, the office of Speaker of the Lok Sabha has become by convention, by practice, something even higher perhaps than what the Constitution says. Our first Speaker was one who shed lustre on this office and under whose guidance and care gradually we developed various conventions, who taught us, all of us Members of this House who were then here, how to behave correctly and who chided us gently when we did not behave correctly. And so, gradually the conventions of this House were built up. It is well known that under the system of parliamentary government, while the Constitution has necessarily great force and while we have bound ourselves by oath and otherwise to abide by the terms of the Constitution, the Constitution by itself is not enough. Conventions have to grow up, habits of behaviour have to grow up and a certain tolerance of each other has to grow up, a certain attempt to understand, to adapt oneself: in other words, a House like this, Sir, has in effect to become an exemplar to the nation at large. As we are representatives of the nation, representing various parts of the country, various ideas, various parties, so also in our behaviour in this House we have to set an example of mutual forbearance and tolerance and an attempt to pull together, to the nation at large.

The first Speaker to whom I have referred taught us many a lesson in behaviour and we grew up, and this House grew up, under his sheltering and affectionate care. When you came to occupy this high office, even then you had had considerable experience and we knew who we were choosing then; and you

1. 11 May 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. 1, 10 to 22 May 1957, cols. 28-29.

2. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

3. Ayyangar was Deputy Speaker in the first Lok Sabha, 1952-56, and was elected Speaker on 8 March 1956 on the demise of the first Speaker, G.V. Mavalankar. Ayyangar was re-elected Speaker on 10 May 1957.

followed the example of the first Speaker. And so, gradually, these conventions have grown. I believe that we may say even during the short existence of this Parliament that we have based ourselves on firm foundations. This is a new Parliament assembling after the General Elections and we shall have to face difficult problems, because we have ventured out into the high seas of national endeavour. And we have to meet many heavy waves, and storms at times; but we have done so deliberately, and we have to swim across to the other shore.

This House inevitably is going to play a vital part in all this: it is out of this House that will come not only the laws but something else of vital significance which will give the lead to our people. It is necessary, therefore, that this House should undertake this burden and this tremendous responsibility—and joyful adventure—with good heart and under good leadership. You, Sir, who come here with your considerable experience in the past of occupying this office will, we all know, supply that good leadership and keep us all in order if we forget the right path at any time.

I welcome you again to this high office and beg to congratulate you on behalf of the House.

## 2. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 26, 1957

Dear Mr Speaker,

As you know, requests are made to you from time to time to put up portraits of national leaders in the Central Hall of Parliament House. Sometimes an actual portrait is offered for this purpose.

There are at present four such portraits in the Central Hall<sup>2</sup> and I think there is room for eight more. May I suggest for your consideration and that of the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha<sup>3</sup> that the question of putting up further portraits in

1. JN Collection.

2. These were the portraits of Mahatma Gandhi, Dadabhai Naoroji, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai.

3. S. Radhakrishnan.



the Central Hall might be considered, independently of the offers made, and it should be decided as to whose portraits should be put up there. Unless such a decision is made, it may well happen that the present space for portraits in the Central Hall is filled up without previous thought being given to this matter. The mere fact that a portrait is offered need not necessarily mean that it should be put up in the Central Hall.

I suggest therefore that you will be good enough to confer with the Chairman and decide about the future policy to be observed in this respect.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Ayyangar replied on 29 May that he had discussed the matter with Radhakrishnan and it had been decided that the portraits of Vallabhbhai Patel, Madan Mohan Malaviya, C.R. Das and Rabindranath Tagore would be put up in the vacant panels in the Central Hall, leaving four panels vacant for future use.

### 3. To S. Radhakrishnan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 27, 1957

My dear Vice-President,<sup>2</sup>

The Speaker has sent me a letter and a list of quotations selected for inscription in Parliament House. I do not know if you have seen this list. In case you have not done so, I am enclosing the Speaker's letter and the list. I shall be grateful to have your advice in this matter.

As a number of learned men have selected these quotations, it would be presumptuous of me to criticize them. But, I should like to say that I do not at all

1. JN Collection.

2. S. Radhakrishnan.

like No. 5. I do not see why we should praise the acquisition and preservation of property.

Nor do I fancy Nos. 2, 6, 21 and 22.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Nehru wrote to the Speaker the next day that he would prefer inscriptions 2, 5, 6, 11 and 21 to be omitted. He also suggested that the English translations could be improved upon in some cases.

#### 4. To Indulal Yagnik<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 28, 1957

Dear Shri Yagnik,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of the 25th May.

The four portraits of national leaders that have been put up in the Central Hall of Parliament House happen to find a place there because of some special reason. The Speaker was approached by some Committee or other, and he agreed. The matter is entirely in the discretion of the Speaker and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha.

It has now been considered, however, that no further portrait should be put up there in this rather spasmodic manner. If there is no plan about it, then it may well be that the eight remaining panels of the Central Hall will be filled, and some persons whose portraits we would specially like there, would have no room left for them.

1. JN Collection.

2. (1892-1972); journalist, socialist worker and Kisan Sabha leader; started *Navjivan Ane Satya*, a Gujarati monthly, in 1915; participated in the Kaira Satyagraha, 1918; started *Yugadharam*, 1922; edited *Hindustan*, a Gujarati daily; imprisoned for anti-war propaganda, 1940-41, took up Kisan Sabha work and started *Nutan Gujarat*, 1942; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-62, 1962-67, 1967-70 and 1971-72.



Therefore, it is I believe the view of both the Speaker and the Chairman that, for the present, no further portrait should be put up there and it should be decided after careful consideration as to what additional portraits should be put in those panels. There are, I believe, only eight left now.

It is, thus, for the Speaker and the Chairman to come to some decision on principle, and then, later, this can be given effect to.

There can be no difficulty, of course, about finding money for a portrait of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and he should undoubtedly be one of those whose portraits are chosen for the Central Hall.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. To S. Radhakrishnan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 30, 1957

My dear Mr Chairman,

Thank you for your letter of May 30<sup>2</sup> about the oath to be taken by Members of Parliament.

I do not think it was suggested that there should be any amendment of the Constitution. The question really arose about the Hindi translation which has been given some authority because it is called the authorized translation. I do not know if the other translations have the same authority attached to them.

The Hindi translation, though in a sense literal, is not good Hindi, and it was suggested that it might be changed. If the Hindi translation is so changed by the authority of Parliament, this may well take the place of the authorized translation, in so far as the oath is concerned, without any amendment of the Constitution.

1. JN Collection.

2. Radhakrishnan stated that constitutional requirements would be satisfied if the translation of the oath in any language was in accordance with the English version of the oath set out in the Third Schedule of the Constitution and there was no change of substance in the translation. Radhakrishnan added that if the Chairman or Speaker was "satisfied" that the oath/affirmation by the Member adhered to the English version, "I do not think there can be any further question as to its correctness or validity."

So far as other translations are concerned, I suppose a similar difficulty does not arise, and competent persons can, if necessary, vary them.

Thus I should imagine that the Committee might only consider the Hindi translation, or it may co-opt experts in any other language concerned, to revise that translation if this is considered necessary. Perhaps it would be better to have translations which are generally accepted and not criticized.

There is, however, no immediate need for this Committee or any other action to be taken, and we might well postpone this for the time being.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
6th June, 1957

My dear Bidhan,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of June 5 about the portrait of Surendranath Banerjee.<sup>3</sup> As I told you, this is a matter entirely for the Chairman and the Speaker to decide.

No one, at least to my knowledge, has raised the question that Surendranath Banerjee left the Congress and joined the Government and, therefore, his portrait should not be put up.<sup>4</sup> There can be no doubt about the part that he played in

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of West Bengal.

3. B.C. Roy noted that he had discussed the issue of putting up a portrait of Surendranath Banerjee, Congress President in 1895 and 1902, in Parliament House, with both G.V. Mavalankar and his successor, Ananthasayanam Ayyangar. The latter advised him to send the artist Atul Bose to Delhi. The artist then prepared Banerjee's portrait in compliance with the requirements of space.

4. Roy observed that "some friends" had raised the point that since Surendranath Banerjee had left the Congress in 1918 and joined the Bengal Government, there was "some amount of disinclination to hang up his portrait in the gallery...". Roy argued that Surendranath's position as one of the founders of the Congress was no less important than that of W.C. Bonnerjea and added that the former had fought for the national cause throughout the best part of his life.



building up the national movement. The only question was that some decisions should be arrived at about all the remaining spaces in Parliament Hall and that these should not be allowed to be filled in one by one without this planning. When the Chairman and the Speaker considered this matter, they decided four names to be added to the existing four. These four are:<sup>5</sup>

1. Rabindranath Tagore;
2. Deshbandhu Das;
3. Vallabhbhai Patel; and
4. Madan Mohan Malaviya.

I think there are four more panels to be filled. They have deliberately left them open for consideration in the future. So far as I know, no other name has been mentioned yet for these four panels.

I am sending copies of your letter to the Chairman and to the Speaker.

I see that you have ordered painting of the portraits of Deshbandhu and Tagore. I am wondering if the best way to get portraits is straightaway to order them. They may or may not be satisfactory. There is no great hurry to put them up. We can wait and choose, perhaps later, from the best available.

I shall let you know what the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and the Speaker say about this matter.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

5. President Rajendra Prasad unveiled portraits of Madan Mohan Malaviya and Vallabhbhai Patel 19 December 1957. The President unveiled portraits of C.R. Das and Rabindranath Tagore on 23 April and 12 September 1958 respectively.

## 7. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 28, 1957

My dear Rajendra Babu,<sup>2</sup>

There is a vacancy in the Rajya Sabha owing to Dr Zakir Husain having resigned on his appointment as Governor of Bihar.<sup>3</sup> Dr Zakir Husain was nominated by you. Presidential nominations are supposed to be of very distinguished persons of arts, sciences, literature and social services.

Maulana Azad has suggested that Dr Tara Chand<sup>4</sup> should be nominated by you in Dr Zakir Husain's place. Dr Tara Chand is undoubtedly an eminent and experienced educationist. There are of course many other eminent educationists in India. Dr Zakir Husain occupied and occupies a rather special place in India. I was therefore not quite clear in my mind whether to recommend Dr Tara Chand's name to you for this purpose.

I mentioned this matter to Maulana Azad and told him of how I felt about it.<sup>5</sup> Maulana Saheb did not agree with me and is of opinion that Dr Tara Chand certainly deserves Presidential nomination. I have of course no objection to it.

I mentioned this matter to the Home Minister<sup>6</sup> who was more or less of my own opinion, that is, that it could hardly be said that Dr Tara Chand occupied the same position of eminence in various fields as Dr Zakir Husain, but he had no objection to his being nominated.

1. File No. 48(3)/57, President's Secretariat.

2. President of India.

3. He was appointed as Governor of Bihar on 22 May 1957.

4. Tara Chand was nominated to the Rajya Sabha on 22 August 1957. He remained a member till April 1968.

5. Nehru on 21 July wrote to Maulana Azad stating that under "Article 80 of the Constitution of India, the President is supposed to nominate persons of special eminence in the country in the fields of literature, science, art and social service. The choice is to be made from all India. Dr Zakir Husain's name was selected, and I think rightly because of his all-India position. Dr Tara Chand is a person of merit and capacity. But I doubt if it will be right for us to recommend to the President to nominate him and thus put him in the category of an all-India person of eminence in those subjects. These nominations are looked upon critically by the public. If Dr Tara Chand came to the Rajya Sabha through elections, he would be welcome."

6. On 27 July 1957, Nehru wrote to G.B. Pant that Maulana Azad had suggested Tara Chand's name for nomination in place of Zakir Husain the idea being that "one eminent educationist should be succeeded by another.



PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

In the circumstances, if you agree, Dr Tara Chand might be nominated by you. I would further suggest that this might be done after your return to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru





## INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS





## 1. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 5, 1957

My dear Dhebarbhai,<sup>2</sup>

We shall be thinking at the next Working Committee meeting<sup>3</sup> about the new approaches in our Congress work. Much of this will be rather organizational, but there will also be the aspect of an approach to the public in various ways—political, cultural, etc. I think that we should consider this broad cultural approach both from the city point of view and the village. I should like you to bear in mind that in this matter we should utilize the services of Mauli Chandra Sharma.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. President, Indian National Congress.
3. The Congress Working Committee met on 25 and 26 May to finalize the timetable for the AICC meeting scheduled to be held in Delhi in the first week of June.

## 2. To M.J. Kanetkar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 7, 1957

Dear Shri Kanetkar,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 5th May.

You may be right in what you say. I believe it is true that many good workers have not been given a chance to do anything worthwhile. At the same time, it

1. JN Collection.
2. Madho Janardan Kanetkar (b. 1898); journalist; educated in Allahabad University; author of *World Crisis*, 1932, *Tilak and Gandhi*, 1935, *Last Chance to Congress*, 1950, *After Nehru What?*, 1954.

does seem to me odd that the idea of work should somehow be connected with work in the legislatures. It is patent that only a limited number of people can go to the legislatures. The real work in the country must necessarily be done by vast numbers of people in various capacities. That is the only way a country can develop or a party can be organized.

I have no doubt that, as you say, you are physically and intellectually fit. But I cannot suggest to you or any individual as to what particular work you should do and what would suit you. That is a matter which can only be considered by you with your local friends or others or by the heads of the Congress organization. Unfortunately, my being Prime Minister and the heavy work that it entails does not give me much time for the type of organizational work which I might otherwise undertake. All I can do is to try to visit places occasionally and address gatherings.

I am sending your letter to the Congress President.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. To Mohan Lal Saksena<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 10, 1957

My dear Mohan Lal,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of May 9th, which I have just received.

As you know and have said in your letter, I think that you were not treated fairly in regard to the choice of candidates for the last general elections.<sup>3</sup> I did

1. JN Collection.

2. Congressman from Uttar Pradesh and advocate, Supreme Court.

3. Saksena observed that since the first general elections he had been "practically useless" and complained that Nehru had not assigned him any task either in the organization or elsewhere, "excepting once when you appointed me to serve on the screening committee in the first general elections." He added that this job was "an unpleasant task, entailing waste of so much time and energy, with no adequate results...."



not know much about this till much later, as I hardly took any part in selection of candidates, more especially from the UP. Possibly, even if I had known, I would not have interfered because I was greatly dissatisfied with the way things were being done in the UP.

But, I do not quite know what gesture I could have made about this.<sup>4</sup> Many selections of candidates were made or not made, with which I did not agree. I made no gestures about them, though occasionally I told Dhebarbhai what my views were. I need not tell you that you have my affection and good wishes.

Thank you for the enlargement of my father's photograph<sup>5</sup> which you sent and which Indira showed me.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

4. Saksena wrote that the impression had gained credence that somehow he had ceased to enjoy Nehru's confidence and felt that he "should not expect anything better in the future." He thought Nehru should have said something "to counteract the impression in the public mind....to vindicate the position of an old colleague ...(and to) keep up your reputation for integrity and fair play."
5. The photograph, Saksena wrote, was "not in good condition but I think it would be helpful to the artist in executing the portrait."

#### 4. Need for Introspection<sup>1</sup>

...You have been good enough to elect me as the leader some time back, but the other office-bearers of the party have not thus far been elected. They have to be elected during this Session.<sup>2</sup> I think the date fixed for it is the 29th of this month and we go through the normal procedures for that. Meanwhile the old Secretaries will naturally continue to function till the new ones have been elected.

1. Speech at the meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, New Delhi, 13 May 1957. AICC tape No. M-24/C, NMML. Extracts.
2. The first Session of Parliament after the General Elections began on 10 May 1957.

For this meeting there is no agenda. We can, if you like, discuss the President's Address this morning—to be discussed in the House too from tomorrow onwards.<sup>3</sup> Of course, discussing the President's Address means discussing everything, that is, internal politics, domestic affairs, foreign affairs, because broadly it covers all the grounds without going into detail. Should you so wish we can discuss that for some time today. This Session, as you know, is a relatively short Session; it will end by the end of this month and then there will be a gap period for about two months. On the 15th of July we are supposed to meet again and that will be a pretty long Session. In this Session, in two days' time, day after tomorrow, the Budget will be placed before the House and there will be general discussion on the Budget but more specific and detailed discussion will go on in the next Session; this will carry on till the next Session. So this Session will be confined really to the presentation of the Railway Budget and the General Budget and passing some relatively small Bills, two Ordinances and a few other small Bills for amending, I think, existing legislation. I should like to say a few words before this meeting ends, but before I say anything I should like your general direction as to whether we should discuss the President's Address now or not. I take it that there is no particular desire to have a discussion on the President's Address here and now in the party.

Now, one thing if I may suggest, many members would probably like to participate in the discussion in the House or in the Houses on the President's Address and naturally we would like as many as possible to participate but there is a time limit and according to practice certain amount of time available will be allotted to the Members of the Opposition, somewhat more than they might be entitled to according to their numbers and that is right. I would suggest that perhaps some of you might get in touch with our Whips on the subject of speaking in the House. I do not wish to exclude anybody, but we might at any rate select a few who will, in any event, we hope, be given a chance to speak, having regard to the various subjects, that is, persons who know something about a particular subject might speak on it. Let us take it that in the President's Address quite a good deal has been said about the food problem. It is desirable that some Members who are acquainted with this problem should speak about the food problem. It is no good every Member speaking on every subject mentioned in the President's Address. That becomes a diffused, vague thing with no particular meaning. But if Members could select the food problem or, if you like, foreign affairs or rehabilitation and if some kind of planning might take place then the debate will be much more fruitful. Because although we are in large numbers, we have an Opposition which will take every advantage of every debate to put forward

3. For Nehru's remarks on the President's Address, see *ante*, pp. 15-31.





AT AICC MEETING, NEW DELHI, JUNE 1957



AT AICC MEETING, NEW DELHI, JUNE 1957



their own points of view forcibly. Those points of view have to be dealt with and answered not merely by the Minister in charge but by the Members of the party. Therefore it is desirable to proceed on these lines. You may find out some Members who know more about some subjects and can specially speak on those subjects. Of course, others can also speak. So I suggest that you might get in touch with our Whips in regard to this matter. Nobody can guarantee whom the Speaker will call to speak, but we can suggest some names on behalf of our party.

I am sorry that even in this short Session I shall be going away from Delhi for four days. I am going to Ceylon. I tried to avoid it but the pressure was too great. So, I am really going during the weekend, going on Friday and coming back on Monday evening. I hope you do not mind.

Has any Member any comment to make in regard to what I have said about the course of the debate?

Tomorrow there is no specific debate on the food situation. The Food Minister will make a statement, giving certain facts and figures, and then the Speaker has said that in the course of the debate on the President's Address this question may also be taken up. As for the food policy, it is better for you to hear what the Food Minister has to say. After all there are many things connected with food policy that may be discussed. You may look at the question in the short-term view as to what is to be done in the next few months; and in the long-term view, and it is a very important question. I hope, quite apart from what might happen in the debate on the President's Address, that the party will consider this question because it is a very basic and vital question. And all other plans of development, industrial, etc., ultimately depend upon the success of our agricultural and food policy. That is so. On the other hand, while we should discuss that and consider it fully, there is a tendency sometimes in the public to create some kind of a panic, even when it is completely unjustified. The food situation being what it is, any kind of panic suggestion tends or may tend to frighten people and make the situation worse. So it is no good saying or doing things which create that feeling or sensation in the public mind. That does not mean that we should not examine it thoroughly, make suggestions, make criticisms—all that is there, but do not create an alarm in the public mind. I do not think there is any need for alarm although there is need for very careful thinking and action in regard to it. More I will not say because you will have the statement from the Food Minister tomorrow which will give you the facts and figures of production, of demand, how demands have been satisfied and are being satisfied and possibly what he intends doing in the next few months. I do not know what he is going to do about the long-term policy. That is a matter which could be considered separately...

I think food is specially one of those questions which deserves full consideration by the party, perhaps, to begin with, by the executive of the party and later by the full party. That of course can hardly be done in the course of the next twenty-four or forty-eight hours. It is best for you to hear the statement tomorrow. It is not going to deal with the whole range of the questions but it will deal rather with the immediate question and I think it will be desirable after that for a meeting of the party to be fixed to consider the food situation. If you prefer the executive might first consider it and then the whole party. I am entirely in your hands. I should have liked very much to have this consideration by the party before the discussion in Parliament but it is rather difficult to organize it now because the general discussion starts tomorrow. The specific discussion will take place in the next Session, and that is more important. But during this Session I think the party should meet, both the executive and the full party, to consider the food situation.

There is another thing. We have not formed yet our Standing Committees. As there are many new Members here, I shall tell you that we have a practice in this party to constitute Standing Committees on specific subjects. There are twenty-six such Committees on various subjects that are dealt with, and one of them, of course a very important one, deals with food. These committees we do not elect as such. We ask each Member to indicate which committee or committees he wants to serve on, with one qualification only, that is, a Member should not be a member of more than two committees, otherwise he is too much spread out. So that we form these twenty-six committees and those committees meet frequently to discuss those particular topics and sometimes by themselves; sometimes the Ministers can be asked to attend or any other person who is likely to help so that they can have more intimate discussion and they can specialize more or less on that particular subject. So I hope that in the course of this Session or in the course of next few days, you will probably get a letter to that effect from the office, each Member will indicate on which committee he wishes to serve, and those who so indicate should actually serve on those committees and not merely put their names down as it sometimes happens. In these committees there will be the Food Committee which can keep in the more intimate touch with things that are happening on the food front, with the Ministry, and thus be a liaison between the party and the administration.

Then there is the question of the party members' desire to get an opportunity to discuss the Railway Budget. Obviously the Railway Budget cannot be discussed before it is presented. After it is presented there should be a gap of, say, two days to study it and then the party can meet to consider it. There are in a fact two general discussions. One is on the President's Address which is a vague general discussion; then comes the general discussion on the Budget itself, the General



Budget, and that also really covers the whole ground; and then comes the Railway Budget discussion which is confined to Railways. So, so far as the General Budget and the Railway Budget are concerned you get a little interval, a few days; you do not get an interval for the President's Address because it begins tomorrow.

The General Budget, I take it, is a very important part, perhaps the most important part of the Budget. What is the budget about? It is about resources and how to make good use of the resources, and if you discuss the budget that is the first thing that comes up. You do not think that this subject is a left out of the budget.

The Railway Budget will be discussed in the House about the 24th or 25th of this month. The discussion on the General Budget will take place afterwards, towards the end, so that we have a certain gap period. It is desirable that during this gap period the party meetings might take place. It is a very good practice when any specific matter comes up, although remember that it is not a particularly easy matter for the Minister to pick and choose people to invite because that means exercising his own judgement about people to be invited. It is far better for your Standing Committee on that subject meeting him and any others who are interested. But remember this that when we are dealing with the General Budget or the President's Address that covers such a vast field, it is not a specific item. I can understand a person particularly interested, let us say, in financial aspects of the budget, or a Standing Committee meeting the Finance Minister and discussing it with him. All these things will, I hope, gradually take shape. As we meet on this occasion, after all it is the 13th today and two and a half weeks from now the Session will end, and it will be taken up by the General Budget and Railway Budget, and some minor Bills and the general discussion and I think the party or its executive should discuss those generally apart from individuals who may be able to meet separately....

The Standing Committees are party committees. They exist in addition to the Consultative Committee. We do our party work in them and we meet as often as we like. The Consultative Committees meet relatively seldom. For instance, for External Affairs, there was and I hope there will be, a kind of advisory or consultative committee of a number of Members of our party and of other parties, and I meet them once or twice in the Session and have a talk about external affairs. In addition to that, our party committee on external affairs functions also. Both these committees exist without any confusion or overlapping.

Well, a Member friend has raised a very broad question as how to indicate to the House that he is very much worried all the time about various matters in the world. Naturally we are worried. I hope none of you is ever complacent. A Member of Parliament who is complacent ceases to function adequately. The

question is how to express your worry or your ideas. For instance, it has become a habit, which perhaps is not very desirable, for large numbers of adjournment motions to be pushed in everyday or every other day. We follow more or less the practice, in these matters, of British Parliament. There, I believe, an adjournment motion is a very rare thing and it really is in the nature of the vote of confidence, maybe one or two in months and months. Here we have seven adjournment motions today, this morning. Now, obviously, our party Members cannot function in that way, as if they were in opposition, but there are other methods of drawing attention to subjects. There is half an hour discussion on a subject or a two-hour discussion. There is another rule for asking a Minister to make a statement about a particular matter, or short notice questions, about particular matters, apart from long notice questions. So there are many ways of doing that. This would facilitate the work of the party and the Minister concerned if the point is mentioned to the Minister and he may be able to give such information as you require straight off. In fact, it is not a question of party Members; or even of opposition Members. Whenever they seek information, the first step is for them to ask the Minister privately, or the Ministry, about a particular matter. They may put a short notice question, or they may ask for further elucidation. There are plenty of ways for Members of the party to draw attention to a particular matter or to elicit information, the whole question is the manner of doing it. What our friend says is not a new problem; it has been with us and it is always before any government or any parliament, whether functioning in the public, or in Parliament. Members of the opposition have the greatest freedom to express opinions, with the greatest irresponsibility; because they can make any statement, they can make any charge, and to some extent get away with it. That is inevitable in the circumstances. It is a sign of maybe immaturity in the system that such things should be done. But if our friend is referring to motions for adjournment, by and large such things are not moved by Members of a party supporting the Government....

The question that Dr G.S. Malkote<sup>4</sup> has asked, well, I will tell him first of all the Lok Sabha Secretariat itself tried to help all Members by issuing a good deal of pamphlets and literature. Secondly, our party also tries to help in that way. Thirdly, a member can come to the party office and make any enquiry and he will be helped in getting the desired information either directly or indirectly. Fourthly, in regard to any particular matter the Ministry concerned will help. But if many Members may not be clear as to where to go, the best thing is to go to the party office and have a talk and find out whether they can get that information.

4. Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-62.



Well, now that we have finished our, more or less, casual talks and discussions, I should like to say a few words. First of all I should like to welcome all of you and, more particularly, the new Members who have come. And I want to tell you not only what I feel about this matter but what I consider essential and, that is, Members of this party should function in the most intimate way with each other, not as individuals floating about and occasionally meeting in the lounge or elsewhere. We should develop a sense of cooperation and a certain feeling of intimacy certainly, although it is not particularly easy, when there are 500 persons, to have that feeling of intimacy with everyone. Nevertheless, in so far as it is possible we should like to develop that. It is a good thing to have but apart from that I have a feeling and I am sure all of you have that feeling of our being engaged in very vital and important tasks, tasks which cannot possibly be adequately performed without all of us pulling together—I would go further and say, the country pulling together. But anyhow we are here in this Parliament and the eyes of the country are constantly upon us and how we function will have some effect on the functioning of others in the country. So I hope that, as we meet and work together in Parliament, in party, and elsewhere, these contacts will grow, a mutual understanding will grow, and this sense of partnership in great undertakings will grow. We have come here after these general elections and as you know there has been much discussion in the country, in the press, and in the Congress about these general elections. It is an odd thing, when you come to think of it, that there should be so much discussion among Congressmen about what might be considered reverses suffered by the Congress when, by and large, the Congress has been victorious. It is interesting and right that there should be that discussion. It shows that the Congress in spite of all its failings is something much more than a political party. It has always been these two things, a political party and a national organization. By national organization I do not, of course, mean that people who are outside it are not national; certainly they are. But by and large and compared to others it is the only real national organization; there are other parties, good parties or bad, I am not criticizing anybody. I have all along felt these many years since we became independent how in the existing circumstances, and because of the great necessity for the integration of India, not only political but psychological and emotional, it was of the greatest importance that this tradition of the Congress should continue and the Congress should function like that. No other party can function like that. I am not criticizing any party; they may have their good points. I am merely stating a fact that if the Congress did not function like that adequately, there would be a gap and a vacuum in India which no one else can fill, as I see, not only in the present but in the foreseeable future. That is one aspect that I would like you to bear in mind.

The other aspect is that in these elections, we have seen many things happen which have disturbed and distressed us greatly. Again for the moment I am not referring to the Congress only but to all the parties. This tendency towards narrow parochialism, casteism and the like from which every party has suffered and I am not excluding the Congress and certainly I am not excluding the other parties whatever their high sounding ideals might be, they have all suffered from this narrow parochialism, casteism, personal factors coming in, and all that. Again, when other parties do this it does not gain so much publicity as when Congressmen do it, because the Congress is very much more before the public eye than other parties. When another party misbehaves it is locally known perhaps, but if something happens in the Congress ranks it is nationally known. It is my honest belief that, by and large, the behaviour of some other parties in these elections was, if I may say so, far worse than the behaviour of the Congress. But I am not satisfied by this comparison. What I am concerned with is how the Congress functions, what the Congress is, what its aims are, what its organization is like. So I shall not talk about other parties, although a great deal has been done by other parties which has distressed me very greatly—distressed me in the sense of this atmosphere of violence and disruption that has been growing in the country and indiscipline that has been growing in this country. The Congress is not guilty for that, individuals may be. Whatever other failings the Congress may have had, Congress is not guilty of that. Forgetting our affiliation to any party is a bad and dangerous thing, if these disruptive and violent tendencies grow in the country. There are certain disruptive tendencies inherent in India at present, apart from politics. The moment they get encouragement by political parties they take advantage of that and grow. The political parties perhaps think that they may gain some momentary advantage by that and perhaps they might win an election. But in the long run it would be a grave disservice to the country if for that momentary advantage we encourage forces of disruption and violence.

Now, coming to the Congress, I mentioned that so far as electoral figures go, we have been very successful, excepting some areas. So far as this Parliament goes, we have actually slightly bigger majority than on the last occasion. But I am not very much satisfied with these statistical figures. Surely we are after something more than counting our strength by an odd election or by these figures. The picture these elections have disclosed is not a new picture, of course. But they unveiled it, uncovered it more than previously. It was a bad picture from the point of view of our organization and from the point of view of many things that the Congress stands for. Because of that ever since these elections many of us, possibly many of you, have given thought to this matter, what to do about our organization, about our methods of work, etc., because remember one thing



that so far as our broad policy is concerned, whether it is internal policy or policy on foreign affairs, it may be said with some confidence that there is no major disagreement on that anywhere in the country. It may be criticized here and there but by and large it holds the country. It was built on the basis of our broad policies, internal or external, Five Year Plan or industrial policy or agricultural policy. Apart from minor matters, there is no basic disagreement. Some people may say you should go faster, some say go slower and all that. So, in spite of the fact that our broad policies are generally considered in India to be good, nevertheless, we failed in many areas of India, in these elections. Therefore it had very little to do with our broad policies. It had to do with either local issues or with the organizational weakness of the Congress. Of course, I am not analyzing all these, because each State had different problems and any one general remark, that I might make, does not cover every State. But one general remark does cover almost every State and that is the failure of our organization. It may have even won elections because of various factors but that is not satisfactory. We take advantage of our past prestige, we take advantage of a number of factors which are gradually working themselves out. And therefore many of us have given, and continue to give, a great deal of thought to these matters.

An organization like the Congress or any other organization, but more particularly an organization like the Congress, cannot continue to function effectively and with strength unless it satisfies some conditions. It may carry on by old strength; that is possible of course. It carries on but you have seen in certain parts of India how even an apparently well established organization can be swept away because of the passion of the moment or because of some wave of excitement. Therefore, to imagine complacently that we are all right and we can carry on as we have done, only let us work harder, that is not good enough. In fact, in some ways we are all wrong. The first thing, therefore, is for us to realize that something is very wrong, because unless we have that acute sensation that something is wrong about our organization, about our way of working, we shall never get moving to set it right. There must be that feeling of tension in our minds. While many things that happened during the elections disturbed me, nothing disturbed me so much as a feeling after the elections that Congressmen have not been shaken up adequately, that they are becoming complacent again, that they are going back into their old ruts, group-formation, quarrelling. They seem to think: well, the elections are now over, at least we have some peace for the next four or five years, why worry? That is the most disturbing thing, this lack of awareness and sensitiveness in the people to what has happened—not in the elections, the elections are merely a sign and a symbol of what has happened, but of what is happening in the country, in the minds of the people, in the hearts

of the people. We grew up as a great organization because we were in tune with our people, because our hands were on the pulse of the people. So we grew with them and they grew with us, and even though we were relatively small in numbers on the Congress registers we commanded that willing affection or allegiance of the millions of India. If we lose that real thing, it does not matter in the slightest whether we have won an election or not; we have lost the real thing. And we are in danger of losing that. I do not think we have lost it. I do not say we have lost it, we have lost it here and there. But we are in grave danger of losing it and losing something very important, that capacity to judge, to have our fingers on the nation's pulse, revolving round our little circles, and little groups, quarrelling with each other on standing for election here, or not standing. That is important.

It has often been said and yet it is worth repeating that we are living now in an age of quite extraordinary upsets and revolutionary happenings. I repeat this often but sometimes a doubt comes into my mind whether those who hear me quite appreciate what I say or realize that we are living in these terrific times: I refer to the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb. We have no hydrogen bomb and atom bomb coming to India so far as I know. But I refer to it as a sign and symbol of this age, and to shake people up in their thinking. Unless you realize this you will not realize the elemental forces that are at work in the world, the elemental forces that are at work in India. We represented those elemental forces ten, twenty, thirty, forty years ago. Unless we represent them in a large measure, we are left behind, whatever our numbers might be, and the numbers will go too later. To the extent that we represent those vital, moving forces in our country, we are likely to change the destiny of this nation. We, who are Ministers or Members of Parliament and others, get wrapped up in our work, and rightly so. We try to do our best but the moment we are out of touch with those vital forces, we are losing ground and losing ourselves. I have a feeling that the Congress organization as such is not in touch with these vital and moving forces. If we had completely lost the touch, of course, then we would be nowhere. We have not done that, but I am merely pointing out to you the tendencies, the drifts that are happening.

The first thing that you have to realize is that if we continue to function as we have done, and if our organization remains what it is, then we are doomed. Not today, maybe five or ten years later. I am not interested in that. I want to be in this organization because I think it is a vital, living, growing, revolutionary organization serving the cause of India and the world. If I lose that faith, and if you lose that faith, then what do we stand for? Just people coming and going, and fighting elections. That is not good enough. So the first thing to realize is not that everything is all right, now that the elections are over, but that everything is all wrong; the picture of our organization and us, the way the organization has



worked, etc. We may well have to overhaul the organization and change it wherever we feel like it, and see to it that somehow it captures that feeling of oneness, the feeling of change, of what is happening, having our fingers on the pulse of the country, being in tune with things, not out of tune, and not complaining that nobody agrees with us. Nothing is a greater failure than for a person who is presumed to be a leader always to complain of his followers. He may be a very good man, a saint, he may be excellent, but he is no leader. He ceases being a leader if he is just complaining of the followers, and says those people are not good enough. We have to work with the people of India as they are. And we have to journey to the next stage, with them. We cannot run away, nor can we retire to the mountain tops to breathe the free airs of those mountains. We have to function with the people and it is no good our blaming people because they do not agree with us. We have to see why they do not agree with us, what has gone wrong, why did they agree previously, and why they do not agree today. What has gone wrong about it, and essentially what is wrong with us, not with them. They may be wrong. They may do many wrong deeds but ultimately you have to look into yourself, you have to be introspective. So we have to examine the Congress Constitution, how it has worked, because it has not worked satisfactorily and very often it has not worked at all. It is just a swing that has carried us on, and the fact that in our broad policies, domestic and international, we are supposed to have succeeded in the eyes of the world, in the eyes of our people. In spite of having this tremendous advantage, we fail. That is a very odd and peculiar thing for us to consider. Have we lost that vital urge that gives life to an organization and to a people? If we have lost it then it just does not matter whatever fine speeches you may deliver—it does not carry you very far. If you have that vital urge then it is well with us. Or are we going out of touch with the vital urge of the nation as represented by young people? Are we not, after all, an old organization with old minds, limbs and feet which cannot walk fast or think fast and cannot keep pace with the youth of today? I am merely putting questions which come to my mind, because if I have any pretensions to leadership, it is no good my delivering a fine speech. I have to have the people with me. I have to have the minds and hearts of the people with me; and they have to have my mind and heart with them. You cannot function otherwise in a mass organization. I want you to appreciate what I say.

We are passing through, in the world, and in India, a tremendous, a revolutionary period. Great forces have been released. We talk about democracy in India. What is democracy? The kind of democracy that we have got in India—adult suffrage to everybody from the tribal persons and others—it means, in conditions as they are in India, there is a tremendous release of forces, good and bad. Democracy is meant to release forces and it has done it. The forces are

often untrained and often indisciplined; but it means the release of forces. We have deliberately done that. And we must face the consequences. We must keep pace with these forces; otherwise we are left behind and the forces go ahead. In other words, we have to shake up our organization, we have to shake ourselves up, each individual and group, and think hard about this and not repeat stale phrases and old slogans which have little or no meaning today.

So I have ventured just to put before you some ideas that troubled me, more to make you think, because I want you, as a whole party or in groups, to discuss these matters. Fate and circumstance has made us responsible, put us in positions of responsibilities as Members of Parliament and we have to shoulder this burden. We cannot just shoulder it by going through the motions of normal processes: a speech, a question and answer; that is not enough. We have to go deeper into this matter. The whole circumstances in India today are a terrific challenge to everybody, more specially to the Congress. And we have to find an answer to that challenge. Thank you.

## 5. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 406 May 29.<sup>2</sup>

Story about Congress Party asking me to give up control is based on notice of a resolution by a member to AICC meeting which will be held on June 1. The person concerned is quite irresponsible and no one attaches any importance to him. In fact, he has withdrawn his resolution but this has been publicized much abroad.

You can call on Minister of Defence in Washington should you think this necessary.<sup>3</sup>

1. New Delhi, 30 May 1957. JN Collection.
2. Krishna Menon, who had just arrived in New York from London, drew Nehru's attention to a "leading article in the *Manchester Guardian* demanding your resignation from Prime Ministership and referring to Congress moves in this direction. The article is scathing and quite discourteous in view of your projected visit to London...there have been stories in the US press also that the Congress Party is pressing you to give up control...these whispering campaigns ...would have effect on markets and our capacity to obtain resources and of creating lack of confidence."
3. Krishna Menon asked whether it was desirable for him to make a formal call on Charles E. Wilson, the US Secretary of Defence.



## 6. Revitalizing the Congress<sup>1</sup>

The Congress is strongly opposed to the policy of achieving its objective through violence and class conflict. The Communist Party of India is wedded to this policy, which is fundamentally a wrong policy. We have to build up a new society on the basis of mutual help, cooperation and harmony. Even the communist countries are being forced to change their policy in the light of new experiences.

Various weaknesses have crept into the Congress. Congressmen must rise above petty squabbles and group and sectional feelings and work for the larger good of the country.

We need effective coordination between the organizational and legislative wings of the Congress. It is necessary for all Congressmen to establish living contacts with the people, look into their legitimate grievances and make every effort to have them redressed. A suitable machinery should be evolved for this purpose. In some places the administration generally does not attend quickly and expeditiously to the local grievances of the people. This is bad. Congressmen and Congress committees should take up the cause of the people and have their grievances removed. They should, however, do it in a friendly and restrained manner and not like the parties in the Opposition.

Congressmen should not have any feeling of despair or defeatism. The Congress has done well in the last elections except in some areas. But it is not merely a question of winning seats in many places; it is essentially a question of ideology.

We have resolved to build up a socialist pattern of society in India through peaceful and democratic means. We must examine carefully our various social and economic policies from this point of view. The Second Plan is the concrete shape of our policies and ideology.

Take the food situation. We must improve our production apparatus and increase the agricultural production with a sense of urgency. Socialism cannot be established without increasing agricultural production, providing further employment and bringing about greater social and economic equality.

There is need to find more resources for financing the various development plans. This will necessitate a taxation structure on a broader basis. Of course, with the increase in taxation we should be able to provide better amenities to the

1. Speech at a conference of Presidents and General Secretaries of the Pradesh Congress Committees, New Delhi, 31 May 1957. From *The Hindu*, 1 June 1957.

common man in the sphere of education, health, etc. The new taxation proposals are the minimum necessary for the implementation of the Plan. These proposals reflect the country's determination to implement the Plan and march ahead towards the declared goal.

It is a matter of regret that the pace of land reforms in different states in the country has been slow. There is an urgent need to enact progressive legislation for accelerating these reforms. This work must be done without further delay.

The evils of casteism, communalism and bossism exist in the Congress organization and we must make sustained and determined efforts to eliminate them. The Congress has to be made a progressive and dynamic force and has to be purged of all bogus and undesirable elements.

The Congress will meet its doom if Congressmen allow themselves to be overwhelmed with feelings of smugness and complacency and lose contact with the masses. They must keep in touch with the people at all stages.

## 7. Need for Strengthening the Party<sup>1</sup>

The Congress has become ultimately rather a sect headed, as in olden days, by some old mahant like myself and others who stick to their throne and more or less prevent bright newcomers from functioning—even if they come in, they do not have much role. However, I have faith in the ability of the Congress to overcome its weaknesses and function again as it had functioned in the days of the freedom struggle.

I am proud of the Congress—not only yesterday's Congress but today's Congress. Having said that, I am critical of my organization, you are critical and we are all critical. It is a sign of inner growth to be critical always, to try to improve, to try to get rid of the shackles that come in the way of our work, to pick out our own faults and errors that we see because it is only those who have outlived their utility that grow complacent and want to stick on to outworn forms. So it is not from the point of view of having suddenly grown defeatist that we draw attention to our weaknesses but because it is, in the nature of things,

1. Speech at a meeting of the AICC, Constitution Club, New Delhi, 1 June 1957. From *The Hindu*, 2 June 1957. Two hundred and fifty-eight members attended the meeting.



necessary and essential for a historic organization like the Congress to keep pace with history.

The Congress has made history and it will make history but only if it keeps pace with history and its thinking and ideology keep pace with changing conditions. An organization that is very good for a certain stage in a historic process may not be quite adequate in another stage. It is not the Congress only, but other and smaller organizations in India have often faced the same difficulty. They are not keeping pace with the things that are happening.

Many things that had happened before and after the general elections and our general knowledge of conditions in India, lead us to the conclusion that the Congress organization is not in a good shape. In fact, it is in no shape at all in many areas. The Pradesh Congress Committees function well or not, but at the base they are weak, and the essence of an organization like the Congress is not the top but down at the grassroots. The grassroots of this organization are not functioning today except in some places. It does not matter how good your President or Working Committee or the AICC may be, but this organization will not prosper and will not function properly unless the grassroots are able to draw strength and nourishment. The grassroots are drying up today—not everywhere, of course, but in some places. I am merely referring to a tendency.

Secondly, the manner of its functioning is not satisfactory. We have on paper a crore or two crore members. How far are they real members? A crore or two crore members in India would make the Congress the most revolutionary power on earth provided they are real, functioning members. But they are not real members, most of them. I am not for the moment talking about bogus membership which is bad enough. This unreal membership gives us no strength. I would rather wipe off ninety per cent and keep ten per cent of it and have strength from that ten per cent.

Thirdly, we have seen a growing lack of discipline, a quality which is essential to an organization, that is, people feeling a sense of being together or functioning together and not pulling in opposite directions.

What kept the Congress together in the past was an urge, a passion, a looking forward to doing something, achieving something. Naturally, with the coming of independence the old urge fulfilled itself and now other passions and other urges have to hold us together.

We say that we want to build a socialist structure of society, that we want to raise the standard of living of our people, that we want to implement our Five Year Plans and all that. That is something worthy of an individual's passion. Nothing can be more exciting or fascinating than to be associated with the mighty task of uplifting the millions and millions in India. It is a tremendous and inspiring object. Nevertheless, I rather doubt if you get that concentrated feeling about it

as you might have got in the struggle for Independence. True, the struggle for Independence was a relatively simple issue. Anybody could understand it without argument. This is also a simple issue, that we have to raise the people of India, to better their standards and to build an egalitarian society, but while these phrases are simple, the moment you go beyond the phrases you get into a world of conflicting ideas.

We say socialism. But there are many methods of socialism. We say we are up against communalism, against casteism, against provincialism and all that and yet you know well enough how poisoned we are to the very core by communalism, by casteism, by provincialism. Which of us, I or you, is completely free from this? The very foundation, the very pillars of the Congress, are shaken when casteism, communalism and provincialism overwhelm us.

We get overwhelmed by issues of language and province. It may be that the issues in themselves may have some virtue in them but in the context in which they are brought up, they become anti-national, anti-social, anti-progress, anti-everything that is good for India. Instead of standing up to them, we get swept away. In order to get ourselves elected we try to gain the help of somebody who is millions of miles away from the Congress. He might help us in the election but how can we face the public and the country?

In the old days, when the Congress fought for freedom under Gandhiji's leadership, it went for its objective like an arrow from the bow. Today that singleness of direction is not present and it can not be present. One cannot, in an independent country, function with that same singleness of purpose and ideology as in a country fighting for its national freedom. Nevertheless, some ideology has to hold the Congress together today. That ideology cannot be too narrow because the Congress is a broad national movement and cannot narrow itself down to a sect. At the same time it cannot be a flat plane of ideas where nothing stands out. Of course, the resolutions of the Congress provide the ideology but, unfortunately, we pass those resolutions rather casually, perhaps not thinking of the consequences.

I am not apologizing to anybody for the Congress of yesterday or today. I am proud of the Congress, not only the past but the present of the Congress. So I do not approach this question with any defeatist or apologetic mentality. But I do approach it with a feeling of self-introspection and I want you to approach it in that manner because we have done big things in the past and we are meant for big things, not for the small quarrels of the marketplace.

The constitutional changes that have been proposed, would help the organization, but it should be remembered always that the constitution is only a framework of things. More important are other things which are of the spirit, of the mind. If the Congress has not got them, no constitution is good enough. If



the Congress, if the Ministers in Government, misbehaved, if they were extravagant, if they were wasteful, if they indulged in pomp and show, how could they tell the people to put up with greater taxes?

The organization today tends to lose touch with the pulse of the country, the pulse of the people in the local areas. Certain individuals sitting in office permanently prevent the right persons coming in because they are not sure that the right persons will support them. This attitude is utterly wrong and the elections have shown that the people do not like this kind of behaviour even in the best of us.

How much time and energy we waste in our Congress elections? We are involved in one election after another. After the elections are over, there are the election tribunals and petitions.

I am all for democracy but if democracy crushes the organization in this way, then that type of democratic functioning is wrong. After all, the method of democracy is not something which you can impose on anybody. You have to be fit for it. If you are not, you will have some other form of democracy.

The base of the Congress must be made strong. What is the base? The primary village committees are too small. Therefore, the Mandal Committee is the base. The area of the Mandal Committee should be small enough to enable people there broadly to know each other and have a certain commonness of feeling.

One might say that the biggest function in India is the peasant's function. The industrial worker is important too. In a growing industrial society as in India, in five years or ten years' time he will be far more important. The Congress constitution would have to fit in with this changing pattern of India. If it did not, the organization would get left out. You may have a large so-called membership, but you will be cut off from the fortresses of power in the country.

## 8. The Salaries of Ministers<sup>1</sup>

The present salaries of Ministers are not very much more after deduction of income tax than what the resolution<sup>2</sup> seeks to prescribe. The Karachi Congress resolution had laid down a salary of not more than Rs 500 per month. But this sum was the equivalent of more than Rs 2,000 today.

I myself would not have been able to manage within my present net salary of Rs 1,600 per month, if I were not getting royalties from my books. I do not know what my exact salary is but I get Rs 1,600 per month after deduction of income tax. I have an ancestral house at Allahabad. Sometimes I or my daughter go there and stay. Some people are living there from the time of my father, like gardener, etc., who are looking after the house. I do not want to dispense with their services. This costs about Rs 900 per month. I am, therefore, left with only Rs 700, out of which about Rs 200 go towards subscriptions to various Congress Committees and other organizations. Only Rs 500 remain for my personal use. But I have to spend much more than this even though my personal requirements are few, like buying razor blades, toothpaste and the like. The Prime Minister's House in New Delhi is part of the President's Estate. It is a free house. But it is something like a hotel as I get a bill from the President's Estate for food, etc. The expenses on the entertainment of State guests are, however, met by the State. I have to pay for myself, my daughter and my personal guests.

The Ministers in the States receive salaries ranging from Rs 750 to Rs 1,500 per month. They get a free house and a free car. These salaries can not be regarded, from any point of view, as big, on which one could lead a luxurious life. It is clear that except businessmen or capitalists nobody can afford to buy a car easily. The Central Ministers do not get a free car and have to buy one after taking a loan which they repay in instalments. In fact, the level of salaries of Ministers is quite low. The Ministers do get free houses and electricity. Some Ministers at the Centre get a sumptuary allowance of Rs 500 per month. I do not

1. Speech at a meeting of the AICC, New Delhi, 2 June 1957. From *The Hindu* and the *National Herald*, 3 June 1957.
2. A non-official resolution moved by Banarasi Das (UP) on 2 June read: "This session of the AICC considers it essential that for the fulfilment of the objective of socialism and its implementation, some active and effective steps to remove economic disparities should be taken and Congressmen, by voluntarily declining to accept salaries in excess of Rs 1,000, should set up an ideal before the country." The resolution was defeated by thirty-eight votes to thirty-two.





AT AICC MEETING, NEW DELHI, JUNE 1957



AT AICC MEETING, NEW DELHI, JUNE 1957



get this allowance but the State bears all the expenses of the official guests entertained by me.

You have to remember that Ministers have to spend a lot on their guests and their entertainment. It is the Indian tradition to lavish hospitality on one's guests.

May I refer to the money spent on maintaining the Rashtrapati Bhavan in Delhi and Raj Bhavans in the State capitals? It would not be an economical proposition even if the President and the Governors shifted to smaller houses. Lord Mountbatten and later Rajagopalachari expressed a wish to shift to a smaller house after Independence. But it was found that actually such a change would cost more. After all the Rashtrapati Bhavan would have to be maintained. Besides some extra money would have to be spent on the other house where the President might live. This proposal was, therefore, dropped. In fact, the President lives in a corner of the Rashtrapati Bhavan. It houses a museum, the offices of the Planning Commission and the Cabinet Secretariat; there are also guest rooms, banquet halls and offices for the staff of the President. I am, however, of the view that there is certainly room for making economy in the expenditure incurred on the upkeep of the President's house or Governors' houses. But some dignity must be attached to the high office of the President and the Governors. The State has to do it, not for the individual who might occupy the office, but for the office itself.

Some people have criticized the Government for building the Ashoka Hotel in Delhi. Some Members of Parliament had also written to me complaining against it. Later they visited China and on return withdrew their complaint. They said that bigger hotels have been built in Communist China because a large number of delegations visit that country.

If the salaries of the Central Ministers are cut down, they will have to be given a car allowance as at present they are themselves maintaining their cars. The salaries of Ministers are not high compared to the salaries of Ministers in other countries.

My own personal case is altogether a different one as the royalties from my books make a great difference. These royalties had nearly stopped coming at one time, but later they increased because my books have been translated into some other languages. Even then 80 to 85 per cent is deducted from the royalty money as tax. Further, I do not have personal commitments like educating children or looking after them. I have only one daughter and she can look after herself. Things are a little easier for me but others have a bigger burden with large families.

I have placed all the facts before you and you are free to take whatever decision you like in this regard.

## 9. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

June 2, 1957

My dear Dhebarbhai,

In view of the non-official resolution<sup>2</sup> that was placed before the AICC this evening about Congressmen's salaries, etc., I think it would be a good thing if you could collect information about this subject from the various Congress Ministries in India. Of course, I can do so also and possibly we have the information here already. But I would prefer your moving in this matter on the basis of that resolution, even though the resolution was lost.

It will be interesting to have full facts. In making the enquiry, information might be sought for:

- 1) Actual salary. Whether income tax is paid on it or not? What is the net sum received?
- 2) Is a free house provided? Or house rent; if so, how much?
- 3) Who pays the electricity charges—the individual or the State?
- 4) Is a free car provided or is car allowance given? If so, how much?
- 5) How frequently can the car be changed? I mention this as there is a tendency to get new cars frequently at the expense of the State.
- 6) If the car is a State car, presumably the State pays the salary of the chauffeur. Does the State also pay for the petrol charges or is there any fixed sum paid for it?
- 7) If the Minister tours by car, does he get any kind of allowance per mile travelled, as sometimes I believe officers get?

Perhaps some other questions may strike you. The point is that we should have full information.

The resolution today, I learnt later, was directed more against the UP Ministers than others. I understand that they get a salary of Rs 1,200. The unusual thing is that they have made this free of income tax by law, that is, the State pays the income tax on their salaries. This is a bad precedent. We decided long ago that everybody, including the President, should pay income tax.

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, p. 384.



If you think it proper and necessary, you might ask for this information.

Sometimes a complaint is made that Ministers travel a very great deal by car drawing allowances which amount to a considerable sum.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 10. To Algurai Shastri<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 3, 1957

My dear Algurai,<sup>2</sup>

I have received some papers about the allocation of work between the three General Secretaries of the Congress Party in Parliament. I do not quite understand these papers because evidently there is no agreement among the three Secretaries about this allocation. Because there is no such agreement, I am laying down my own ideas about this allocation.<sup>3</sup> The work should be done accordingly. If any change is necessary in this, you and the other Secretaries discuss it with me later.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. General Secretary of the Congress Party in Parliament.

3. See the next item.

## 11. Allocation of Party Work<sup>1</sup>

Finance should really be dealt with by the Treasurer. But, I have included it in the list below so that one of the General Secretaries should keep in touch specially with this matter. The Treasurer, however, should be really in charge and responsible to the Party.

Shri Algurai Shastri

- 1) Administration of Party Office
- 2) Finance
- 3) Meetings of the Executive Committee and the General Body of the Party
- 4) Circulars
- 5) General welfare of Members.

Shri S.V. Ramaswamy

- 1) Legal Research
- 2) Legislation
- 3) Liaison between the Congress Party in Parliament and the AICC. This will include admission of Members and disciplinary action against Members.
- 4) In charge of some Standing Committees as indicated below.

Shri N.C. Kasliwal

- 1) General Research
- 2) In charge of some Standing Committees as indicated below
- 3) In charge of some State Committees as indicated below.

There should be a division of the Standing Committees as well as of the State Committees between Shri S.V. Ramaswamy and Shri N.C. Kasliwal.

Standing Committees:

Shri S.V. Ramaswamy— External Affairs; Defence; Law; Steel, Mines & Fuel; Cottage & Small-scale Industries; Community Development; Works, Housing & Supply; Transport & Communications.

Shri N.C. Kasliwal— Education & Scientific Research; Health; Information & Broadcasting; Labour and Employment; Rehabilitation; Commerce &

1. Note on allocation of work between the General Secretaries of the Congress Party in Parliament, New Delhi, 3 June 1957. JN Collection.



## INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Industry; Finance; Food; Agriculture & Cooperation; Home Affairs & Tribal Areas; Irrigation & Power; Planning; Railways.

State Committees to be divided as follows:

Shri S.V. Ramaswamy— Andhra; Bombay; Kerala; Madras; Mysore; Orissa; Jammu & Kashmir.

The other State Committees to be allotted to Shri N.C. Kaul

### 13. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

June 5, 1957

My dear Partap Singh,<sup>2</sup>

Prabodh Chandra<sup>3</sup> came to see me today. He was in a state of acute depression and in tears. He said that he had no function or work left and he begged me to give him any kind of work, however humble it might be. He said he was not anxious to remain in the Assembly, but was eager to do something for the Congress to which he had always been so intimately attached.

I had a fairly long talk with him and gave him good advice. I told him that he had not been functioning rightly and partly at least he was himself responsible for this feeling of frustration.

I need not tell you all that I spoke to him. But I am going to make a suggestion to you which I should like you to consider. You know that I dislike many of Prabodh Chandra's activities and more especially his antagonism to you. I told him about this. But my way of dealing with such a person is to try to win him over or at any rate to soothe him. He is a young man and has plenty of years of work before him.

There is no question of your giving him any job or any post. But I suggest that you send for him and tell him that you bear him no ill will and you want to see him work and to have opportunities of doing so. All I suggest is that you should make this friendly and elderly approach to a young man who is very unhappy and miserable. Such an approach never does harm and it often does a great deal of good.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Punjab.

3. Parliamentary Secretary, Punjab Assembly, 1952-56.



14. To Mohan Lal Saksena<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 6, 1957

My dear Mohan Lal,

Your letter of May 24 came to me some time ago. I did not reply to it immediately because I found it a little difficult to do so. Also, of course, these last days of Parliament and then the AICC and the National Development Council have been rather overwhelming.

You refer to this business of selecting candidates for election. I have told you already<sup>2</sup> that I was very sorry at the fact that you were not selected. I had nothing to do with it. More especially, I kept away from the UP election business. You should know that I have been unhappy about Congress conditions in UP, and because I could not improve them, I kept away.

You refer to what I said about Tandonji at a public meeting in Allahabad,<sup>3</sup> and suggest that I might have said something similar about you. I might have perhaps done that. But it does make a difference if one is speaking in one's own constituency, as I was in Allahabad, and the mere fact that I have disagreed in many matters with Tandonji induced me to refer to him there.

I am very sorry that you feel hurt by all this. I can understand, of course, that many things have happened which hurt you, but there is no question of suffering humiliation. One suffers humiliation by one's own act and not by that of others.

You ask me if I consider you fit or not fit for important work. That surely is not a question to be put to me. You should know that I have a high regard for you and your capacity for work. As to what particular work might be, in my opinion, suitable for you or not depends on that work. There are large numbers of people, as you must know, of competence and ability who, for various reasons, are not functioning in any governmental capacity at present. They may do so in future, or they may function in many other capacities. We think that we are free agents

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 366-367.

3. For Nehru's speech on 6 February 1957 at Allahabad where he refers to Purushottamdas Tandon, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, pp. 89-90.

to do what we will, but, as you know, there are all kinds of limiting factors which limit that free will.

I need not tell you again that you have all my affection and good wishes.<sup>4</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

4. The same day Nehru wrote to Lal Bahadur Shastri, Minister of Transport and Communications, "You might be interested in reading a letter from Mohan Lal Saksena and my reply to him. He is evidently hurt and frustrated at the turn of events. I do not quite know what I can do for him, at the present at least.

## 15. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 7, 1957

My dear Dhebarbhai,

I did not know when I spoke to you this evening that you had written to me. I have read your letter of June 7th only tonight.<sup>2</sup>

There is of course a hiatus of mind and we should try to get over it by more frequent meetings and discussions. I find, however, that even our discussions relate more to secondary matters and rather less to basic approaches. I mentioned this to you today. I do not remember the Parliamentary Board ever considering and giving thought to what might be called the developing ideology of a living

1. File No. 6, Secret Correspondence between U.N. Dhebar and Jawaharlal Nehru. AICC Papers, NMML.
2. Dhebar wrote: "The combined effect of what transpired in the meeting of the PCC Presidents and Secretaries and the meeting of the Chief Ministers that has been left on my mind is that....a hiatus has grown between the two wings. Ignorance on the part of workers and the lack of understanding on the part of some of the Chief Ministers has brought about the situation which does not bode well for the organization and the future." Emphasizing the need for "unity in action" and "corporate thinking and decision", Dhebar suggested that a meeting of Chief Ministers, and another of the Central Parliamentary Board and Presidents of the PCCs, be called to discuss various problems and the question of coordination between the Ministries and the Party.



and progressive movement. Indeed they do not discuss this subject at all. They are busy with day-to-day problems such as constitution of ministries or who to nominate for election or disciplinary action and the like. I rather doubt if a meeting of the Parliamentary Board on such basic subjects would bear fruit.

This is partly due to the fact that the Congress, apart from the independence struggle and a certain outlook in favour of the masses and especially the peasantry, never as a body developed any ideological approach. Of course, individual Congressmen did.

But I can understand the Parliamentary Board discussing, let us say, the question of land reform with Chief Ministers or others. I would personally like this to be discussed in wider circle, say, in the AICC. In view of the contradictory statements made on cooperative farming by prominent Congressmen, surely this was a subject for the AICC to consider. But we are tied up with our daily difficulties and neither have the time nor the inclination to discuss such matters.

There must of course be an elimination of pomp, luxury, etc. Criticism against this is justified. But some of the criticism, I think, is based on a lack of understanding. A minister should function efficiently. Efficiency requires certain aids, certain quiet and a certain environment apart from freedom from continual worry about petty financial matters.<sup>3</sup>

Once, long ago, I think it was in the thirties, one of the Birlas (not Ghanshyamdas) said to me that he had heard that I was in financial difficulties ever since the death of my father. He offered to relieve me of them presumably by giving me a fairly substantial monthly allowance. I was rather surprised at this suggestion and while thanking him expressed my surprise and my regret at not being able to accept anything from him. He then told me that there was hardly a leading Congressman whom he did not help in this way.

I do not understand any kind of help being taken privately in this way. Of course it would be completely improper for ministers to do so. There is thus a risk that if you drive the ministers too hard and he is constantly in trouble about financial matters, not only will his work suffer but there might be an inducement to accept some kind of help from others, if not in money then in other ways.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Dhebar wrote that in view of the Congress Party's acceptance of the goal of socialist pattern of society, "we should examine the question of emoluments and perquisites" and the "yardstick" of personal honour, comfort and dignity, and official dignity and the "craze to secure greater comfort at the cost of the State."

## 16. To N.C. Kasliwal<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 7, 1957

My dear Kasliwal,  
I have your letter of the 6th June.<sup>2</sup>

I do not know anything about this story of cliquism to which you refer. When the papers were sent to me by Algurai Shastri and it was indicated that there was lack of agreement among the three Secretaries, I exercised my judgement and indicated a distribution of work<sup>3</sup> pending further consideration. I take it that there is really not much work till the new Parliament meets. We can then consider this matter. If necessary, the Executive Committee might also consider it.

But, it is an odd beginning for the three Secretaries to pull in different directions and be unable to agree even in minor matters. If this cannot be got over, then the work of the Party will inevitably suffer, and the matter will have to be considered by the Party.

I have no knowledge of what happened last year and what the distribution of Committees was. It is only from your letter that I gather that you were in charge of all the Committees. I do not understand this at all. The main work of the Secretaries is to run these Committees, and if all the Committees are under one person's charge, he has to carry much too great a burden, and the others are comparatively free. What do you mean by saying that this is a dismemberment of the Committees? I just do not understand it at all. It seems to me obvious that this important work of Committees should be shared by the Secretaries. I was inclined to spread them between the three Secretaries, but then I thought that Algurai Shastri might be left with some general work.

Whatever the merits of this matter may be, I must say that I am surprised at the manner of your writing and your totally non-cooperative attitude in this matter. The division I have suggested, may not be a happy one, and may be changed when the time comes. For you to say that if only half the Committees

1. JN Collection.

2. Kasliwal disapproved of the reallocation of work by Algurai Shastri, without consulting him. He wrote that if it was Nehru's wish that S.V. Ramaswamy "should be given half the Committees it is better that he should be handed over the charge of all the Committees...there would be nothing left for me to do...I would therefore request that you may...relieve me from the post of Secretary to the Party..."

3. See *ante*, pp. 388-389.



are put under your charge, you will have no work to do, is more than I can understand.

This matter will have to be considered at the beginning of the next session. I propose first to talk to you and the other Secretaries and, later, if necessary, to consult the Executive. My approach is based on the desire to see cooperative working of the Congress Party and a fair sharing of the work among the three Secretaries.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 17. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 8, 1957

My dear Bidhan,

I have received your letter of the 7th June about the question of the ex-Speaker, Shri S.K. Mukherjee,<sup>2</sup> standing for election for the Upper House from the Local Bodies Constituency.

As it happened, Dhebarbhai saw me yesterday and discussed this matter with me. The question before us was not of the desirability or the ability of Shri S.K. Mukherjee. We agree with you that he has been a good Speaker and that he would be an acquisition in your Legislature. But for certain reasons which are well known, we decided that people who had been defeated in these elections should not stand for the Upper House. It is true that there is a slight distinction in standing from the Local Bodies Constituency which is in the nature of an election. Even so, it is a very limited constituency.

As you know, some of our closest colleagues in the Central Government have been defeated in the elections, much to our regret. In many States leading Congressmen who have been Ministers and who have played a very important role, have been defeated. We have had a number of requests about these people standing for the Upper House. In every case we have taken up a definite attitude

1. JN Collection.

2. Saila Kumar Mukherjee (1898-1973); Congress leader from Howrah; Chairman, Howrah Municipality, for many years; Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1952-57; Minister for Local Self-Government and Finance in the ministries of B.C. Roy and Prafulla Chandra Sen.

that they should not stand. This has little to do with their ability. In some cases we have gone so far as to say that they should not stand in the near future even for the Assembly from a general electorate.

Why have we done so? Cases differ no doubt and we cannot judge every single case in the same way. Normally speaking, any person can stand, if an ordinary vacancy occurs for the Assembly or for the Lok Sabha which involves a full election. Even in that case, we have been of opinion in regard to some persons that they should not stand. We were convinced that their standing would have a bad reaction on the public. In fact, our decision that they should not stand has been publicly acclaimed.

These particular cases were rather special. Normally we would not object to a person standing for the Assembly or for the Lok Sabha. But to stand from a limited constituency for the Council or the Rajya Sabha stands on a separate footing and there we have felt strongly that the general rule should apply. This certainly means not having the assistance of an important colleague of ours in the Legislature. But we have to put up with that difficulty from larger considerations of public opinion and reactions among others. We have to look ahead and not judge from immediate need of the moment. Apart from this, if we make exceptions, then where is our rule? And we get into difficulties everywhere.

There has been a tendency for us in the past to think more about the immediate need and less about the public consequences. The result has been adverse to us as a party and the feeling in the public that we want our people elected either indirectly or from pocket boroughs. One such case subsequently affects other elections and our general reputation.

But the main thing is how can we make exceptions without being considered opportunists. We can hardly break our own rule.

I quite realize and appreciate your viewpoint and difficulties. I would have very much liked to have Shri S.K. Mukherjee to come back to your Legislature. But even from his point of view, I do not think it would be in consonance with his dignity to come back in this way. I am sure that if this is put to him he will understand. I hope it will be possible for him to come back in the normal way later through a full election. There is no time limit or bar to that.

Since receiving your letter, I have received a message from the Congress President about this matter. He sent this after he had received your letter, a copy of which you sent me. He feels strongly on this question and I understand he has consulted Maulana Saheb and Pantji also who share his views.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal



## 18. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
9th June, 1957

My dear Dhebarbhai,

Early last month, I received a letter from D.N. Mukerji,<sup>2</sup> MLA, West Bengal, and member of the AICC. With this letter, he sent me a bundle of correspondence between him and you and Dr B.C. Roy and Atulya Babu.<sup>3</sup> You must have all these papers yourself; so I am not sending them to you.

In his letters, he raised the question of the propriety of some nominations for election for the Council in West Bengal. He objected to the procedure adopted, that is, that some names were thrust from above without allowing the members of the Party any opportunity to know about them or discuss names, etc. In particular, he took exception to the selection of Dr Nihar Ranjan Ray.<sup>4</sup>

I do not quite know what happened afterwards. I suppose that Dr Nihar Ranjan Ray was elected to the West Bengal Council.

In his letter to me, Shri D.N. Mukerji referred to some information with the External Affairs Ministry about Dr Nihar Ranjan Ray in regard to his activities as a cultural delegate representing India. I did not send an answer to him because at that time I did not know anything about this matter. I enquired into it from my Ministry. As the matter was referred to previously, I am sending you such information as we have got about Dr Nihar Ranjan Ray.

1. JN Collection.

2. Dharendra Narayan Mukerji (b. 1899); participated in the freedom movement, 1921 and 1941-42; elected Member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly on Congress ticket, 1937 and 1946; Chief Whip of assembly party till partition of Bengal, 1947, and Chief Whip, West Bengal Congress Assembly Party, 1948-50.

3. Atulya Ghosh, President, West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee.

4. Nihar Ranjan Ray (1904-1981); participated in the freedom movement; Chief Librarian, University of Calcutta, 1937-44; Reader in Indian Art, History and Culture, 1944-46; Bageshwari Professor of Indian Art, since 1946; Head, Departments of Ancient Indian History and Culture, and Archaeology, University of Calcutta, 1959-65; Professor Emeritus; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1957-65; awarded Padma Bhushan, 1962; First Director, Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla, 1965-70; author of several books in English and Bengali, including *An Artist in Life*, a commentary on the life and works of Rabindranath Tagore, which won the Sahitya Akademi award in 1969, and *Bangalir Itihaas: Adiparva*.

So far as we know, he was not sent as a cultural delegate from India. He was employed by the Burmese Government as a Cultural Adviser. Our Ambassador<sup>5</sup> in Rangoon wrote to us early in 1956 that Dr Nihar Ranjan Ray had not created a good impression in Burma. He was accused of tactless behaviour and the Government of Burma was not pleased with him. It was even alleged that he had been making some improper advances to girl students. Instead of trying to promote harmonious relations, he is alleged to have created factions in the Bengali community there. In effect, in our Ambassador's view, he was an undesirable person for the work he was supposed to do.

On further enquiry from persons who know him, I have been told that Dr Nihar Ranjan Ray is a Bageswari Professor of Fine Arts in the Calcutta University and is known for his scholarship. As a man, however, his reputation is not high.

He wrote a note on "Our Role in South-East Asia" which was a good one. I am sending this letter to you merely for your information and for record in your office. You need not trouble to answer me or perhaps to take any other step.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Ramji Ram Saksena.



## 19. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

June 10, 1957

My dear Sampurnanand,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of June 5,<sup>3</sup> which I have just received. I am sorry I cannot write to you at length. The subject you have discussed is interesting and important. But I shall give you briefly my ideas.

What you say is true. Inevitably the administrative wing is bound to have predominance in the present set-up in India. That is why we try to send our best men there. Possibly if some of the good men kept out, this would not be so to some extent. But in any event we have to send our good men there, though some may perhaps keep out.

But I do not quite understand what you mean by saying that the Congress should become a purely Parliamentary Party.<sup>4</sup> Even a Parliamentary Party has a wing outside. A Parliamentary Party like the Conservative Party in England which is for the status quo and no changes, relies on the inertia and the conservatism of the people. Therefore its Party outside does not do much except at election time. But the Labour Party in England has a powerful organization outside. Without it the Party would disappear.

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

3. Sampurnanand wrote that the "constructive wing" of the Congress Party, beginning with the President of the Mandal Committee and going up to the Congress President, had come to depend on the "administrative wing", beginning from the MLAs and going up to the Prime Minister, and this was one of the important factors "making for the disruption of the institution." He added that unlike a person in charge of the administration and responsible for "the life, liberty and honour of millions of men", persons occupying high offices in the Congress "cannot be satisfied with high-sounding titles carrying no power with them."

4. Dwelling on the future role of the Congress, within the framework of Parliamentary democracy, Sampurnanand felt that "the Congress must reorientate itself and assume the position of a Parliamentary party whose leadership should vest in persons who lead it in the legislature. All its activities should bend themselves towards making it an effective machine for winning elections and serving the country in the administrative field." He added that so long as dual leadership was allowed to exist with one set of leaders focussing in their hands all power and responsibility, friction would only grow further.

In the case of the Congress, both because of its past history and the present problems that it faces, I am sure it would fade away if it relied purely on a Parliamentary Party.

The point is that any Party must work outside among the people, whatever the name you may like to give it. It is because the Communists are working hard outside that they gain success in some places. Therefore, the success of the Congress even as a Parliamentary Party must necessarily depend on the work done not only in the administrative sphere, important as it is, but outside too. It is conceivable that the administrative work may become so widespread and all-pervading that it absorbs the energies and thinking of the people. But this is not likely and no administration can function in that way except an authoritarian administration.

At the present moment, there is, I feel, some kind of a mental vacuum in people's minds. I am referring to the younger generation. Some may go to the communists, some to the socialists and some elsewhere. But the fact is that most of them are in search of something. Any party that wants to make good even in the parliamentary sense must seek to fill that vacuum partly by theory and personal contacts, partly by practice. We are thus driven to the conclusion that the Congress organization, call it what you will, has to function, and function effectively, in order to fill this vacuum if we are to carry on as an administration. Whether we can succeed in doing so or not, I do not know. There are many things in our favour and many things against us.

When you talk of jealousy, etc., in the Congress,<sup>5</sup> you are perfectly right. But if you analyze that a little more, it means that the older generation of Congressmen, that is, more or less our contemporaries, who have been kept out of office, etc., feel jealous. The younger generation need not feel jealous because even from a narrow point of view, they would look to office, etc. The real burden of the Congress is the older generation which still talks in terms of the past and cannot fit itself with the present, and yet functions in the organization and indeed controls it in many places.

I do not know if I have at all made myself clear. Anyhow this is a brief attempt.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Sampurnanand wrote that because of its dependence on the "administrative wing" of the Party, the "constructive wing" was "shot through and through with envy and jealousy" and "oppressed by a sense of inferiority." He thought that "matters will become increasingly more complicated as the present generation with its long history of comradeship in a common struggle is succeeded by others who have no such bonds between them."



## 20. Message to the Youth Congress<sup>1</sup>

It has become customary for organizations to have an annual celebration. So the Youth Congress celebrates every year the "Youth Congress Day."<sup>2</sup>

What is the purpose of this celebration? Not merely to have a function where friends and comrades meet, although that is good. There should be something of deeper significance on such occasions, more especially, today when the country faces heavy tasks and severe trials.

The young men and young women of today in India may not have to shoulder this burden immediately, but they will undoubtedly have to do so in the days to come. It is a proud burden, but it is also a heavy and difficult one, and only those who have the spirit and earnestness for it as well as training will perform that task adequately.

Many people hanker after what is called public life, meaning membership of legislative bodies. There is nothing wrong in their wishing to come to our Parliament and Assemblies. But there is perhaps not an adequate realization of the heavy work we have to do and the deep thinking which must lie behind that work. Politics is not a matter of merely making speeches or passing resolutions. It is a part of the mighty task of building up the nation.

Perhaps we have thought that this building up will inevitably follow without trouble or too much work. The lesson of history is different. Every birth is accompanied by the travail of birth. Every growth requires persistent work. We have to realize the facts of life and to have a full intellectual and emotional appreciation of this changing world and this changing India. The grave difficulties we are passing through will serve a useful purpose if we profit by them and learn how to think and how to act and, above all, how to function as a disciplined nation.

There are too many disruptive and fissiparous tendencies in India and people's minds often wander in directions of conflict and controversy, forgetting the major problems which face us. We live in a hard world and we cannot grow soft or waste our substance in mere negation and criticism, although healthy criticism is always needed.

1. New Delhi, 27 July 1957. AICC Papers, NMML.

2. This message was released to the press on 9 August and published in the newspapers on 10 August 1957. The ninth of August is celebrated as the Youth Congress Day.

There is a call for everyone today. To the youth the call should come more insistently to prepare themselves for the great adventure of service of India which beckons them.

My good wishes to the Youth Congress.

## 21. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 30, 1957

My dear Dhebarbhai,

Sri Babu<sup>2</sup> came to see me this evening and was with me for about an hour. He was greatly distressed and, occasionally, even angry. As he is going to see you tomorrow, I would not repeat what he said to me. He mentioned one thing which rather surprised me.

He was much put out by the appointment of the Liaison Committee<sup>3</sup> and, even more so, by the manner of doing it and the kind of publicity that had been given to it. Apparently, this is being played up in the Opposition Press in Bihar, and it is made out that another Enquiry Committee is coming there to enquire into everything connected with the Government and the Congress in Bihar. A number of articles are appearing or going to appear on this subject, making all manner of complaints, and many people are preparing to appear before the Liaison Committee with their complaints, etc. According to him, Krishna Ballabh Sahay,<sup>4</sup> Jayaprakash Narayan<sup>5</sup> and some others are now joining together in some ways merely to discredit him.

1. File No. 6, Secret Correspondence between U.N. Dhebar and Jawaharlal Nehru. AICC Papers, NMML.
2. Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar.
3. At the meeting of the Congress Working Committee held on 20 July 1957, Dhebar suggested formation of a Liaison Committee to "assist and advise the CWC and the Bihar PCC on steps to be taken to (i) eliminate group functioning (ii) to tone up discipline and morale of Congress workers both in the organization and the Parliamentary wing and (iii) to conduct the elections of the Congress Committees including that of the delegates."
4. A former Minister in the Government of Bihar.
5. Leader of the Praja Socialist Party.



When Anugraha Babu<sup>6</sup> died, Sri Babu announced that a big institute would be a kind of a memorial to him and would be named after him. Krishna Ballabh, Jayaprakash, Baldeo Singh and others, however, held a meeting and, started a public Memorial Fund for Anugraha Babu. Sri Babu was not invited to this meeting and, apparently, Jayaprakash was elected the Chairman of this Fund. Afterwards, Sri Babu was approached if he would join as a Member. He consented to do so, because he could hardly refuse. But, he felt that all this was really another pretext to carry on a campaign against him. This Memorial Committee would tour about all over Bihar presumably to collect money but, far more so, for political reasons.

Sri Babu said that reports had appeared that a member of the Liaison Committee (I think the name mentioned was Balvantrai Mehta's<sup>7</sup>) had said that this Committee would remove various office-bearers, etc., and notably the President<sup>8</sup> of the Pradesh Congress Committee. All these reports had created much excitement in Bihar, and the old rivalries were appearing and a concentrated attack was being made on Sri Babu. This would be carried out under the guise of appearing before the Liaison Committee.

I told Sri Babu that my own idea of a Liaison Committee was not of a body going to enquire and make a fuss and push about people. I thought its work was essentially in cooperation with the Chief Minister and the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee and was to be done without fuss and excitement. Naturally, they might meet other people, but not from the point of view of gathering and listening to complaints.

Sri Babu felt that the whole manner in which this Liaison Committee had been appointed was to discredit him in the eyes of the public and the Congress Party, and he felt humiliated.

Sri Babu also said that he had not received at any time a copy of Pataskar's Report on Bihar.<sup>9</sup> He said that it was extraordinary that such a report should be

6. Anugraha Narain Sinha died in Patna on 4 July 1957. He was Finance Minister in the Ministry of Sri Krishna Sinha formed in May 1957.

7. Former General Secretary, AICC.

8. Nand Kumar Singh.

9. H.V. Pataskar, who enquired into the activities of Krishna Ballabh Sahay and Mahesh Prasad Sinha, ex-ministers, Bihar Government, reported that both the leaders worked against each other during the general elections.

kept away from him and judgement pronounced without his seeing it in full.<sup>10</sup> I was myself much surprised to learn that the Report had not been sent to him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. The Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress Party, which considered Pataskar's report and the explanations of Sahai and Sinha on 18 July, was of the opinion that in view of "Pataskar's report and having regard to the atmosphere created at the time of the election of the Leader, and the behaviour of those two leaders then, it was desirable that both of them should keep out of the Legislature for a period of four years and that they should not hold any office in the organization, during the period." However, since the matter related to discipline, the Board decided to refer it to the Disciplinary Action Committee.

## 22. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 30, 1957

My dear Sampurnanand,

Thank you for your letter of July 29.<sup>2</sup> I am glad you wrote to me, although what you have written is nothing new. My own appreciation of the situation in the UP has been in line with what you have written. At the last meeting of the Working Committee here, this question of the UPCC's resolution came up, and we, in fact, discussed the question at some length. We did not discuss the merits of raising the retirement age, but rather the apparent conflict between the PCC and

1. JN Collection.

2. Referring to the developments at the meeting of the UPCC, held on 6 and 7 July, Sampurnanand wrote that a small group of persons, led by Banarasi Das and owing allegiance to C.B. Gupta, demonstrated its "nuisance value" and created a "very violent atmosphere" at the meeting. Unlike the normal practice, some non-official resolutions had been tabled, without first being brought before the Executive Council. One of the resolutions, Sampurnanand added, "consisted of a violent diatribe against Government servants" and asked, among other things, that the Government should withdraw its orders extending the age of retirement from 55 years to 58.



the Government. I analysed the situation then, and I am glad to find that that analysis of mine was on the lines you have written now.<sup>3</sup>

You will remember a resolution brought up by Banarasi Das<sup>4</sup> in the AICC about Ministers' salaries being limited to rupees one thousand.<sup>5</sup> That resolution just failed to pass. It was clear to me that that was directed more to the UP than to others.

I need not tell you that these tactics have no sympathy from me.

All the rules in the world cannot prevent mischief makers from making mischief. It is true, as you say, that I have been of opinion that criticism by Congressmen should be allowed, but I have always made it clear that this type of criticism must be restrained and not demonstrative. You mention demonstrations and processions and the like. These are obviously wrong.

Once the AICC passed a resolution about artificial ghee. I told the AICC then that I did not agree with it, but since they had passed it, I would have the matter examined again. If I was unable to follow it, then I proposed to put the matter before the Working Committee or the AICC for their consideration again. Either they agreed with me then or I would resign.

In the case of a conflict between the PCC or its Executive and the State Government, if it cannot be resolved, then, according to our own rules, the matter should be referred to the Congress Working Committee.

In the present case, for the PCC to pass a resolution making Government to go back on a decision was obviously wrong and mischievous. The manner of doing so also indicated that it was meant to create trouble. However, I think you acted rightly in the way you asked your party to handle this matter.

As for the question of the age of retirement, I have long been of opinion that the present age is not suitable. I have brought this matter up before our Cabinet more than once. The only argument raised against it was that there are far too

3. Sampurnanand wrote that "a resolution of the PCC cannot be mandatory on the State Government....while the State Government would naturally be expected to act in accordance with the general policies and programmes laid down by the State Congress organization, ex-post facto resolutions asking the Government to undo what it has already done cannot be accepted as binding. If a piece of legislation passed by the State Legislature or orders of Government were subject to review by a meeting of the PCC held months later there would be no finality about anything and administration would become impossible."

4. (1912-1985); Parliamentary Secretary and Minister, Government of Uttar Pradesh, 1952-57 and 1962-67; General Secretary, UPCC, 1960-69 and its President, 1970; Member, Rajya Sabha 1972-77; Speaker, UP Legislative Assembly, 1977-79; Chief Minister, UP, 1979-80.

5. See *ante*, p. 384.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

many people standing at the doorstep of employment and they would be kept out for two or three years, thus creating dissatisfaction.

In Sweden, the age of retirement for one group of people is 62 and for another group 67.

I hope you do not mind my sending your letter to the Congress President.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



THE KASHMIRI PEOPLE

THE KASHMIRI PEOPLE

THE KASHMIRI PEOPLE

The Kashmiri people are a very ancient and distinguished race, who have been the subjects of many legends and traditions. They are a very brave and warlike people, and have been the subjects of many wars and battles. They are a very intelligent and cultured people, and have been the subjects of many books and writings. They are a very religious and pious people, and have been the subjects of many prayers and sacrifices.

The Kashmiri people are a very ancient and distinguished race, who have been the subjects of many legends and traditions. They are a very brave and warlike people, and have been the subjects of many wars and battles. They are a very intelligent and cultured people, and have been the subjects of many books and writings. They are a very religious and pious people, and have been the subjects of many prayers and sacrifices. They are a very brave and warlike people, and have been the subjects of many wars and battles. They are a very intelligent and cultured people, and have been the subjects of many books and writings. They are a very religious and pious people, and have been the subjects of many prayers and sacrifices.

The Kashmiri people are a very ancient and distinguished race, who have been the subjects of many legends and traditions. They are a very brave and warlike people, and have been the subjects of many wars and battles. They are a very intelligent and cultured people, and have been the subjects of many books and writings. They are a very religious and pious people, and have been the subjects of many prayers and sacrifices. They are a very brave and warlike people, and have been the subjects of many wars and battles. They are a very intelligent and cultured people, and have been the subjects of many books and writings. They are a very religious and pious people, and have been the subjects of many prayers and sacrifices.

The Kashmiri people are a very ancient and distinguished race, who have been the subjects of many legends and traditions. They are a very brave and warlike people, and have been the subjects of many wars and battles. They are a very intelligent and cultured people, and have been the subjects of many books and writings. They are a very religious and pious people, and have been the subjects of many prayers and sacrifices.

THE KASHMIRI PEOPLE

The Kashmiri people are a very ancient and distinguished race, who have been the subjects of many legends and traditions. They are a very brave and warlike people, and have been the subjects of many wars and battles. They are a very intelligent and cultured people, and have been the subjects of many books and writings. They are a very religious and pious people, and have been the subjects of many prayers and sacrifices.





## 1. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 2, 1957

My dear Rajaji,

I have just seen Reginald Reynold's<sup>2</sup> reply to your letter about Kashmir in the *Peace News* of London. I suppose you have seen this reply, which is published in the issue of *Peace News* of 1st March, 1957.

The reply is partly factually wrong and is full of angry recrimination. You will no doubt know how to deal with it.

But, there are some sentences in it, which I have read with surprise. He says that, according to you, the plebiscite "was offered by India not because it was right and reasonable but because India's armed hold on Kashmir was challenged by invasion." He goes on to say: "So this reasonable solution was only offered when force was challenged by force." This would lead one to think that India used force in Kashmir first or held Kashmir by force previous to the Pakistani invasion. As you know, this is completely wrong. The Pakistani invasion took place when there was no Indian armed force in Kashmir at all and before any could be sent. It was only later that India sent some force by air to halt the invasion.

I do not know why you referred to a "contract". At the time of the accession, Mountbatten had stated that in accordance with our normal policy, when there was order, etc., established, we would consult the people of Kashmir. Some weeks after the invasion and before we referred this matter to the Security Council, I sent some telegrams<sup>3</sup> to Liaquat Ali Khan, in which I suggested that the people of Kashmir should be left to decide for themselves if he would withdraw his army, etc. He rejected this offer. I made it clear then that my offer had lapsed and that I was referring the matter to the Security Council.

The UN Commission passed a resolution on the 13th August, 1948, which we accepted, and Pakistan did not at that time. In this resolution, there was no

1. JN Collection.

2. A associate and biographer of Mahatma Gandhi.

3. Nehru sent a number of telegrams relating to Kashmir to Liaquat Ali Khan in November 1947. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 4, pp. 314-315 for cable dated 3 November, p. 317 for a cable dated 4 November, pp. 320c-320h for cable dated 8 November, pp. 323-324 for cable dated 13 November 1947.

reference to a plebiscite as such. But, in part III of the resolution, there was reference to the two Governments, that is, India and Pakistan, consulting each other, after Parts I and II had been fully implemented, as to the best means of consulting the people of Kashmir. At the end of December 1948, a second resolution was passed by the UN Commission, which confirmed the August resolution and amplified Part III of that resolution. It was here that the procedure was referred to in some detail leading up to a plebiscite. All this was rather premature in the sense that it could only be considered when Parts I and II were implemented. However, we discussed it and we agreed to it, making it clear, however, that everything depended on the full implementation of Parts I and II. Part I dealt with the ceasefire and Part II with the truce. According to us, not even Part I has been properly implemented, because (1) it had stated that there should be no addition to the military potential of Pakistan in regard to Kashmir, and (2) every attempt should be made to produce a calm atmosphere. Instead of this, Pakistan has greatly added to that potential throughout these years and, finally, has accepted enormous military aid from the USA. As for the calm atmosphere, there has been a continuous campaign of hatred and appeals for jihad. So much for Part I.

Part II involved a complete withdrawal of Pakistani forces. That, of course, has never been implemented.

Therefore, in our view, the question of taking action on Part III never arose. This was made quite clear in our discussions with the Commission itself.

All this is apart from subsequent developments and the position now obtaining in Kashmir, although these developments are very relevant. I do not think it is quite correct to say that the offer of a plebiscite was extracted at the point of a rifle eight years ago. The offer was originally mentioned by us in pursuance of our general policy. Secondly, it was mentioned in the second resolution of the UN Commission, passed early in January 1949, as an amplification of Part III of the resolution of August, 1948. This was clearly dependent and conditional on the performance in time of what was contained in Parts I and II. Throughout, our position was that Pakistan has no locus standi except that of an aggressor, and the aggression should be vacated before anything else occurred. Parts I and II were meant to vacate that aggression. We have pointed out always that it would be utterly wrong to put the aggressor, Pakistan, and the aggrieved party, India, on a level, and the real difficulty has been that the UN and the Western Powers have treated us as if we were equally to blame. Lately, they have even shifted the balance and made it appear that Pakistan was the victim of our aggression.



Jarring, in his recent report,<sup>4</sup> has clarified this point somewhat. But, he has said something, which is not quite correct. This is in relation to an arbitration on the limited question of the implementation of Part I of the resolution of August 1948.<sup>5</sup> He did mention this to us, and we pointed out to him that the question of arbitration on this issue hardly arose as it was for the UN to see if there had been implementation on that part or not. In fact, there was evidence in the papers to say that this part had not been implemented.

I am just jotting down this from memory. You have with you, I suppose, reports of Krishna Menon's speeches in the Security Council, which give all the facts. What irritates me especially about Reginald Reynold's reply is the assumption (and he implies that you are responsible for this) that India was the party which applied force first and this was challenged by the force of Pakistan.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

4. Gunnar Jarring, Swedish diplomat and the UN's representative appointed in February 1957 to discuss the Kashmir issue with India and Pakistan, submitted his report to the Security Council on 30 April 1957. In a 2,000 word report, Jarring enquired of the two Governments if they were prepared to submit the question of whether Part I of the 13 August 1948 Resolution had been implemented or not, to arbitration. Part I was the ceasefire order. Jarring stated in his report that he decided "to approach first the question of implementation of Part I, as I had been given to understand that this was the primary impediment to the implementation of the resolutions." He also stated: "It was my impression that in the presentation of their views, substantial weight was given by the Government of India to the absence of an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations as envisaged in section E of that part of the Resolution." Another point which was repeatedly stressed was that the military status quo envisaged in section B of Part I did not, in India's view, obtain owing to the policies pursued by the Government of Pakistan.
5. Jarring in his report stated that India had explained to him that, while they were not against the principle of arbitration as a method of conciliation and had, indeed, agreed to this procedure to arrive at a solution of certain other problems outstanding between their country and Pakistan, they felt that the issues in dispute were not suitable for arbitration, because such procedure would be inconsistent with the sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir and the rights and obligations of the Union of India in respect of this territory. Jarring also said that India was apprehensive that arbitration even on an isolated part of the resolution might be interpreted as indicating that Pakistan had a locus standi in the question.

## 2. Cable to G.L. Mehta<sup>1</sup>

I understand that you are visiting Cuba<sup>2</sup> within the next day and two. You will no doubt explain our views regarding the Kashmir question generally to the Cuban Government. It is important, however, that the members of the Security Council fully appreciate the legal aspects of our case. Since the Kashmir question is likely to come up before the Security Council in the near future, we have decided to depute our Legal Adviser and member of our delegation to UN General Assembly, G.S. Pathak, to visit Cuba and Colombia and to explain to the Governments of those countries the legal and other aspects of Kashmir's accession to India.

2. Pathak is leaving Delhi on May 12th and after stopping in London will reach Bogota on May 18th and from there proceed to Cuba on May 22nd, reaching Havana on May 23rd. He will leave for New York on May 26th and visit Washington on May 27th for two days. He will be accompanied by M.E. Chacko.<sup>3</sup>

3. We shall be glad if you mention Pathak's forthcoming visit to the Foreign Minister<sup>4</sup> and, if possible, to the President<sup>5</sup> of Cuba and express the hope that they will be good enough to receive Pathak and give him an opportunity of explaining the legal and other aspects of the Kashmir question to the Cuban Government.

4. We are asking Pathak to contact you on May 16th from New York to ascertain the nature of your talks with the Cuban authorities so that he can follow these up.

5. In your talks with the Cuban Foreign Minister you might mention that we were glad to receive their Minister here.<sup>6</sup> He has already had talks with me, Minister of Defence and senior officers. We look forward to seeing the Cuban Minister again and frequently.

6. During Pathak's visit to Washington you might arrange for him to meet Fletcher, Head of the Legal Section of the State Department. He might also meet some of the senior State Department officials who are directly dealing with the Kashmir issue.

1. New Delhi, 4 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. G.L. Mehta, India's Ambassador to the US, was also concurrently Ambassador to Cuba.

3. First Secretary, Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations.

4. Gonzalo Guell, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Cuba, 1956-1958.

5. Fulgencio Batista Y Zaldívar, President of Cuba, 1952-1959.

6. Jorge Govantes Y Aguirre, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Cuba to India.



### 3. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

In connection with the forthcoming discussion of the Kashmir question before the Security Council we are deputing G.S. Pathak to visit Cuba and Colombia, and explain the various aspects of Kashmir question to these Governments. Pathak is leaving Delhi on May 12th and will reach London on May 13th. He will proceed to New York on May 15th.

2. During his brief stay in London we would like Pathak to meet Sir William Fitzmaurice<sup>2</sup> and look into the organization of the Legal Department in the Foreign Office.

3. Please mention Pathak's visit to Foreign Secretary<sup>3</sup> and Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations<sup>4</sup> and request them to arrange talks with Fitzmaurice. Pathak is already well-known to Fitzmaurice.

4. You may recall that Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations told us that the Legal Department of the Foreign Office did not accept our view of the question of Kashmir's accession.<sup>5</sup> Pathak will also take advantage of this opportunity to explain to Fitzmaurice the legal aspects of Kashmir's accession to India and other matters.

1. New Delhi, 4 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. Perhaps Nehru was referring to Gerald Gray Fitzmaurice (b. 1901); British lawyer and diplomatist; Legal Adviser, Ministry of Economic Warfare, 1939-43; second Legal Adviser, Foreign Office, 1945-53; Legal Adviser to UK Foreign Office, 1953-60; Legal Adviser to the UK Delegations to San Francisco UN Charter Conference, 1945, Paris Peace Conference, 1946, UN General Assembly, 1946, 1948-59; Judge, International Court of Justice, 1960.

3. Selwyn Lloyd.

4. Alexander Douglas-Home.

5. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, p. 396.

#### 4. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 5, 1957

My dear Bakhshi,<sup>2</sup>

You will have read Jarring's report. I am having sent to you separately a note of instructions<sup>3</sup> in regard to this report that we have sent to our representative in the UN. This will give you a fair idea of the line we have adopted in regard to this report.

Much has been made by our opponents about the reference in this report to our refusal to accept arbitration about a small matter. This is not very fair of Jarring and he has not got out our viewpoint correctly.<sup>4</sup> Apart from this, however, on the whole the report improves the position slightly for us.

It should not be thought, however, that our difficulties are by any means over. We have to face all kinds of opponents and more particularly the opposition of the USA and UK. They might perhaps slightly tone down this opposition, but I do not think that there will be any basic change.

We do not yet know when the Security Council will take up the Kashmir issue again. There is some talk of their taking it up this month, but I doubt if it will be earlier than the end of this month.

1. JN Collection.

2. Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State.

3. This note was sent in the form of a cable on 3 May by Defence Minister Krishna Menon to Arthur Lall, Permanent Representative of India at the UN. Describing Jarring's report as an "advance" on the position taken by the UN Security Council, the note stated that a "more realistic view had been taken of the situation and that the report does not harp upon plebiscite as a firm commitment unrelated to facts and conditions past, present and future." The downside of the report was that it suffered "from the usual fallacy of the Security Council's approach of treating the problem as though Pakistan and ourselves are parties of equal status." The note concluded that Jarring's report took no account of the fact "which is recognized in the resolutions and is basic to the issue, i.e., that Pakistan has no right in the territory at all and her invasion and subsequent consolidation was aggression and is a continuing aggression."

4. According to the note of 3 May, no "definite proposal" for arbitration had come from Jarring. Instead, on hearing India's objections, Jarring abandoned the idea. Despite this fact the arbitration idea found a large place in Jarring's report. The impression that the Jarring report gave was that the proposal was simultaneously put to both India and Pakistan and that the former rejected it and the latter accepted it. Actually, it was first put to Pakistan and then to India.



Much will depend in the next few months on developments inside Kashmir. Whatever happens in the Security Council, we cannot expect this Kashmir question to be settled finally in the near future. As you know, this is too much tied up with so many other matters and, more particularly, with the present and future of Pakistan. Therefore we have not only to prepare for the present but also for the more distant future.

So far as the present is concerned, we have to try our best naturally to keep up a united front in Kashmir itself, in so far as this is possible. Anything that leads to further divisions in Kashmir may well be taken advantage of by our opponents not only in Pakistan but elsewhere. I hope that when constituting your new Ministry, you will bear this in mind.

The real thing, however, is the faith and goodwill of the people. Whatever may happen in the future, it is this ultimately that will count. Here in India, the recent general elections had given us a shock in spite of our success. We should learn a lesson from this. In Kashmir it is important that your organization should be in good trim and have a reputation for integrity and service of the people. It should be broad based. I repeat that it is this that will count in the end. We can never say what the future may bring us. But if the organization has this reputation of integrity and service, nothing can make much difference.

I know that you are popular in Kashmir and this is a very great asset. But an individual's popularity, like mine for instance in India, though very useful, is not by itself enough. It is the organization that should count and also a feeling that people pull together. We have enough of disruptive tendencies in Kashmir. We should not add to them.

Also I do hope that you will try to clean up your administration so that people may have faith in its integrity. There are far too many charges made about lack of integrity. I have no doubt that most of these charges are not true or are exaggerated. But still this fairly widespread belief is not good from any point of view.

You will have seen that Aneurin Bevan has been talking rather cautiously after his return.<sup>5</sup> That is all right, because he has got to deal with his Party and there are some very anti-Indian people in his Party who have already expressed themselves about Kashmir in the wrong way. I have no doubt that Bevan's influence will be for the good. But he has also stressed that he hoped that people under detention would be released. Perhaps you cannot do this fully. But when the time comes, a substantial beginning might well be made.

5. Aneurin Bevan, the British Labour Party leader, was on a tour of India during March-April 1957 when he visited several places including Kashmir.

I receive from time to time complaints of individuals about being beaten and otherwise ill-treated. I know that there is a great deal of propaganda in this. But I hope you will make sure that there is no such rough and ready treatment accorded to people. It has a bad effect.

We shall be having a new session of Parliament soon<sup>6</sup> and a little later you will no doubt send your own nominees to Parliament here. I hope you will let me know whom you intend sending.

I am going to Ceylon for three days on the 17th returning on the 20th May evening. Next month I shall be leaving on the 14th June for Europe. I expect to return in just under a month.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. The first session of the Lok Sabha after the 1957 general elections began on 10 May 1957.

## 5. To Jose Manuel Rivas Sacconi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 10, 1957

My dear Minister,<sup>2</sup>

We have noted with appreciation the special contribution of Colombia during the recent discussions of the Kashmir question in the Security Council.<sup>3</sup> I also recall my long talks with Dr Lozano<sup>4</sup> during his several visits here as Chairman of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan.

We believe that an exchange of views on the Kashmir question between our two Governments now would be useful. We, therefore, decided to depute Mr G.S. Pathak as a special representative with the rank of Ambassador to visit Colombia to meet Your Excellency and other members of your Government. I

1. JN Collection.

2. Minister of Foreign Relations, Government of Colombia.

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, p. 404.

4. Alfred Lozano.



am grateful to Your Excellency's Government for agreeing to receive our special representative.

Mr Pathak is one of our eminent lawyers and is Legal Adviser to the Ministry of External Affairs. He has been a member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations for the past many years and was part of the Indian team during the recent Security Council debates on Kashmir.

I hope Your Excellency will be good enough to receive Mr Pathak and that the discussions you would have with him on the various aspects of the Kashmir question will serve to bring about a fuller understanding by your Government of the question and of our position.

Mr Pathak will be accompanied by Mr M.E. Chacko, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations in New York.

I feel sure that this visit<sup>5</sup> will help to forge another link of goodwill and understanding between our two countries.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. On 13 May, Arthur Lall informed M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, that Colombia's representative to the UN, Francisco Urrutia, had advised him that Pathak's visit might be deferred for a month. Lall wrote that Urrutia "was very definite that it would not be practicable for a visit to take place in the present circumstance." On 10 May 1957, President Gustavo Rojas Pillina was overthrown in a coup and a new Government headed by Gabriel Paris came to power in Colombia.

## 6. To Gonzalo Guell<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
10 May 1957

My dear Minister of State,<sup>2</sup>

We were glad to receive your Minister, His Excellency Mr Jorge Govantes Y Aguirre,<sup>3</sup> in Delhi recently. He had talks with me, Mr Krishna Menon and senior officers. We look forward to meeting him again and frequently.

One of the subjects which we discussed with your Minister was Kashmir upon which Dr Gunnar Jarring has submitted his report to the Security Council.

I believe that an exchange of views on the Kashmir question between our two Governments will be most useful. We, therefore, decided to depute Mr G.S. Pathak as a special representative with the rank of Ambassador to visit Cuba to meet Your Excellency and such other members of your Government or officers as Your Excellency may desire. We mentioned to Mr Jorge Govantes Y Aguirre our intention to send a special representative, and he has no doubt informed Your Excellency. Our Ambassador to Havana has also intimated this to the Government of Cuba. We are grateful to Your Excellency for kindly agreeing to receive Mr Pathak in Havana.

Mr Pathak is a very eminent lawyer and is Legal Adviser to the Ministry of External Affairs. He has been a Member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations for the past many years and also assisted our Representative at the recent meetings of the Security Council on Kashmir.

I hope Your Excellency will be good enough to receive Mr Pathak and that the opportunities that Your Excellency and others will have to discuss the various aspects of the Kashmir question will contribute to a fuller understanding of the facts of the question and of our position.

Mr Pathak knows your Permanent Representative, Dr Emilio Nunez Portuondo,<sup>4</sup> having met him several times during the last few years. He has had talks with Dr Portuondo on Kashmir. We also mentioned to Dr Portuondo at the time of the debates that we would like to send Mr Pathak to Havana, and we were glad to learn from Dr Portuondo that such a visit would be appreciated.

1. JN Collection.

2. Gonzalo Guell was Minister of State since 1956 and Prime Minister of Cuba from 12 March 1958 to 1 March 1959.

3. Envoy Extraordinary of Cuba to India.

4. Cuban Representative to the United Nations; Prime Minister of Cuba from 6 to 12 March 1958.



Mr Pathak will be accompanied by Mr M.E. Chacko, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations in New York.

I sincerely hope that Mr Pathak's visit will forge another link of goodwill and understanding between our two countries.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. To Vishnu Sahay<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 14, 1957

My dear Vishnu Sahay,<sup>2</sup>

I enclose some letters, etc., about the issue of permits to the Kashmiri students.<sup>3</sup> Two of these have come tonight.

As I told you this morning, all this is going to react very much against us now. Pakistan will make much of it, and, no doubt, the foreign correspondents here will send messages to American and British newspapers. It was all very well to punish these students, but it is not at all wise to create a boomerang effect which injures us.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Secretary, Kashmir Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs.

3. For a previous reference, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 37, p. 445.

## 8. To Lakshmi N. Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 24, 1957

My dear Lakshmi,<sup>2</sup>

There was a question yesterday in the Rajya Sabha about the Jarring report. I came in just at the end when you were dealing with supplementaries. As I was entering I heard your answer to a supplementary to the effect that a statement in Jarring's report was not quite correct because no definite proposal for arbitration was put to the Government of India.<sup>3</sup> I was rather taken aback by this. I tried to tone your answer down in a subsequent supplementary.<sup>4</sup>

This morning, however, the papers have played up your remarks and it is somewhat embarrassing. No doubt you made the remark from some statement in the file.<sup>5</sup> But nevertheless it was not a quite correct answer and anyhow might prove embarrassing to us and rub up Jarring needlessly.

I am merely writing to you to point out how small things might make a difference if we are not careful.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Deputy Minister, Ministry of External Affairs.

3. Mrs Menon stated that Jarring's report suggested that arbitration was simultaneously referred to India and Pakistan; Pakistan accepted it and India rejected it. She followed this by saying: "But this is not quite correct because no definite proposal for arbitration was put to the Government of India. When it was suggested to us and we had objections, he abandoned it."

4. Nehru, while defending the position taken by Mrs Menon in the Rajya Sabha, stated that her remarks probably meant that there was a reference in Jarring's report to a number of proposals being made. "My own impression", said Nehru, "was that it was not to that effect." He added: "There is no incorrectness in the sense of something wrong being said, but a wrong impression, according to us, may be gathered from some remarks."

5. Perhaps Nehru was referring to the instructions sent by Krishna Menon to Arthur Lall on 3 May. See *ante*, p. 414.



## 9. Dulles's Statement<sup>1</sup>

Please see the attached two short notice questions<sup>2</sup> in the Lok Sabha. On the whole, I think I should accept them. If so, I shall answer them on May 30th.

2. This might mean my having to lay a copy of Mr Dulles's answer on the Table of the House. I am rather reluctant to do that. If I do it, I shall have to put our letter of protest also. Perhaps, the best thing would be to give a brief answer.

3. I might, perhaps, take advantage of this occasion to clear up any misunderstanding that may have arisen from the answer given by Deputy Minister on Jarring's report.<sup>3</sup> But I can only do so in the course of a supplementary. I can hardly bring it in this answer.

4. As we propose to send a reply to Mr Dulles's communication,<sup>4</sup> this also will be a reason for not placing papers on the Table of the House.

5. What is your advice? If you agree that an answer should be given, you might draft it.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 25 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. These related to a US reply to the Indian note of protest against the reported use of the word "annexation" by Dulles, US Secretary of State, to a Congressional sub-committee on 29 January 1957 to define India's relationship with Kashmir. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 37, p. 501.

3. See the previous item.

4. Nehru informed the Lok Sabha on 30 May that Dulles had explained in his letters that "he did not use the term as such, but rather it was used by the questioner, and it was in reply to the question that perhaps it was repeated."

## 10. Publicity Work Abroad<sup>1</sup>

I have read these papers.

I have come regretfully to the conclusion that our publicity work in regard to Kashmir has not been a success. I do not think this is the fault so much of our work at headquarters, but rather of our Missions abroad. Our headquarters are concerned in so far as they could not push the Missions abroad to do something effective. We send them, I suppose, bundles of papers but they do not seem to reach even the people who profit by them and who want them.

I am not in favour of missions wandering about all over the world, though it might be advantageous to send some odd individuals to some special places. Thus, Father D'Souza<sup>2</sup> might be helpful in some places both on Kashmir and Goa.

In India what is certainly necessary is a clear understanding of the issue as it stands at present. I do not think many people have that understanding here. This does not mean some kind of an intensive propaganda rousing up people's passions. But it means that important newspapers and certain organizations should be made to understand this position. Shri Narayanan,<sup>3</sup> who you have mentioned, would be a good man to do this. Merely to supply bundles of papers to various people is not helpful. Therefore, the work in India is quite educative work which of course should be reflected from time to time in articles in newspapers, periodicals, etc. Your talking points are useful.

I think that the AIR should be rather careful about this matter.

Something has got to be done to shake up our Missions abroad. I sent a note, I think, to FS<sup>4</sup> yesterday about a visit of Shri Nath Pai,<sup>5</sup> MP, to various countries of Europe. He said that except for Bonn and London, he found almost a blank in our Missions so far as Kashmir was concerned. In fact people there, including Ministers of Foreign Governments, complained to him that they did not know

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 28 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. The reference might be to Jerome D'Souza, Principal of Loyola College, Chennai, and a member of the Indian Delegation to the UN in 1957.

3. Edatata Narayanan (1891-1959); journalist and freedom fighter; Member, Congress Socialist Party; joined the Socialist Party in 1948; later joined the Communist Party but left it in 1956; started the daily, *Patriot*, and was also associated with weekly, *Link*, along with Aruna Asaf Ali; author of *Praja Socialism: Monopoly's Pawn*.

4. Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary. See *post*, pp. 447-448.

5. (1922-1971); PSP member of the Lok Sabha from Bombay State; Member of the second, third and fourth Lok Sabha.



the facts about Kashmir and they were not supplied to them. Even the most elementary facts were not known. Therefore, we must shake up our Missions and tell them about the importance of this question as well as of Goa. I think we might well include Goa in our publicity campaign. Our foreign Missions should frequently approach the Governments concerned to explain this. Whenever any development takes place, they should explain that from our point of view. Secondly, they should keep in intimate touch with the press on this subject. I do not think all this involves any major expense. It only requires intelligence and energy.

There is no question of violent propaganda. It is only quiet, consistent and continuous pressing on our viewpoint that is necessary.

The United Kingdom is of course important and something has been done there. But even there somehow we have not achieved the results we ought to have done. It should be easier to work in the United Kingdom. Previously we had an easy approach to Labour as well as to others. Mr Nye Bevan complained of lack of information.<sup>6</sup>

All this is not due, I think, to lack of desire or even lack of work, but to a misdirection of our efforts both here and elsewhere. I think that the India League with its contacts, especially with Labour circles, in England could help. Here again I do not think much money is required though a little might be necessary. I think it is all wrong to think in terms of large scale expenditure.

I repeat that I am against the sending of missions abroad. I do not think the Defence Minister can go about visiting various parts of the world. He has to be here most of the time and then he has to be in the UN.

I have no objection to Haksar<sup>7</sup> accompanying me when I go to Europe. This might do some good. You might consult SG<sup>8</sup> about this.

I agree that we should utilize some of our students in the USA as suggested. A.K. Mitra certainly would be useful in Latin America.

6. In reply to a question by H.C. Mathur in the Lok Sabha, on 22 May 1957, as to how the Government accounted for a situation like "Aneurin Bevan's complaint in so many words that India's case on Kashmir was never explained to the British public", Nehru stated: "It is a very difficult matter to deal with in answer to a supplementary question. Maybe, it is due to errors of the Government or our Missions abroad to some extent, but they are also due to various other causes. We are always trying to improve the publicity apparatus. If the honourable Member has any particular idea on the subject, we shall welcome it."

7. P.N. Haksar, Director, External Publicity, Ministry of External Affairs, 1955-58.

8. N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA.

## 11. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 4, 1957

My dear Bakhshi,

I have just received your letter of June 3. I am sorry you could not come to the meeting of the National Development Council. It was a good meeting and brought out very vividly the serious crisis that we are facing today in regard to financial and economic matters. This crisis is due to many causes but, essentially, it is the food situation that has aggravated it.

Of course you could not come because of your floods and other problems. I am very sorry that you and the people of Kashmir have now to face this new disaster.

I enclose a cheque for Rs 15,000/- for relief.

I saw Datar Singh<sup>2</sup> today. He told me about various developments in Ladakh and elsewhere in Kashmir. One fact struck me as odd. Apparently you were giving a good deal of rice to the Jammu area as well as Ladakh and both of these areas are principally wheat-eating. I gather that this is being remedied.

I am leaving Delhi on the 14th June morning for Europe and I shall return on the night of the 14th July or perhaps the early morning of the 15th July. I do not like going away from India when there are so many problems facing us all round and so many difficulties. But I am afraid I must go on this occasion and there is not much choice left.

I have just received a telegram,<sup>3</sup> a copy of which I attach.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Development Adviser for Kashmir, Government of India, 1955-59.

3. This telegram dated 3 June, was from the "General Public, Anantnag". It spoke of a fuel crisis in the town and termed as "unbearable, unjust and cruel" the extreme enhancement in rates. The telegram prayed for immediate action from the Prime Minister "lest situation may further deteriorate."



## 12. Some Administrative Issues<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State, Shri Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad is here and I met him this evening. He is anxious to improve his administrative and other services and wants some good men from us. It is important that we send him good men and not just anyone we can spare. Will you please discuss this matter with him and try to accommodate him?

He asked me today about the functioning of the Auditor-General in his State. This matter, as you know, was discussed in the Cabinet today.<sup>2</sup> While it is not necessary, I think, to issue any kind of Presidential Declaration at present, I think that the Auditor-General should function fully there.<sup>3</sup> You might enquire into this matter too.

1. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 13 June 1957. JN Collection.

2. At the meeting, the Home Minister, G.B. Pant, stated that Jammu and Kashmir Government had agreed to the extension of the jurisdiction of the Comptroller and Auditor-General to the State and that the necessary administrative arrangements would take some time. He assured the Cabinet that no difficulty would arise if the formal Presidential Order was postponed. The Cabinet agreed that the proposed Presidential Order need not be issued for the present.

3. The jurisdiction of the Comptroller and Auditor-General was formally extended to Jammu and Kashmir in 1958.











## 1. To Shriman Narayan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 4, 1957

My dear Shriman,<sup>2</sup>

Gadre Guruji<sup>3</sup> sometimes writes to me about Goa specially and about the formation of a peace brigade, etc., not only for Goa but generally for the whole of the country.<sup>4</sup> In one of his letters he mentioned that he had spoken to Vinobaji on this subject. Perhaps he might do so again.

It struck me that I might put down on paper my thoughts about this problem, partly to help myself to think about it. I have, therefore, today prepared a note,<sup>5</sup> copy of which I enclose. This must be treated as strictly confidential. I should like you, however, to show it to Vinobaji and if there is time, you could have some brief talk with him on this subject. I should like to have his reactions, because I value his opinion, even though I might not be able to follow it fully in the circumstances I am placed.

This letter is being taken by S.K.Dey,<sup>6</sup> who is going to the Sarvodaya Sammelan<sup>7</sup> to meet Vinobaji. S.K.Dey has another copy of this note. But I would like you to give it to Vinobaji.

I would repeat that I want this to be treated as secret and not to be shown to or talked about with others.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Shriman Narayan Papers, NMML.

2. General Secretary, AICC.

3. Satya Sevak Gadre, Sarvodaya worker of Wardha.

4. Nehru stated in a note to his Private Secretary on 12 July that he should, while replying to Satya Sevak Gadre's latest letter (date not available) say that the Prime Minister had given very careful consideration to this and two of his other letters. As for Gadre's letter of 8 April and 1 May, regarding the maintenance of defence forces, Nehru asked his Private Secretary to write to Gadre stating: "I cannot advise my government or our Parliament to reduce the defence forces. Even if I was of that opinion, I could not go against the declared will of our Parliament. But I am very anxious that at a suitable opportunity we should move in that direction."

5. See the next item.

6. Surendra Kumar Dey, Minister for Community Development, 1956-58.

7. Held at Kaladi in Kerala from 9 to 11 May 1957.

## 2. Need for Non-violent Defence Techniques<sup>1</sup>

Suggestions are sometimes made that, in accordance with Mahatma Gandhi's approach, India should put an end to her armed forces and rely on peaceful methods alone to preserve her independence and way of life. This proposal may be given effect to, it is suggested, gradually in the course of a few years.

2. Even before Independence, the Congress organization found itself unable to accept this approach from a practical point of view, although it had the greatest respect for it and in fact had adopted it in the internal struggle for independence. After Independence, it was the Congress Government's desire to gradually reduce her armed forces, though it never thought in terms of abolishing them completely. The reason for this was partly our previous background of peaceful action and partly to avoid heavy expenditure on the armed forces. Just then came the Pakistan invasion of Kashmir.<sup>2</sup> This checked the process of reducing our armed forces. In spite of this, however, a certain progressive reduction was made during the next few years. It was only recently, that is, about a year or so ago, that this process of reduction was stopped because of the aggressive policy of the Pakistan Government and their constant threats of war.<sup>3</sup>

3. Even so, the Indian Army and other armed forces are relatively small from the point of view of the size and importance of India. Apart from the possibility of use in war, they are used in many ways including as frontier guards and at check-posts along our thousands of miles of frontier. Most of this frontier is with Pakistan or with China (Tibet).

4. Even though our armed forces are not big, the expenditure on them has gone up considerably, because modern weapons are expensive and there appears to be no point in keeping second-rate weapons. An attempt is made to manufacture this equipment as far as possible in India. This is making progress, though it will take some years before India can be considered more or less self-sufficient in this respect.

5. Recent developments vis-a-vis Pakistan and the increasing danger of a possible attack on India from Pakistan have compelled us to spend more on armaments than we would otherwise have done. Indeed, but for this constant and grave danger, our armed forces might well have been reduced considerably.

1. Note, New Delhi, 4 May 1957. Shriman Narayan Papers, NMML. See also the preceding item.

2. On 22 October 1947.

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, pp. 639-640.



6. We have had some trouble in the Naga Hills in the North-East. If we had followed British methods of the past, we could probably have suppressed this by bombing and by indiscriminate killing. We have deliberately avoided all this and our approach has been such that we can win over these people rather than terrorize them into submission. It is true that we have had to fight them because they attacked and killed. On the whole, the situation is now a little favourable in the Naga Hills and our friendly approaches are bearing fruit. But it cannot be said with certainty when this matter will be finally settled.

7. When the Pakistan invasion took place in Kashmir in October, 1947, even Mahatma Gandhi was of opinion that, in the circumstances, the Indian Army should go to the help of the Kashmiris who had been massacred and looted. The general impression in Parliament among all parties was that we must keep strong armed forces and not weaken them in any way. In fact, Government has been criticized for trying to reduce these forces. While every kind of major expenditure is critically examined in Parliament, there is little objection to the heavy expenditure on the armed forces except in details. Parliament in this matter presumably represents the broad public opinion of India.

8. When we started reducing our army some few years ago and disbanding some Regiments, we had to face a new problem. There was a tendency for some of these disbanded soldiers, more especially in Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat, to turn to dacoity. We offered alternative employment to them and some accepted. But some preferred the freer and perhaps more lucrative life of occasional dacoity. Indeed these dacoit bands in these areas have been a great menace to the people there and the nature of the terrain helps them as it is full of ravines. These bands have existed there for centuries.

9. The question of use of armed forces arises for (1) protection from external invasion, and (2) internal use, if necessary. Normally the police does the internal work, but as in the case of the Naga Hills the Army is called in.

10. It has been proposed that some kind of a Peace Brigade (*Shanti Sena*) should be formed to take the place of the Army. It is not clear how such a Peace Brigade would function at all if an external enemy attacks the country. The attack would be by air when it does not even come in contact with any individuals on the other side, or it may be by armies with tanks, etc, shooting their way in. There also there is little contact. The functioning of a Peace Brigade would really begin when an army of occupation has taken position, that is to say, organized civil resistance might take place against the occupying army and the Peace Brigade can take the lead. But it will not be able to stop the internal invasion unless it be said that a peaceful policy of a country will itself be a deterrent to any invasion. That, of course, is an argument that has substance. But it cannot be said with any assurance that that must happen. Few governments

can take the risk of their country being invaded by a superior force, relying on passive resistance against the invader later. Even if a government is so inclined, general public opinion will not accept such a policy and would change the government.

11. Apart from this, any kind of passive resistance necessitates disciplined people prepared to resist peacefully unto death. This is not merely a question of a trained Peace Brigade but also of the general populace which must at least support that Peace Brigade and have a measure of discipline.

12. At the present moment in India this type of discipline appears to be wholly lacking and there are many anti-social elements who would like to take advantage of any opportunity that comes their way because of the slackening of the administration. Some of these anti-social elements deliberately aim at chaotic conditions. Not only religion is exploited to this end but also caste considerations. We have also seen how linguistic and provincial considerations break up the unity of the nation.

13. Thus, it is for consideration whether the principle of doing away with armed forces is a principle applicable in all circumstances or only when it may be said that the mass of the people have been trained up to it. If there is no such training or if disruptive forces are too strong, the whole structure of the nation may collapse and morale crack up completely. Sheer fear and cowardice may overwhelm the nation and the relatively small number of brave men might make little difference with such chaotic conditions prevailing. The question, therefore, arises as to whether we have this discipline of a nation in India at present to face these grave perils of invasion, etc., in a calm, determined and peaceful manner. It is very doubtful if this is so and it appears certain that by far the greater majority of people in India are not going to be convinced in favour of putting an end to our armed forces.

14. Ever since the last world war, developments in the technique of warfare and the production of weapons of mass destruction have been very great. The hydrogen bomb typifies this, but, as a matter of fact, there are many other weapons which are terrible in their consequences. Nuclear and thermonuclear weapons are now possessed in considerable quantities by only two countries, namely, the USA and the USSR. England is third on the list and probably has some nuclear weapons and is trying to develop the hydrogen bomb. There have been many test explosions by these three countries and there is a growing opposition to them all over the world because such an explosion lets loose radioactive elements which poison the atmosphere and injure life of all kinds. There is some argument among scientists as to the extent of this poisoning and danger, but all agree that in some measure this is done. The more the explosions the greater the danger, which affects people for years, as the fallout comes down



and enters into the very fibres of living substances. In particular, it is supposed to be dangerous from the genetic point of view.

15. Since the development of the hydrogen bomb, the atomic bomb has almost been considered a conventional weapon. People talk about tactical warfare and strategic warfare, the former presumably being of a more limited kind, though even so it is a weapon of mass slaughter. It is generally admitted that if this so-called tactical war commences, then it may well lead to what is called strategic war. It is further admitted that this strategic war in which long distance missiles will be used with atomic warheads, can bring terrible destruction. Ten hydrogen bombs, it is said, may completely destroy England. Thus, any strategic war may well mean the utter destruction of large numbers of countries directly and at the same time terrible injury to other countries, even those not involved in the war, because of radioactive elements which will spread out all over the world. Thus, everybody almost agrees that such a strategic war with thermonuclear weapons should be ruled out. Yet, in spite of this, preparations for it and accumulations of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons as well as test explosions continue, because each party fears the other.

16. It is said that the hydrogen bomb and other like weapons are deterrents to this big scale war. This theory of deterrents is now relied upon chiefly as a justification for proceeding with this type of experiment as well as stockpiling of these weapons. The result is that the world lives in a state of terror, no one being quite sure when these weapons might not be let loose for the destruction of a large part of humanity.

17. This is the present position, but constant improvements are being made in these terrible weapons, their destructive power is being increased, their range becomes greater and, to some extent, they become relatively cheaper. The possibility is that if this kind of thing goes on, some other countries may also be producing these atomic and hydrogen bombs. It will then become increasingly difficult for any effective control of them.

18. Some realization of this has come not only to the peoples of the world but even to governments and, therefore, the talks on disarmament have become a little more realistic. But even so, fear and hatred are barriers to any agreement on disarmament.

19. Today the only two really powerful nations, from the point of view of military might, are the USA and the USSR. All the others are far behind. In fact, there cannot be a real world war unless one or both of these countries are involved in it. A question arises: When other countries are powerless before the hydrogen bomb and similar weapons, how far is it worthwhile or justifiable for them to keep old fashioned armies with conventional arms. Such armies would be of little use to face the hydrogen bomb and it may be a waste of money to keep

such old-fashioned armies. The financial burden of armament has grown tremendously and is affecting the living standards of people, even in the advanced countries. No country, excepting to some extent the US and the USSR, can keep both types of armies. England had recently to make a choice and it has decided to reduce its conventional armies and concentrate on the hydrogen bombs and nuclear weapons as deterrents. It is of course admitted that if war does occur, the hydrogen bomb will not save England from destruction. All it can do is to destroy some other country at the same time. The argument is that it will be a deterrent to an attack on England by any other country.

20. Gradually it is becoming evident that this argument has no reason or logic behind it, apart from moral considerations. A body of opinion is slowly rising in England which actually says that there is no particular point in England having armies of any kind, whether armed with conventional weapons or nuclear weapons, because in England they will serve little purpose. Therefore England should think rather of preserving its freedom if attacked by methods akin to passive resistance or guerilla warfare. This is an interesting development, but this idea will not easily spread, as people have been so used to thinking in other terms. Yet, the fact remains that the tremendous growth of these new and terrible weapons is bringing home to people the futility of war and is making them think on different lines.

21. To give up major armies means necessarily to give up any dominion over another country or colony. It means also giving up the old style of politics, that is, influencing the policies of another country by armed power. There is also of course the influence of money power. In the present state of the world it may well mean that all military power is concentrated in the hands of the two great colossuses, the USA and the USSR, until some new development takes place which will lead to large scale disarmament. Even so, highly industrialized nations, which develop nuclear power, can always make nuclear weapons without much trouble as well as other weapons of mass slaughter. Ultimately, therefore, as Einstein said once, the way to control nuclear energy is to control the mind and heart of man.

22. How does all this apply to India? Broadly speaking, India is not threatened by any great power and it could take many risks, even from the practical point of view. There is certainly a continuing threat from Pakistan which has increased its armed might very greatly because of assistance from the USA. This apprehension is increased because of the political and economic instability of Pakistan and the concentration of power in a few hands, notably the Army. The mere fact of progressive disintegration might lead to adventures and India, obviously weak from the point of view of armed forces, may well be an invitation to Pakistan to attack.



23. Can any responsible Government in India take this risk? If it tried to do so, it would be disowned not only by Parliament but by a great majority of the people also. Even if an attempt was to be made, what would take the place of armed forces—some kind of a moral force or peace brigade or a disciplined nation prepared courageously to face all consequences?

24. In spite of many good people, it can hardly be said that India has that moral strength as a whole or discipline or calm courage which can face death peacefully without surrendering to evil. Apart from invasion, even internally there are so many disruptive and anti-social forces which would try to take advantage of such a situation. What then should India's policy be on the question of maintenance of armed forces?

25. We can of course try our best for progressive disarmament all over the world as well as to reduce tensions in the world and lessen the fear and hatred that consume many countries. That has been India's general policy. But in this India has to wait for world developments. Those developments can be to some extent helped by India's policy.

26. Then there are questions like Goa. It has been repeatedly stated on behalf of India that we do not wish to adopt methods of violence in regard to Goa. This is in keeping with our general outlook and policy. Also any attempt at violence might lead to major reactions against us in the world and affect our position in other matters also. While this is so, what is one to do about Goa? To accept the Goan situation as it is and not do anything effective is obviously bad. Various economic and like measures have been taken to bring pressure on Portuguese Government at Goa, but these have not produced the results expected of them.

27. Suggestions are sometimes made that some kind of a peace brigade should perform satyagraha in Goa. Previous attempts at so-called satyagraha there, though bravely intentioned, were hardly satyagraha. The main purpose was to come in conflict with the Portuguese authorities and create such a situation that the Government of India is compelled to send its armed forces there. The Portuguese are perhaps more insensible than any other country to the idea underlying satyagraha. They live in a world of the Middle Ages and believe themselves to be the standard-bearers of Christian civilization. Also Goa is a symbol to them of the glories of their past empire. They have already shown enough brutality with Indian and Goan satyagrahis or others who opposed them.

28. There is the question of Kashmir where we have announced to the world repeatedly that we will not start any military operations, even though Pakistan is an aggressor and an invader and occupies nearly half of the territory of the State. But, we have also stated that if we are attacked, we shall fight and defend our country.

29. These various questions arise. The larger question of laying down a policy of progressive reduction of armed forces till there are practically none left, raises broad issues of world importance. That question will no doubt be affected by developments all over the world. The more important and immediate question for India is that of Goa and how to deal with it without resort to arms.

### 3. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 7, 1957

My dear Partap Singh,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of May 4. Since you wrote that, I have met you and have also written to you about my meeting the Arya Samaj deputation on the question of language.<sup>3</sup>

In your letter you refer to the question of civil defence. People talk rather vaguely about civil defence without quite realizing what this means in a modern war. Even in the Army people think of what they did in the last war. From all accounts civil defence arrangements even in England were not particularly helpful then, though they did some good in regard to firefighting.

Now with new developments especially in air warfare, civil defence takes a completely different shape. Indeed, it does not take any shape at all. Personally I think that it is waste of time and energy, apart from creating needless agitation and panic.

If unfortunately there is a war, it will be heralded by our cities being bombed. That is, air action will be the first offensive. This may be followed by military action. If we plan for withdrawals, it is bad strategy and bad morale. What we should plan for of course is always to have separate routes for people going to two directions—for the Army going in one direction and the people maybe in another. This kind of thing is always done, but this has nothing to do with any public notification at an earlier stage.

For the rest, we give training to selected officers. This is being done.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Punjab.

3. See *ante*, pp. 209-212.



#### 4. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

.....2. In view of great publicity given in London papers about alleged Russian offers of aircraft to us<sup>2</sup> and also mention of this in Opposition speeches in Parliament on budget debate, I propose to refer to this matter tomorrow in Lok Sabha.<sup>3</sup> I shall say that there have been no such offers and no requests from us. We are naturally interested in developments in various countries and keep in touch with them. There is nothing to prevent us from purchasing aircraft from Soviet should we so decide. An important consideration for us to bear in mind is mixing up of various types in our Air Force which creates difficulties.

1. New Delhi, 29 May 1957. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Krishna Menon telegraphed from New York 29 May, "The excitement about Russian aircraft has arisen from an article in the *Observer*" by its correspondent in New Delhi who "did not write anything very offensive but the headlines were colourful."

3. See *ante*, pp. 86-87.

#### 5. To M.K. Vellodi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 6, 1957

My dear Vellodi,<sup>2</sup>

Under pressure of circumstances, we have come to certain decisions about purchase of arms, aircraft and equipment. We have taken these decisions because there is no help for it.

Recently, a few days ago, Air Marshal Mukherjee<sup>3</sup> came to see me and expressed his concern about some type of aircraft which we, according to him, badly needed. The Defence Minister also spoke to me about this matter. It was

1. JN Collection.

2. Defence Secretary.

3. Subroto Mukherjee, Chief of Air Staff, 1954-60.

decided that the Defence Minister might privately and informally explore, during his visit to London,<sup>4</sup> what we could get there. Obviously we could not pay for it now. The question, therefore, was whether we could get these on some long-term credit terms.

I do not know what the result of his talks may have been.<sup>5</sup> He would probably be coming back fairly soon and I shall talk to him. But I am beginning to feel more and more that we are exceeding our bearable capacity in our expenditure on Defence. I realize the point of view of our Chiefs of Staff. They are discharging their responsibility in explaining to us the situation, as they see it. But there are limits beyond which we cannot go without the risk of breaking down completely.

In every direction we are trying to economize, and to prevent all kinds of unnecessary expenditure. This will have to apply to Defence also.

I am merely letting you know how my mind is working. We shall, of course, discuss these matters later.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. V.K. Krishna Menon visited London from 26-28 May 1957.

5. In his telegram of 29 May, sent from New York, Krishna Menon gave his initial report on the attitude of the UK Government: "Macmillan, Sandys, Minister for Defence, and Supply Minister, Aubrey Jones, all been very friendly and on supplies volunteered assurance of no political difficulties with regard to us. They are giving earnest consideration to making Hunter aircraft available in terms of Air Marshal Mukherjee's requirement by taking them out of RAF allocations which is the only way they can do it. They will let us know about their capacity in this respect shortly."



## 6. Border Security<sup>1</sup>

I have read this note. We should certainly be prepared to meet any possible emergency. I do not take a very alarmist view of the situation. However, we must be prepared.

2. Certainly the roads mentioned should be prepared as early as possible.

3. As for the evacuation of population from some areas, surely there can be no such evacuation till something has happened. To evacuate prematurely is to invite trouble. All that we can do is to have plans ready for this purpose.

4. As for the inquiry made by the COAS,<sup>2</sup> I have given the answer on several previous occasions. We have on many occasions announced that an attack by Pakistan on Kashmir will be considered an attack on India and we shall be free to take any steps against Pakistan anywhere. That remains our policy. But it does not follow from this that our military or air force authorities will automatically go into action anywhere they like against Pakistan in case of a Pakistan attack on Kashmir. We shall have to consider the situation then, the nature of the Pakistan attack, and decide accordingly. No more precise directions can be given. It is obvious that we cannot give a free hand to the Defence people to do what they like regardless of other circumstances. But obviously there should be as much readiness as possible.

5. About the airfield, the Defence Minister spoke to me of a way of constructing some runways which were to be in the nature of broad roads.

1. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, Defence Minister, 4 July 1957. JN Collection.

2. General K.S. Thimayya, Chief of Army Staff.

## 7. Appraisal of Defence Policy<sup>1</sup>

The Defence Committee of the Cabinet met on Friday, 26th July, at 9.30 am in Room No. 9, Parliament House. The Prime Minister presided over the meeting.

2. The Prime Minister referred to the grave situation that had arisen because of the large scale of military aid given by the United States to Pakistan and the active preparations being made in Pakistan for some kind of aggression on India. Apart from public statements made by leading personalities in Pakistan, there was the pamphlet<sup>2</sup> issued by ex-Major General Akbar Khan,<sup>3</sup> wherein he defined his line of action. This was to have large scale sabotage within Jammu and Kashmir State and at the same time trouble along the ceasefire line and attempts to push large numbers of people across that line. The objective appeared to be to weaken Jammu and Kashmir Government and at the same time to goad India into some kind of reprisal, which would then be met by the Pakistan Army.

3. The Prime Minister said that while the chances of war might be limited, it was not possible for them to be ignored completely and for the grave risk to be taken and to be caught unprepared in an emergency. From all accounts it appeared that there might be trouble in October-November or trouble may begin then and continue on an increasing scale. The Chiefs of Staff had drawn attention to this situation and pointed out that in order to be prepared to meet any emergency, it was necessary to take immediate steps to add to our armaments and defence apparatus. In particular, it was necessary to have an adequate supply of aircraft which was good enough to meet the Sabre jets which Pakistan possessed in large numbers owing to American aid. This meant an immediate order being placed for the new Hunter type of aircraft which had been inspected fully by

1. Minutes of the meetings of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet held on 26 and 27 July 1957, and recorded on 27 July 1957. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. See *post*, p. 704.
3. Mohammad Akbar Khan (b. 1912); Commissioned, British Indian Army, 1934; member, sub-committee involved in partitioning the armed forces between India and Pakistan, 1947; led the irregular and regular forces of Pakistan in the invasion of Jammu and Kashmir, with the codename 'General Tariq'; Chief of General Staff, Pakistan Army, in the rank of Major General, 1950; arrested and imprisoned in the Rawalpindi conspiracy case for plotting to overthrow Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, February 1951; formed a political party, Millat, 1957; organized the Kashmir Liberation Workers' Committee at Lahore, 1957; Chief of National Security under Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.



senior officers of the Air Force and approved. This meant also a very heavy expenditure almost entirely in foreign exchange. At a time when a very critical situation had arisen in regard to foreign exchange, it was exceedingly difficult to think of adding to that very great burden. This was the problem they had to face.

4. The Chiefs of Staff of Army and Air Force explained the situation and the relative weakness of the present Indian aircraft and some other arms in view of the new aircraft, etc., that Pakistan had obtained. They explained also the possible developments in case of hostilities.

5. The Chief of Air Staff was asked how this additional heavy demand was made only four or five months after a previous demand for aircraft had been accepted. His reply was that conditions had changed since then because of the information we had received about the heavy arming of the Pakistan Air Force by better aircraft.

6. There was prolonged discussion among the members of the Defence Committee. The Committee adjourned, but the Prime Minister said that the Cabinet Ministers, who were members of the Committee, would meet again that afternoon to discuss this matter further amongst themselves....

9. The Defence Committee Members of the Cabinet met again at 4 p.m. on Saturday, the 27th July, in the Prime Minister's room in Parliament House and continued the previous discussion about the purchase of aircraft....

10. The Defence Minister said that he had given very careful thought to the matter again and had consulted the senior advisers in the Defence Ministry. As a result, they had prepared another paper which was circulated. In this paper, the delivery of aircraft and the payment for them was re-arranged and staggered. As a result, the total cost was reduced by nearly rupees three crores and the foreign exchange loan was spread out, it being somewhat lighter in the years 1957 and 1958. Certain alternatives for negotiations were also presented.

11. In the course of the discussion, considerable stress was laid on the dangers of the financial situation and the grave risk of adding to these dangers by fresh heavy purchases. At the same time, Members recognized the other risk and danger also, of not being fully prepared in case a war emergency arose.

12. The Prime Minister pointed out that apart from the immediate issue, it was urgently necessary for a full appreciation to be made of our general defence policy as well as the policy governing the weapons to be purchased or manufactured and used. Unless there was clear thinking on these issues, wasteful expenditure would be incurred in ad hoc purchases of weapons which might not be considered necessary in the larger policy governing our defence. Therefore, very early steps should be taken by the Defence Ministry to have such an appreciation made of Defence policy and of policy governing weapons. Also,

the Defence Ministry should endeavour to see what economies can be made in the rest of their budget.

13. The Defence Minister said that he was already taking steps for such appreciations of defence policy to be made by the Chiefs of Staff and eminent defence scientists. He added also that he would have the question of further economies examined.....

17. After further discussion, it was decided that the proposed orders for the new Hunter aircraft should be placed as suggested in the new paper, but every attempt should be made to stagger them and the payment for them as well as to get as favourable terms as possible....



## PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS





## 1. Payment of Allowances to Goans<sup>1</sup>

I mentioned to you this morning that we should take immediate steps to stop many of the allowances that we are paying to certain Goans. I do not think we need wait for our Foreign Affairs Committee meeting for this. In fact, this has nothing to do with the Foreign Affairs Committee meeting.

Shri Azim Husain,<sup>2</sup> in his first note, has referred to all these allowances and has mentioned that, in regard to a number of them, both the Bombay Government and our Liaison Officer recommend that they should be discontinued. I would suggest that wherever this recommendation has been made, these allowances should be forthwith discontinued. This would apply more especially to allowances being given to Dr T.B. Cunha,<sup>3</sup> Peter Alvares,<sup>4</sup> Shri Sawant, Shri Bhonsle, and Dr Laura D'Souza. There may be others also who have been so recommended. The other allowances may continue for the time being, though I am inclined to think that we shall have to take some steps in regard to them also later. There is the case of Dr Gaitonde.<sup>5</sup> I suggested that you might have a talk with him. There is also the case of Kakodkar.<sup>6</sup> We shall deal with this separately later.

I am rather worried at the heavy expenditure incurred by us in other ways including the very heavy charges on the Police and Customs staff of 4,000 persons. We shall have to deal with it a little later after our policy has been reviewed.

As I mentioned to you today, I am beginning to doubt the necessity or even the desirability of keeping a special Liaison Officer in Bombay. You told me that this would be necessary at least for another two or three months. We may consider this later in connection with the review of our policy.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 2 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. Joint Secretary (West), Ministry of External Affairs.

3. Founder of the Goa Congress Committee, Goa Action Committee and the Goan Youth League in Bombay.

4. President, National Congress, Goa and a member of the Praja Socialist Party's executive committee. Alvares participated in the movement for Goa's liberation from 1952 to 1961.

5. P.D. Gaitonde, eminent surgeon and advocate of Goa's freedom. As a member of the Goa Action Committee, he had assisted the MEA for a few months in 1955 in the field of publicity regarding Goa.

6. Purshottam Kakodkar, a Goan nationalist leader who returned to India in 1956 after being in a Lisbon jail since 1946. He sought financial help from the Government to continue his work relating to the Goan freedom movement. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, pp. 417-418.

## 2. Raising the Morale of Goans<sup>1</sup>

Purshottam Kakodkar came to see me yesterday for the second time. I had a talk with him. As he was going away, he gave me the attached letter.

2. In view of uncertainties in our own mind, I could not give him any precise directions as to what he should do, although he was anxious that I should do so.

3. In his letter, he has mentioned a few matters:

- (i) That some constructive workers doing Khadi and like work settle down near the border on our side. Apparently, the Khadi Board<sup>2</sup> people are prepared to arrange this. These people would not in fact do anything directly political but would do constructive work quietly and thus raise the morale in that area. If possible, they could go and do this work in Goa itself later.  
I said I had no objection to this. In fact, I would welcome this work being done.
- (ii) He thinks that Goans, i.e., persons having their homes in Goa, but who are now outside Goa should try to go back to Goa for quiet constructive work. This does not mean satyagraha or any disobedience of laws. This would depend on the Portuguese Government's machinery.
- (iii) Kakodkar asked me what the attitude of the Goans should be if Portugal made any real proposal there for some form of even restricted self-government as well as civil liberties. This would be a matter between the Goans and the Portuguese Government. India does not come into the picture. I told Kakodkar that if any real advance was made in Goa and people could function freely, I would welcome it.
- (iv) Kakodkar suggested that a deputation of Goans who had suffered long imprisonment should be sent abroad to England, US, UNO, etc., to explain the Goan viewpoint. I told him I did not see any benefit in this.
- (v) He referred to Nagar Haveli where, he said, conditions were not at all good. He had been there some little time back. Why should not an attempt be made to make Nagar Haveli, etc., rather a model place so that this might be compared to conditions in Goa.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 12 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. The Khadi and Village Industries Commission was set up on 1 April 1957 to promote khadi and village industries. To advise the Commission on the implementation of its schemes a Khadi and Village Industries Board was also set up.



There is something in this. We have allowed matters to drift a great deal in these places and we cannot, of course, directly interfere, more especially now when there is a case before the World Court. Nevertheless, perhaps something could be done.

### 3. Talks with Members of Parliament<sup>1</sup>

The talks we had with the MPs today were interesting.<sup>2</sup> They indicated that the opposition MPs who had been closely associated with various types of agitation in regard to Goa, were taking a much more realistic view of the situation. This should help us to come to our own conclusions.

2. Soon after the next session of Parliament begins, that is, in the third week of July or so,<sup>3</sup> I shall have another meeting of this kind. But, there are some things that we can do even before that. The first thing is that we should now arrange a meeting of the Goan leaders in Bombay. We should meet them all together. I suggest that we might meet them on Monday, the 10th June.<sup>4</sup> Two or three days ago, I received a letter signed by about a dozen or more of them. I think all those people who have signed that letter, should be invited, plus a few others whom you consider necessary.

3. Meanwhile:

- (i) We should give effect to the decisions arrived at at the last Foreign Affairs Committee meeting in regard to slackening of various

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 27 May 1957. JN Collection.
2. Nehru had an informal meeting of a Consultative Committee of Parliament on Goa. The members who attended the meeting were S.A. Dange, A.K. Gopalan, and Hiren Mukherjee of the CPI; J.B. Kripalani, N.G. Goray and Nath Pai of the PSP; P. Subbarayan, Joachim Alva, Anup Singh, N.C. Kasliwal and the Nawab of Chhatari of the Congress. R.K. Khadilkar of the Mazdoor Kisan Party and Nasir Bharucha, an independent member of Lok Sabha also attended the meeting.
3. The next session of the Lok Sabha began on 15 July.
4. On the same day, Nehru, asked the Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt to inform the President of the Goa Liberation Council that the meeting to be held on 10 June would be with a "mixed lot" of Goan leaders. Nehru observed that it was better to see all the Goan leaders together to begin with.

restrictions. This would be completely in line with what some of the MPs suggested today.<sup>5</sup>

- (ii) We should also consider immediately giving more facilities for food and clothing in the border area on our side, which, according to Shri Goray, was suffering greatly because of our blockade, and a part of which would be isolated after the monsoon.
- (iii) I think there is a good deal of truth in the complaint made that most of our Missions abroad do not interest themselves in the Goan question.<sup>6</sup> Possibly, during the past month or two, they might have moved in the matter. But, it is clear that they do not realize the importance of this. On the other hand, the Portuguese Government continues to approach Foreign Offices almost weekly. I believe we have got enough material in pamphlets, etc. We should send this to all our Missions abroad and instruct them to make a point of explaining our situation to the Foreign Offices there and to continue doing so. Particularly, stress should be laid on the large number of Goan prisoners in jails there continuing for years.
- (iv) Reference was made to students from Goa who had come to India and were more or less starving and living on charity. I think we should help these students. We are spending large sums of money which have mostly been wasted. It is far better to use part of these in this productive and humanitarian work. Someone might enquire about these students who have come across the border and are in Sangli and other places.

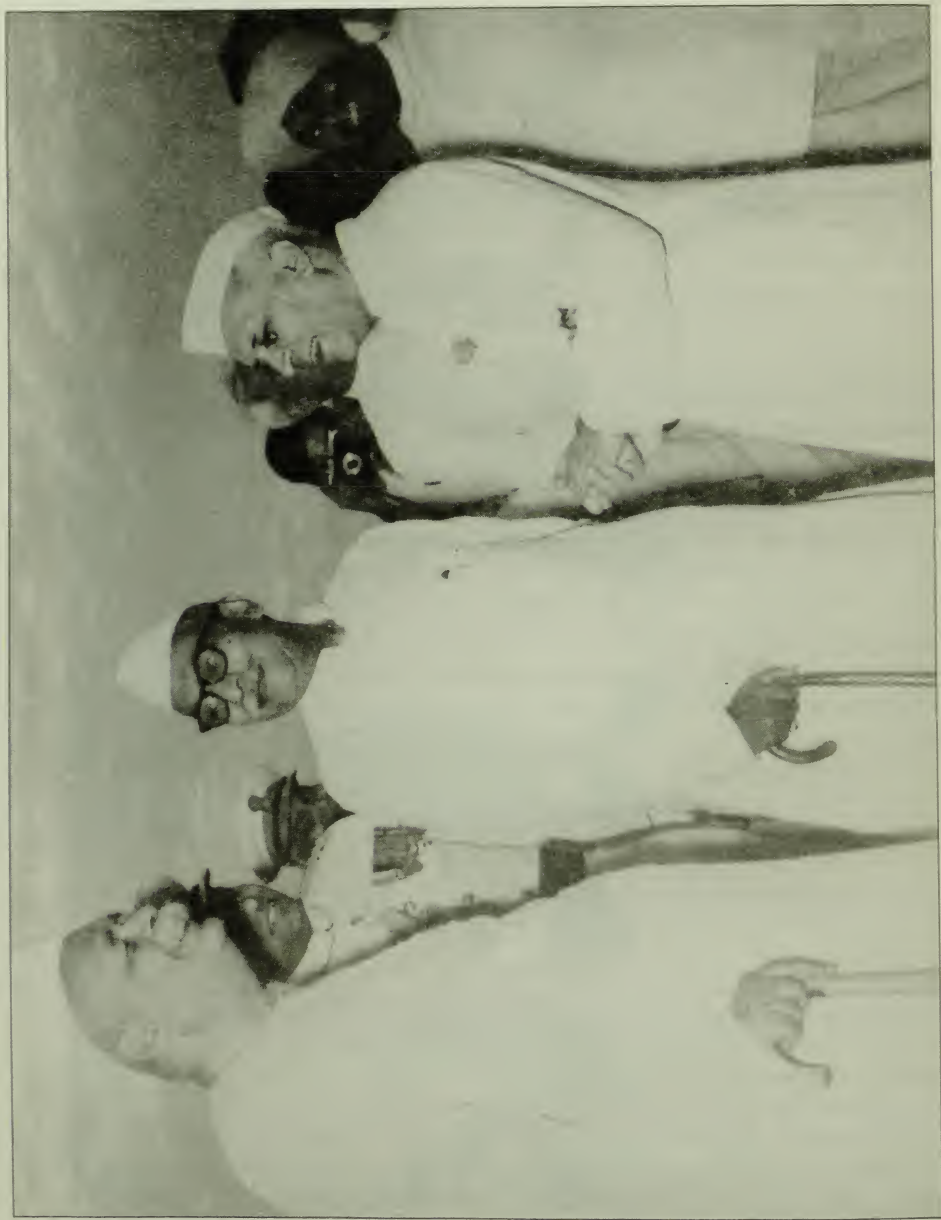
4. We should have a talk about all these and other possible steps which we might take in the course of the next few days.

- 5. N.G. Goray referred to the desirability of some relaxation in the permit system introduced on the borders with Goa. He stated that the Portuguese were propagating the myth that economic sanctions imposed by India were hurting the Goan people. R.K. Khadilkar suggested that restrictions on the border should be slackened and freer traffic allowed. He said: "A step backward might be necessary for the next move."
- 6. Nath Pai, who had recently toured Europe, said that except in Germany and the UK, in other places, Indian Missions "had done particularly nothing in regard to propaganda about Goa." He noted that the Portuguese Ministers in their Missions paid weekly visits to the Foreign Office and stated their case. According to Nath Pai, Indian Missions abroad were not aware of even simple facts. As a result hardly anybody knew that only an infinitesimal proportion of the population in Goa was Portuguese.





ADDRESSING THE FAMILY PLANNING BOARD, NEW DELHI, 25 MAY 1957



WITH RAJENDRA PRASAD AND G.B. PANT AT NEW DELHI AIRPORT, 14 JUNE 1957



#### 4. A Review of Government Policy<sup>1</sup>

I had an hour and a half's meeting with various MPs<sup>2</sup> today to discuss Goa. To begin with, I thanked them for their presence and said that I had convened this meeting chiefly to hear their views which would help us in framing our Goa policy. I consider this a preliminary meeting, to be followed later with further meetings. I gave them a brief background.

I said that we had to consider this question in the context of peaceful action. Apart from any theoretical consideration, any military approach had to be ruled out because of its far-reaching consequences which might be injurious to India. If a military approach was ruled out, then any other approach which might lead to military action would also have to be ruled out. It was for this reason that we had to stop what was called mass satyagraha.

I referred to the economic measures we had taken. Those had certainly produced some initial result and embarrassed the Portuguese Government. But this initial result had largely worn off and they had adjusted themselves to the new situation. At present, it appeared that the chief sufferers were the common people of Goa.

Our blockade was largely successful so far as the land frontier was concerned, though some measure of smuggling continued. But it was impossible for us to stop the approach from the sea. The result was that plenty of goods, including Indian goods, reached Goa by the sea route, often coming from Pakistan, East Africa and Singapore. The prices were somewhat higher, but they were available in Goa.

I referred also to the case instituted by Portugal against India in the World Court in regard to Nagar Haveli....

1. Note on talks with Members of Parliament on Goa, New Delhi, 27 May 1957. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.

2. See the preceding item.

## 5. Policy Towards Daman and Diu<sup>1</sup>

I am sending you a letter in Hindi from Shri Satya Sevak Gadre. This relates chiefly to his recent visit to the borders of Daman and Diu and the conditions he found there.

2. It appears that the policies we have pursued in regard to these border areas have not been very happy ones and have brought a good deal of misery not only to the people in Daman and Diu, but those outside too. Perhaps, as a result of our recent decisions, we are relaxing those policies. I think they should be relaxed.

3. Why should we prevent people from coming in and out of these areas. Whatever our policy may be in regard to Goa, it need not necessarily be duplicated here.

4. Shri Gadre makes many suggestions. Some of them may not be practicable at all. They might be looked into.

5. We might consider these matters at the meeting to be held on the 10th June,<sup>2</sup> that is, we might find out what the views of the other people are in regard to them.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 6 June 1957. JN Collection.

2. At the meeting, the Prime Minister reiterated the Government of India's overall policy of peaceful endeavour to secure Goa's liberation. The eleven Goan leaders, who came to meet Nehru, then related the conditions of prisoners in jails and spoke of the hardship to the local population. They pointed out to Nehru that Portuguese propaganda was trying to impress the world that Goans themselves were not participating in the liberation movement. The Goan leaders told Nehru that more than 350 Goans were serving various terms of imprisonment, while 3,000 were behind bars under one pretext or the other.



## 6. Goan Students in India<sup>1</sup>

I agree to what you have done. I think, however, that this will not cover cases of many of the poor students who have drifted across the border and are round about Belgaum now. It was about these that Shri Goray spoke to me.<sup>2</sup> I suggest that you might ask Shri Goray to see you. Tell him what you have already done and ask him if this will meet the necessities of the case. In the event of his saying that some persons will not be covered by this, I think we might consider those cases separately. We have spent a great deal of money in various ways over the Goa affair. To help students of this kind would be a desirable way to further the cause we have in mind.

I have no objection to such help being given within reason and more or less quietly.<sup>3</sup> But I am not clear how best this should be done. Shri Goray suggested a reference to the Headmasters.<sup>4</sup> That of course would be necessary. But who should be the paying agency? We shall have to consider that later.

Meanwhile I suggest that you see Shri Goray and find out his reaction and suggestions.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 27 July 1957. JN Collection.

2. N.G. Goray in his letter of 20 July 1957 pointed to the desirability of extending monetary help to the Goan students who were pursuing their studies in India, but who were finding it extremely difficult to get any help from their homes in Goa.

3. Subimal Dutt noted that the MEA had instructed the Reserve Bank of India to permit remittances of Rs 200 per month for each college student and Rs 100 per month for each High School student from Goa to India. He believed that it was not "our policy generally to give financial assistance to poor students from Goa as a special case."

4. Goray had stated that as a precaution against false claims he had asked the students to send certificates from their headmasters. A list of Goan students of the Bombay State for whom aid was to be arranged was compiled and enclosed for Nehru's perusal.





## EXTERNAL AFFAIRS





## I. GENERAL

1. To John A. Thivy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 15, 1957

My dear Thivy,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of May 9 which I have just received. I have read it with interest.

You are perfectly right in saying that the great powers cannot get out of the habit of thinking that the rest of the world is in their sphere of influence and it is for them to deal with the other countries as they choose. This is partly a relic of the past and partly the fact that great powers tend to act always in a domineering way. In the present conflict between the American bloc and the Soviet bloc, this becomes all the more obvious.

But your suggestion that a conference should be called to consider these matters does not appear to me to be feasible at all. That presumes first of all that the other countries will agree to such a conference and secondly that the conference will yield satisfactory results. I do not think either of these contingencies will happen. If such a conference did take place, all the satellites and the hangers-on of the great powers will faithfully line up behind them and the nations that are supposed to be unaligned will be put in an embarrassing position.

You presume that the Asian and African countries will hold together and demand equality of treatment, etc., from the great powers. If all these Asian and African countries had that feeling, this would not require a conference.

It may be that some time or other some kind of a conference might be desirable. Even so, I doubt if it will be feasible for the type of conference you suggest to be held. In effect we are in permanent conference in the United Nations where many questions are raised with little result.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. India's Ambassador to Italy, 1955-57.

## 2. To Russell H. Fifield<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 4, 1957

Dear Professor Fifield,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of May 28 in which you enquire about the origin and development of the idea of the Panch Shila.

I might mention that we prefer the spelling "Panchasheel" as this spelling represents the pronunciation more correctly. But it is true that the prevalent way of spelling this is "Panch Shila" even in India.

These words "Panch Shila" are from Sanskrit and mean the five foundations. They have been used from ancient times to describe the five moral precepts of Buddhism relating to personal behaviour. Even now Buddhists repeat these words in their prayers.

After the Indonesian revolution eight or nine years ago, the Government of Indonesia adopted these words to describe their five basic policies. This, of course, had nothing to do with Buddhism. In Indonesia, a large number of Sanskrit words have been incorporated in their language. Most of the names of individuals there are also from Sanskrit, such as President Soekarno's name. I do not quite remember the five Indonesian principles, but the first one laid down faith in God and the others dealt with independence, economic freedom, etc.<sup>3</sup>

In India's agreement with the People's Republic of China relating to Tibet,<sup>4</sup> five principles were mentioned to regulate our relations with each other. The

1. JN Collection.

2. Russell Hunt Fifield (1914-2003); US Foreign Service officer in China, 1945-47; faculty member, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 1947-53, Professor, 1954-83, and Professor Emeritus, 1983; Fulbright Research Professor, University of Philippines, 1953-54; Professor of Foreign Affairs, National War College, 1958-59; Research Fellow, St Anthony's College, Oxford University, 1963-64; Consultant, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, US State Department, 1953-54 and 1967-70; adviser, East Asia and Pacific, State Department, 1966-69.

3. Pantjasila or Five Basic Principles were the articulation of state ideology by President Soekarno in March 1945 at an investigatory committee meeting set up by the Japanese to discuss Indonesia's future. The five principles endorsed were nationalism, humanity, popular sovereignty, social justice and faith in one god.

4. This was the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between India and the Tibet Region of China signed in Beijing on 29 April 1954. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 468-469.



words "Panch Shila" were not used or mentioned in that connection at that time. That agreement was the result of long correspondence between the Government of India and the People's Government of China. Premier Chou En-lai was not personally concerned with this matter, though no doubt he must have been consulted, as I was in India.

Later, in June 1954, Premier Chou En-lai visited India and a joint statement was issued by him and me in which reference was made to those five principles.<sup>5</sup> They were:

1. mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
2. non-aggression;
3. non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
4. equality and mutual benefit; and
5. peaceful coexistence.

Even at that time the words "Panch Shila" were not used. Subsequently, these five principles were mentioned in the course of joint statements with leaders of many other countries. In the joint statement which I signed with Mr N.A. Bulganin, Prime Minister of the USSR, in June 1955,<sup>6</sup> there was a slight amendment and extension of these principles. No. (3) became "non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons of economic, political or ideological character". Thus far the words "Panch Shila" were not mentioned anywhere.

When I was in Indonesia about two years ago<sup>7</sup> and I heard the words "Panch Shila" mentioned there in an entirely different context, that is, in their Indonesian meaning, it struck me immediately that this was a suitable description of the five principles of international behaviour to which we had subscribed. I said so there and repeated it on my return to India. The words caught on, especially in India, where they were easily understood, being derived from Sanskrit.

You will thus see that the five principles of peaceful coexistence first emerged out of fairly long discussions between the Governments of India and China. No individual can be said to father them. The words "Panch Shila" were first used by me in that connection some time after these principles had been enunciated.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Chou En-lai visited India from 25 to 28 June 1954. For the joint statement of 28 June 1954, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 410-412.

6. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, p. 220.

7. Nehru visited Indonesia in April 1955 to attend the Asian-African Conference at Bandung. The conference was held from 18 to 24 April.

### 3. To Norman Cousins<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 6, 1957

My dear Cousins,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of May 29th and the copy of *The Saturday Review* containing Albert Schweitzer's statement.<sup>3</sup>

I agree with you that there is now a far greater realization all over the world of the effect of these test explosions than there was previously. I am sure that Schweitzer's statement has helped in this process.

In India, there is strong and widespread feeling on this subject. Indeed, one preaches to the converted here. Both our Houses of Parliament separately passed resolutions<sup>4</sup> in regard to these test explosions and the harm they were doing.

I do not know what to suggest as to the next step. Clearly, the pressure must come from awakened and, where possible, organized public opinion. This has been aroused, but there is always the danger of its relapse in quiescence. We should take advantage of all legitimate methods of keeping the public informed.

Unfortunately, the so-called Peace Conferences and Congresses, usually organized by communists or their friends, do more harm than good in this respect. They have patently political objectives in view and they irritate many people outside their fold. Fortunately, others now are also playing an important part in this vital question.

1. JN Collection.

2. Editor, *The Saturday Review*, New York, 1944-77; Co-Chairman, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, 1957-63. In his letter of 4 March 1957 to Nehru, Norman Cousins had suggested that Albert Schweitzer might make an appeal from Oslo for world peace. For Nehru's reply of 16 March to Cousins, see *Selected Words* (second series), vol. 37, pp. 556-560.

3. Albert Schweitzer, the nobel laureate, spearheaded a movement to warn people of the dangers of testing of nuclear weapons. His statement, "Declaration of Conscience", appeared in *The Saturday Review* on 18 May 1957. Dwelling on the danger posed to mankind by the testing of nuclear weapons and harmful effects of radioactivity, Schweitzer stated: "That radioactive elements created by us are found in nature is an astounding event in the history of the earth and of the human race. To fail to consider its importance and its consequences would be a folly for which humanity would have to pay a terrible price... It must not happen that we do not pull ourselves together before it is too late. We must muster the insight, the seriousness and the courage to leave folly and face reality."

4. See *post*, pp. 758-759 for Nehru's draft resolution prepared for the Lok Sabha. This was passed on 22 May. The Rajya Sabha passed the resolution with some amendments on 24 May 1957.



I agree with you also that there is some small measure of hope now in the partial success of the disarmament negotiations. But, I have been disappointed so often that I do not rely too much on them at this stage.

I wonder if you saw a book which one of our scientists, Dr D.S. Kothari,<sup>5</sup> prepared last year, on nuclear explosions. This was probably the first connected account, accurate and yet not too technical, and it was welcomed in many countries as such. That book is somewhat out of date now, because more facts are known. Kothari is now preparing a new and revised edition of that book. I am asking him to send you copies of the old and the new editions. Perhaps, you could send a copy to Dr Schweitzer.

All I can suggest to Dr Schweitzer is that he might perhaps some little time later, follow up his broadcast.<sup>6</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The book, *Nuclear Explosions and Their Effects*, was prepared by D.S. Kothari, Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defence, in association with Homi Bhabha and V.R. Khanolkar. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, p. 207.

6. On 24 April 1957, Albert Schweitzer's statement was broadcast worldwide from Oslo, Norway, under the auspices of the Nobel Peace Prize Committee.

#### 4. Foreign Policy Challenges and the Cold War<sup>1</sup>

....In considering the foreign policy and the work of our foreign Missions, we cannot isolate them from conditions that prevail in the world today; nor indeed we may be able to isolate them from the past. They are governed by those conditions and to some extent, we have to do many things that normally we would not do, or we would not like to do. We had to go and accept the challenge of the establishment of a Commission in Indo-China, which is not normally within the scope of our work, but for the sake of conditions there, we could not escape from that responsibility. We went to Korea. We have got a detachment on the Israeli-Egyptian border today. All these are really outside the normal scope of our work. Occupying the position that we do, that is to say, the position in which sometimes other countries like to put faith in our impartiality, we are called upon to undertake certain tasks and we cannot escape that burden.

The world today, as everyone knows, has been for some time past pursued by this conflict between major power blocs, sometimes this is called cold war, sometimes by some other name. This is the dominant feature of the political landscape in the world. Whether you consider disarmament on the one hand or any other major question, whether you consider the question of Kashmir or any other, somehow it gets entangled so far as other countries are concerned in this cold war approach and cold war technique. A distinguished statesman<sup>2</sup> who was here only two or three days ago and who was here from abroad said in answer to a question about some of these problems including Kashmir that it is entangled in the cold war. Otherwise, they might have been much easier to handle. I am merely mentioning this so that people may realize how much we are conditioned by these major factors and every problem today, whether it is discussed in the United Nations or elsewhere, is conditioned, is affected, by this approach. We have tried and tried with success to keep outside these military groupings and we have tried to judge every problem on the merits so far as we can, even though, of course, we do not live in some ivory tower cut off from the rest of the world; we are affected by the world's happenings. We have often adopted policies and programmes which have to take into consideration the facts of life, if I may say so. I am not just ideological.

1. Speech in the course of a discussion on the demands for grants relating to the Ministry of External Affairs, 23 July 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. III, 15-26 July 1957, cols. 4735-4748. Extracts.
2. Herbert Evatt, a former Foreign Minister and Prime Minister of Australia, visited New Delhi from 18 to 21 July 1957 in response to an invitation from the Government of India.



If I may give an instance, there is the instance of Algeria. All of us here, I take it, feel very strongly about the tragedy of Algeria. We want Algerian freedom. We have functioned in regard to Algeria in the United Nations, however, not merely proclaiming loudly that we are in favour of Algerian freedom, but also always trying to find some way to approach it, some way to bring people together, some way even to influence, in so far as we can, the Republic of France in a friendly way, because our object has been to get something done, to get peace established, so that freedom may advance and not merely to shout out everything that we dislike.

There are so many things in this world that we dislike. There are so many things in our own country that we dislike. If we merely shout out at them all the time peacefully, it would yield no result. Sometimes we are criticized because we do not go out as champions proclaiming our faith in the various things that ought to be done in the world. I suppose that would be a noble attitude, but apart from not yielding any results always, it actually may put back the clock, because if one has to solve the world's problems by peaceful methods, one has always to try, while adhering to a principle, to win over the other side, to influence the other side by various methods such as might lead to a peaceful approach, whatever the problem may be. I ask this House to bear this in mind whether the problem is that of, let us say, Indians in South Africa on which every single person here and in the country and many people outside this country have the strongest feelings about the policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa. We are limited in what we can do. We cannot declare war on South Africa. We go to the United Nations; we take other steps. Unfortunately those steps have not yielded any great results, although I believe world opinion has very largely accepted, I will not say our viewpoint, but at any rate accepted the viewpoint that the South African Government's policy is completely wrong, not only wrong, but highly objectionable. That has happened. But even that question is tied up with this cold war. Even the question of Goa about which we feel so much is tied up with the cold war.

So every subject that you touch gets tied up with these major conflicts. That does not mean that we should give up that particular subject; we should go on dealing with it, but we must realize that that particular subject or conflict, simple as it may appear to us to be, is not simple because it is tied up with the major conflicts in the world today, and all kinds of pressures are brought upon us in regard to the major conflicts in this way. The House knows how the question of Kashmir has been dragged into this in many ways. Other countries, regardless of the merits of the case, judge it from the point of view of the cold war.

The cold war technique, we feel, is a very wrong technique because ultimately the cold war technique is a technique, if not of actual violence, always thinking

in terms of violence and hatred thereby increasing the conflicts—not really solving the problem, but keeping it on the brink of major conflicts. It is in this context that we have to function in the world and deal with every single problem on foreign affairs today. We have tried, and again in a large measure succeeded, to keep friendly relations with all countries, even those countries that are opposed to us in many ways and with whose policies we do not agree.

Take another instance; I believe there is a cut motion on that. Take the question of Hungary. I do not quite know what some honourable Members expected us to do at that time. Possibly we were more exercised, as much or even more exercised, about developments in Hungary than many others who shouted rather loudly about it. But we were terribly exercised at that time to see that it did not suddenly flare up into a world war. That much in itself had been bad enough, of course, but it would have meant absolute disaster for Hungary itself. We wanted to serve and help in this cause and we tried our best there and elsewhere not merely by shouting or condemning, but expressing our frank opinion about it privately and publicly and thereby, I believe, at least having some influence on the developments that took place. Therefore, I am trying to put before this House that whatever subject there may be in the context of foreign affairs, we try to approach it from this broad standpoint, in order to try to solve it peacefully without giving up any single principle of ours, because there is no other way. The other way is one of war. If we want to avoid war, we should not all the time talk in terms of war or in terms of threats and counter-threats. We have to express ourselves strongly occasionally because we feel strongly, but we try to avoid condemning any country as far as possible—sometimes one has to do it in discussing a policy—because condemnation does not take us anywhere, more especially when the condemnation is not of a particular country, but inevitably is seen in the context of these groups against each other and, instead of throwing any light on the situation, it merely aggravates it and angers the party condemned.

I do not think I need say much about the present situation in the world except that in the course of the last few months what is called the Middle East, i.e., Western Asia, has been the centre of a great deal of tension. In fact, it was a centre of military operations last year and the tension continues. There again, there are many problems of that region, but every single problem has been made more difficult by the military approach, by the cold war approach, by the military alliance approach, by the Baghdad Pact approach. I confess I have tried hard to understand how these military approaches have in practice, apart from theory, helped in easing the situation there. It is my belief that but for these military approaches, but for the Baghdad Pact, the situation would never have deteriorated as it did last year in Western Asia. In my belief, it is only by giving up these



military approaches, the situation there and elsewhere will gradually stabilize itself. I do not say that the problems will be solved by that. I do not say that any country can forget the problems of its own security. We have to talk of our security from danger. We are, I believe, more peacefully inclined than any other country in the world; I believe, at least as much. Yet, we have to talk of our own security. We have to take measures for it. I cannot ask any country not to take measures for its security. It is one thing to take measures for security and quite another thing to talk in terms of war, to have threats and counter-threats and live in this atmosphere of cold war.

The world today is living under the shadow of the hydrogen bomb and atomic war. This House and the other too declared themselves quite clearly on this subject. I believe in the world today there is a very strong opinion among the people and even among many Governments against nuclear warfare and against nuclear test explosions. There is, perhaps, a little better atmosphere for disarmament too. Yet, fears and apprehensions prevent nations from coming to agreement. All I can say is, I hope they will come to some kind of agreement however partial it may be. We cannot hope for full and complete agreement suddenly. Even if small agreements are made, they create a better atmosphere for the next advance. But, in particular, this business of test explosions of atomic and hydrogen bombs seems to us completely immoral from any point of view, completely injurious and to consider that they are advancing the cause of peace in the world seems to me rather an extraordinary way of looking at things.

In regard to some of our major problems with our neighbouring country Pakistan, problems of Kashmir, canal waters, etc, I will not say much except, again, to say that one of the chief difficulties about these problems is this cold war which has been brought to India's borders by these pacts like the Baghdad Pact or the SEATO, by the military assistance given to Pakistan, and thereby these problems have been made much more intricate and more difficult.

Take the canal waters problem. We handed it over to the World Bank for their help. For five years, they dealt with it. After two or three years, they made a proposal which, broadly, we accepted. Pakistan did not accept it. Again, for two or three years, they had been going on discussing this matter. Some of our best engineers, for five years, had been sitting in Washington, going backwards and forwards. We lose their services here. We spent large sums of money in keeping a huge delegation discussing it there. We have pursued this policy because we wanted to solve the canal waters problem peacefully, to the advantage of both the countries. It is not a political problem at all. It is a technical problem which technicians should have solved, sitting together. It is well known that there is quite enough water in the various rivers of the Punjab to go round and much

more left over for the sea. It is only a question of arrangement with some expenditure involved. Yet, this has been made into a purely political problem. Year after year has passed and Pakistan has taken up an attitude which becomes more and more intransigent.

I am amazed, if I may say so, at the kind of speeches recently delivered by the Prime Minister of Pakistan in the USA<sup>3</sup> and to some extent, even in the United Kingdom: "Pakistan is suffering from hunger and thirst because of canal waters disputes; what will not a hungry and thirsty man or a country do; it will not die of hunger and thirst." This is an extraordinary approach to these problems. At any time that would have been bad. At a time when the World Bank has, again, put forward some proposals which cast a heavy burden on India, a very heavy burden and yet, for the sake of peace we have again accepted, subject to certain minor matters to be discussed—we have not yet got Pakistan's reply—for the Prime Minister of Pakistan to go about in the United States and say that we are bent on reducing Pakistan to a desert by cutting off water and placing the population of Pakistan in such agonies, does seem to me to be a thing very far, far from the truth. It is a realm of fancy which should not normally be brought into play in dealing with solid matters of fact. I regret this tendency on the part of the Pakistan Prime Minister. It is not a question of difference of opinion. We differ in many ways. We differ in our outlook on life, way of life, way of thinking. That may be better. But, there are certain standards, I think, which should normally be kept up by people who occupy responsible positions. I regret that these standards are being repeatedly ignored.

About this canal waters question, I may remind this House, because there is so much talk about it, that here in Delhi, in May, 1948, we actually came to a friendly understanding, agreement, a kind of treaty which we signed, Pakistan and India. It was on the 4th of May, if I remember rightly, in 1948.<sup>4</sup> In spite of that, after two years, it was denounced by Pakistan.<sup>5</sup> Since then, all these arguments have taken place.

3. During a television interview in Washington on 14 July 1957, Pakistan's Prime Minister, Suhrawardy stated that India by building a dam was "threatening to cut off the waters of three of the six rivers, upon which Pakistan depended for irrigation" and that his people would "die fighting" rather than permit this. He added that the US and other interested nations would "step in to see that India does not perform any such barbarous action."

4. Also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 6, pp. 61-78.

5. Referring to the Agreement of 4 May 1948, the Government of Pakistan, in their note of 23 August 1950, stated that "with millions of people facing the loss of their herds, the ruin of their crops and eventual starvation from lack of water, Pakistan was under compulsion to accept whatever India proposed... The so-called Delhi Agreement, if ever it was binding upon Pakistan, has since long expired." Also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 15. Part I, pp. 315-321.





WITH THE KING AND QUEEN OF DENMARK, COPENHAGEN, 15 JUNE 1957



AT AN AGRICULTURAL FARM, COPENHAGEN, 16 JUNE 1957  
THE DANISH MINISTER FOR AGRICULTURE IS ON THE RIGHT



In all these matters, we live under the shadow of cold war. Unfortunately, Pakistan, through these military alliances and the rest, is encouraged to pursue wrong paths which prevent the settlement of so many problems that we have with Pakistan. It is obvious that two countries like India and Pakistan, which are neighbours, which will continue to be neighbours and which have so much in common, must be friends, should be cooperative and help each other. Any kind of injury to Pakistan ultimately is bound to be an injury to India just as an injury to India is bound to injure Pakistan. But, it has been our misfortune during the past many years to live in this state of mental conflict and actual conflict sometimes with Pakistan. In spite of our efforts to normalize our relations, they have not improved to any considerable extent....

As I said, there are a great many cut motions about extravagance and waste in our foreign Missions. It is not for me to say that our foreign Missions, all of them, are perfectly run without any waste, without any extravagance. In so many Missions that we have all over the world, there may be waste. We try to check them. We have checked them and we will go on checking them. But, I would like the House to keep in mind two or three factors. One is to compare them with other countries' missions. I do not mean to say that we should compete with others in extravagance or waste, but still, after all, we should have some manner of comparison, and I think if these are compared with other countries, it would be found that our Missions are much more economically run than almost any country. Secondly, I speak from some personal experience, many of our younger officers abroad—I am not talking for the moment of Ambassadors and High Commissioners but of first secretaries, second secretaries and others—the cost of living is different in various places, but by and large many of these officers are hard put to carry on a decent existence. It may appear that they are being paid heavily, but there are quite a number of Members of this House who have gone abroad, who have seen some of our Missions abroad, and almost every one of them has reported to me that they were distressed and sometimes even shocked at the difficulties that our younger officers had to face; that is, the salary and allowances given to them were not enough for them to live as decently and properly as they ought to do. I am not judging these various opinions, but I am merely pointing out to this House that any impression abroad that our officers abroad are terribly extravagant and wasteful is not justified.

Some may be, naturally, when hundreds and thousands of people are there. I am not speaking for all. Some Missions may be wasteful. The larger the establishment, the more difficult it becomes to make it run according to an ideal system. All kinds of difficulties arise. But broadly speaking, I do maintain that our Missions abroad are run much more economically, less is spent on them than Missions of other countries, and more especially, our younger officers as

well as the other staff, the subordinate staff, is by no means heavily paid or even well paid by any standards.

The work that they have to do is not just filing papers or signing documents or files. A foreign mission has to be always on the alert, ought to be. The officer has to keep in touch with all kinds of people there, he has to mix with them, he has to invite them, he has to have social relations with them, political relations with other people. All this cannot be done easily unless he is given facilities for this.

Anyhow, we are constantly trying to look into this question. Again instructions have been issued, and I have no doubt that under the stress of circumstances we shall make some further economies, because we are all aware of this.

Our biggest Mission abroad in the point of numbers is the High Commission in London. The High Commission in London is much more than an embassy because it deals with several things. Firstly, there is stores purchase which is a very big affair. Then, there are more students abroad in England than any other foreign country. We have got to look after them. And we have to maintain there representatives of our Army, Navy and Air Force also, chiefly for purchases and for other purposes too. So that the High Commission plus the Indian Stores Department, etc., is a very big organization.

We have gone into it repeatedly. We have had some economies made, not a big figure. We are again going into it. It was our intention to send some officers there to help in this process. Then when I was there in London recently with our Secretary General of the External Affairs Ministry, we felt that it would be better for a close scrutiny to be made by the High Commissioner and the senior officers there first of these departments and then later for a finance officer from here and a senior officer from the External Affairs Ministry to go there, because otherwise if these people go there, it is very difficult in three, four or five weeks' time for them perhaps to get a full insight into the picture. So also we are dealing with other cases.

I should like to repeat that while I have pointed out that I think that the expenditure, heavy as it is, on our foreign Missions is not very great considering the type of work they have to do, considering what other missions have to spend, nevertheless, I have no doubt that in the vast establishments there is extravagance in places, and that has to be and ought to be checked, and will be checked I hope. We have indeed sometimes come down rather heavily on some of our officers who according to us have not behaved properly.

Then, I will not say much about Pondicherry. We have been waiting for a long, long time for the French Government to pass their law so that the transfer of the French territories here might become legal, *de jure*—up till now it is *de facto*. The House knows that French Governments have been changed frequently



and all kinds of difficulties have been faced by them, and this thing which should have been a formal affair has not yet been done. We are now assured that in the course of the next month or two it will be done. I hope so.

As for the internal administration of Pondicherry, I do not wish to take up the time of this House, but those Members who are interested in this matter may see me and I shall gladly discuss it with them outside at some convenient moment.

Then there is this old question of our being, continuing in the Commonwealth. I do not know if I can add anything to what I have previously said on this issue. It seems to me that the difference in opinion on this issue arises really from a different conception of what we are there and what we do there. If it is a conception that by being in the Commonwealth we are in any sense subordinate to anybody, in any sense tied up to something that might come in our way, then I would be completely at one with those who object to our being in the Commonwealth. If, on the other hand, it does not come in our way in the slightest degree, and in fact gives us certain opportunities, helpful opportunities, to serve the larger causes that we have at heart, then it is worthwhile being there.

I have asked in this House previously and I would like to ask that question again now. I can understand somebody feeling sentimental; well, he does not like it. To that, of course, there is no logical reply. But I should like to know practically how our being in the Commonwealth has injured our policies or our advocacy of any cause that we hold dear. It has helped us, I say, in influencing others. It has helped us in regard to other matters too. And broadly speaking, I am against breaking any kind of association with any nation which I have. I want more association, not less.

Our association with our neighbour country like Burma is a very close one; with other countries also it is often very close. It may not be dignified by a special name, but it is very closer in many ways than our association with many of the Commonwealth countries. So, I just do not understand this except that I can understand it on the ground of sentiment. In the Commonwealth there is the Union of South Africa with which we have nothing to do.

Now, certain changes are coming over the Commonwealth which I think are good in the wider scheme of things, that is, the coming into the Commonwealth of independent Ghana, a new nation, an African nation, to be followed a little later by Nigeria. All these things really have a great deal of historical significance, and we can help or hinder in these processes which are not only of importance to those countries concerned, but in the wider context of Africa and Asia and world peace....

There are only one or two small points to which I shall refer now. There are one or two cut motions which refer to our issuing visas or not issuing visas to the World Peace Congress, I think, which was held in Colombo, and something in regard to the Youth Festival in Moscow.

So far as the Youth Festival is concerned, I do not quite know, but I think we have issued probably over two hundred. So, it is not a question of our not issuing visas. Certainly we do not quite understand this tremendous urge for people to attend Peace Congresses, and how the cause of peace to which we are committed is helped by these repeated assemblies gathering together in various parts of the world and holding aloft the banner of peace. We do not prevent people from going there, but we do not encourage them, and we make it quite clear that we do not encourage them. If they want to go, they can go certainly. Why do we say so? We say so because, I feel that many of these Peace Congresses, although in the name of peace, and although, no doubt, desiring peace, become political platforms also for other purposes, with the result that somehow the cause of peace itself becomes associated with a political platform, and thereby, to some extent, this bright shining surface is tarnished. Therefore, I can understand, of course, these discussions occasionally but how these repeated Peace Congresses help in the cause of peace has not been made clear to me yet.

There is one thing more. There is a cut motion about the continuation of the Gurkha recruitment camps. I must confess that I feel very distressed about this continuation. And we have tried our hardest to hurry this removal. Two countries are concerned, not only the United Kingdom, but Nepal; and there are limits beyond which we do not want to go. In this matter, we press them; we talk to them; we write to them; and they promise to take early steps.<sup>6</sup> I believe, now, they have again told us that it should not take very long. I do not know what else to do in the present context, and so, they have continued much to our regret. That is all that I wish to say at this stage.

Perhaps, if necessary, I may answer any criticism made afterwards.

6. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 37, pp. 544-545.



## II. FOREIGN VISIT

## (i) Syria

1. On Becoming a Citizen of Damascus<sup>1</sup>

Your Excellency Mr President,<sup>2</sup> Mr Prime Minister,<sup>3</sup> Mr Mayor,<sup>4</sup> Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I do not know how to find words to express my deep gratitude for the high honour that you have done me by making me a citizen of this great and ancient city.<sup>5</sup> You have made me an inheritor of, and a sharer in, the great traditions of this city. That, indeed, is a tremendous inheritance. Damascus is not only a very ancient city—perhaps the most ancient in the world—but during this long history it has gathered to itself tremendous traditions. When I thought of Damascus, not now but even when I was very young, the name of this city brought to me many boyhood dreams and stories; and so today when you do me this unique honour I feel overwhelmed. I come today from another city, an ancient city whose history goes back to the dawn of history—the city of Delhi—and it is perhaps a symbol not only of the past, but, I earnestly hope, of the future that these two ancient cities should, in my humble self, have been brought together in this way.

In your address of welcome, Mr Mayor, you have been pleased to say many very generous things about me.<sup>6</sup> I imagine that those words that you have applied

1. Speech at a civic reception, Damascus, 14 June 1957. PIB, and AIR tapes, NMML.

2. Shukri el-Kuwatli, President of Syria.

3. Sabri al-Assali, Prime Minister of Syria.

4. Bashir Qudmani.

5. The citation to the award presented by the Mayor of Damascus stated that Nehru was made a citizen of Damascus “in acknowledgement of his great service in evolving a policy of positive neutrality adopted by Syria and outlining a practical programme for India’s international relations.” It also expressed “appreciation of Mr Nehru’s efforts to promote peace, fight colonialism and support for Arab causes in international platforms.”

6. The Mayor said the decision to confer Syrian citizenship on Nehru “symbolized the genuine and sincere feeling of welcome and admiration expressed by Damascus city. The feeling expressed, at its best, Syrian people’s love and appreciation of your struggle for freedom not only in India but throughout the world.”

to me are really applied to my country more than to my individual self. I have been one of the innumerable soldiers of India who in the past generation laboured under a great leader and it was our privilege to serve under him, to learn from him and thus to help a little in the great task of achieving freedom for our country. Do not praise me, but rather praise innumerable others too who laboured for this cause and above all the great leader who inspired us.

When I feel and realize the problems that face us in the world and in my own country I feel very small and humble, because the problems are great. Nevertheless, we feel fortified by the lessons we have learnt, by the traditions, which shall remain in our minds, and more especially by the new spirit that we see around us in the countries of Asia. Here, in Damascus city and roundabout every stone tells a story of past history. Your country and mine have had great periods of triumph and glory. We have also had periods of decay and subjection.

All of us have passed through many a time the valley of the shadow, and then we have laboured and through our labour and sacrifice, we have achieved freedom. Freedom has come to us, political freedom, and the foreign rule that oppressed our countries has been removed. That foreign rule has always prevented the growth of a country, it suppressed its creative energies, and prevented also that process of change, which should always take place in a changing world. Foreign rule, imperialism and the like petrify a country's growth, and so, our countries and many other countries of Asia and Africa were petrified for long periods in this way. Our political life was encompassed and prevented from functioning, our social structure became unchanging although the world was changing, and so Asia which at one time spread currents—vital currents of thought and culture—to other parts of the world became backward and became subject to various countries of Europe. The countries of Europe went ahead, economically, socially and in many other ways. They developed and became wealthy and powerful countries while the countries of Asia remained, for a long period, stagnant under foreign domination. That foreign domination has gone from many of our countries though it still remains in some. Now we have to catch up, and we have to catch up again at a moment of crucial importance in the world's history when the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb appear to dominate the world. These are our problems. We have no time to make good. We have no long period before us in which to progress slowly. We have to make good quickly before events overwhelm us.

I have referred to the past period of Asian history. Here from Damascus and from the Arab lands went vital currents both East and West, carrying a message of social equality and other great messages. These messages endure and have to be fulfilled in even greater measure today. So, today we face not only grave political problems but also grave social problems; not only the problem of



national freedom but also the problem of individual freedom. And we have to do this at a moment in the world's history when the dark shadow of the hydrogen bomb casts its baneful influence over the world. I do believe that the spirit of man is awake in the countries of Asia and even though in many matters we are weak and we may fall we are on an upward grade, building ourselves up by labour and sacrifice; and thus I hope we shall be able not only to maintain our national freedom but advance along the lines of social regeneration and social revolution.

Whether you look at science or whether you look at this world of the atom bomb, there is little room left for these narrow jealousies today and these hatreds. It is not by our nursing these hatreds and jealousies that we will advance the cause of peace. We talk of peace and peace has become not only desirable, as it always has been, but a vital necessity for the world, and even more so for the countries of Asia who want peace to develop. Peace, therefore, is an absolute necessity, an imperative one. How then do we seek for peace? Surely, if we seek for peace we must do so by peaceful methods. We do not serve the cause of peace by methods of war. We do not serve the cause of peace by the hydrogen bomb and the atom bomb. Some great powers possess these hydrogen bombs. It may be that if nothing is done today other powers may also possess the hydrogen bomb, and so this evil will spread and terrify mankind. But though the hydrogen bomb is a sign of power and might, all history has shown us that real greatness has come because of character, because of other virtues, because of things which elevate the spirit of man and not by the club or the gun or the hydrogen bomb. How do you meet the challenge of the hydrogen bomb? You do not meet the challenge of a superior weapon of warfare by an inferior weapon of warfare. You do not meet the challenge of the gun by the bow and arrow and you cannot meet the challenge of the hydrogen bomb by the gun. We can only meet it, therefore, by some other method, and that other method can only be based on peace. It can only be based on the strength of the spirit of man.

Today the biggest weapons in the world may kill and destroy but cannot ultimately subdue an individual or a nation that refuses to be subdued. Today it is not a question of some rulers in a country isolated from their people being subdued. Today a whole nation has to be subdued, and if a nation has spirit and the love for freedom it cannot be subdued even though it may be eliminated. So one sees today, on the one hand, the growth of this tremendous apparatus of military power. On the other hand, one sees whole peoples'—not merely a group at the top—whole populations viewed by their determination to preserve their freedom and independence. And they can do so more easily by their character, by their determination and by peaceful methods rather than having recourse to second and third-rate weapons of warfare which are no good before the hydrogen bomb.

I speak of this with all humility. But I wish to say it because in our own struggle for freedom in India we stood up to a mighty empire, and fought for our independence by peaceful methods, and thereby made it difficult for them to apply all their weapons of warfare against us. Now, in this age of the atom bomb this has become even more relevant. But apart from these thoughts, I would venture to place before you the thought that today it is becoming increasingly difficult for any country to lead an isolated life. And so, what we must aim at is not conflict between countries but peaceful cooperation between countries.

You referred, Mr Mayor, to the Bandung Conference, which laid down certain principles of international cooperation, of how nations should behave towards each other. I believe that those principles must be the basis of any international order. I am sorry that even the countries that participated in the Bandung Conference sometimes forget the principles to which they adhered; they sometimes ignore them, and sometimes even make fun of them. That has been our misfortune in Asia in the past that we fall out, that we cannot hold together. We wish to interfere in no other country's freedom; we want to live in peace and cooperation with other countries, whether it is Europe or Africa, or America or any other part of the world.

In the olden days, long, long ago, Asia was rather dominant over Europe. Then came a period, which we know very well, when Europe was dominant over Asia. That period has partly ended and is ending. Now in the future—we cannot have a future in which one part of the world is dominant over another, Asia dominant over Europe or Europe dominant over Asia, or America dominant over Europe or Asia or vice versa. That idea must be given up, whatever the power and might of a country might be, because today, as I said, you may kill large numbers of people but you cannot subdue a whole population, a whole country's people, when they are awake, and the countries of Asia are awake or are becoming progressively more awake.

That is the offer that the Bandung Conference made to the nations of the world. It was not an offer of struggle or isolation but an offer of cooperation based on independence and freedom, based on non-intervention, based on the recognition of each country's individuality and sovereignty and its right to exist as it chooses without interference. I think if you examine events that are happening today, you will find, that most of our troubles are due to the interference of one country in another. If these countries and their statesmen followed the rule laid down in the Bandung Conference of non-interference in other countries, then it would be much better for the world. I do not say that all the world's difficulties and ills would vanish, certainly not. We have our own difficulties. You in Syria have your difficulties. We in India have plenty of



problems. But, at any rate, one major difficulty and trouble, that is, of interference by one country in another will go and that will be a tremendous step towards peace. So I trust, that the principles and the spirit of the Bandung Conference will be appreciated more and more by other countries of the world, and I trust that the great countries which are very powerful today will realize that greatness comes not by military power alone but by other factors and in the modern world especially, military power, however great, cannot be permitted by itself to dominate the world and fashion the destinies of other countries because the people are awake. As for ourselves, in our own countries we have to remember that our freedom can only be made strong and permanent if it is based on social progress, on a social revolution, giving freedom and opportunity of growth to every individual. That is the lesson we have to learn because today the social factor is more important in history, progressively more important, than the purely political factor.

In this ancient city of Damascus where you stand on the edge of a long history, where you might say you have married your long past with the present, here and elsewhere we are working for a future. Out of that marriage of the past and the present, the future has to come. Is that future to be pursued by rivalries, and hatreds and violence? Not by violence, because violence has reached its ultimate stage of the hydrogen bomb. Everything before it is petty violence which has no meaning but the big violence of the hydrogen bomb has certainly a meaning and the meaning is possibly the destruction of humanity. So we have to give it up. Therefore, we have to think of a new world of independent nations, cooperating with each other, not interfering with each other, having freedom as a nation, having social freedom for the individual and thus making progress in cooperation with each other, and thus trying to build up a world order of peaceful cooperation and progress.

May it be given to this ancient city of Damascus, which has seen so many vicissitudes in its long history, to see the development of this new world. May it be given to this city, and to these Arab countries, to help in this development of a peaceful world of free nations cooperating with each other, and may this message spread to the whole world.

I thank you, Mr Mayor, again, for the very great honour and privilege you have done me my making me a citizen of this great and ancient city.

## 2. Relations with Syria<sup>1</sup>

Your Excellency Mr President, Excellencies and Gentlemen, You have referred, Sir, to your visit to India some months ago.<sup>2</sup> May I tell you that we cherish very vivid memories of that visit when you honoured us by coming to our country and the many cities and other areas in India which you visited. We remember that occasion and often talk of it. I am happy that so soon after that I have been given the opportunity of meeting you, Sir, again here. I do believe that such meetings, even though unfortunately brief, are good and bring us nearer to each other and make us understand each other's minds a little more, because it is important that apart from the natural drawing together of peoples there should be understanding between them of their problems and, where opportunity offers itself, talks about them because we live in a changing world when from day to day new problems confront us. I am particularly grateful, Sir, for your references to me which are so full of affection. Your referring to me as a citizen of Damascus moves me and I consider this a very great privilege and honour not only because you have associated me with this city of history but because you have done me the honour of making me one of your own large family.

You have referred in your remarks to foreign policy, the foreign policy which you and your country pursue and the one which my country pursues and which is sometimes called that of "positive neutrality". That may be a way of describing it. I would prefer to call it "non-alignment". It may be the same thing. This may be said to be in confirmity with what we decided at the Bandung Conference, but, if I may say so with all respect, this is nothing new for us, this broad approach to problems and to problems where there are differences and acute differences. So far as we are concerned, we have been conditioned in India during the past forty years or so by our own struggle for freedom and by our leader Mahatma Gandhi into thinking in particular ways. But going further back into history—very far back—if I may mention what a great ruler in India said and inscribed on rocks and stones 2,300 years ago. It was no great thing merely to honour oneself and one's faith, but the cultured person, who had an open mind, was tolerant of others and honoured others also. That was said and inscribed on

1. Speech at a banquet hosted by the President of Syria, Damascus. 14 June 1957. PIB, and AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Shukri el-Kuwatli visited India from 17 to 27 January 1957. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, pp. 664-668.



rocks and on huge pillars 2,300 years ago. I do not say that we in India have always acted upon that. But at any rate that message has always been before us reminding us of what we should do, even though we might not always succeed. Applying that message to the present day world, it means, I suppose, that while adhering to our faith and our beliefs and our viewpoints in any sphere of activity, we should honour others too. We of Mahatma Gandhi's generation have been conditioned by that, moulded by that and inevitably therefore we react to present conditions in terms of that moulding. Apart from that I would venture to say that even the recent history of great wars and the like has shown that the approach of war does not solve problems; it only makes them more difficult.

We have to seek some other approach and that other approach can only be one of tolerance of each other, of peaceful coexistence, of methods of peace, methods of avoidance of hatred and violence.

My country, India, is in extent a big country—one of the biggest in the world. Your country, Sir, in extent is a small country. But all history tells us that greatness does not go by bigness. Big countries have been small in the real qualities of the world and small countries in the world have been very great in history, whether in Asia or in Europe. And your country, Sir, which is small in extent, has been a country which has long ages of history behind it, a history which has made it notable among nations.

A country after all grows in greatness, because of its cultural and other accomplishments, not because of its extent; because of its industry; because of its economy; but above all because of the spirit of its people. If the spirit is there then it is well with that country, whether it is big or small. If it is not there then the bigness of it is a hindrance and a burden.

I am very happy, Sir, that relations between India and Syria, which have always been good, have grown something more than good now because they are charged with a degree of affection, to which you were pleased to give utterance. That is a closer bond than even any bonds based on opportunism, which normally bind nations. The bond of affection, the power of affection is infinitely greater than the power of hatred, which unfortunately comes in the way of nations. Let us hope that this bond will grow between nations.

You referred, Sir, to imperialism and the like.<sup>3</sup> There can be no doubt that any domination of one country by another in the present day world certainly is an

3. President Kuwatli said that Syria had passionate faith in the free future of mankind and "we want to affirm solemnly that we will join neither the East nor the West, whatever the provocations committed by Zionism and imperialism." Thanking Nehru for his support of the Arab cause, the Syrian President said that his country resembled India and it would strive to accomplish its mission of peace and use a language other than that of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

anachronism, is a cause of continuous trouble, difficulty and turbulence and conflict. It does not fit in with modern conceptions. I do not presume to talk about past history. Therefore if we seek to lay the foundations of peace it must be based on freedom, the freedom of the nation, the freedom of the individual, because I do attach great importance to the freedom of the individual also. It is by one's own strength of will and activity that one grows. Such growth as we in India have had in the past generation has been because of our struggle for freedom, because of our sacrifices, and because of the methods we adopted which were devoid, as far as we could make them, of hatred. And so we were happy that when our conflict ended and we were free, no trace of past animosity continued. We are friends even with those with whom we have quarrelled, and that, I think, is a good example for us to remember and for others to see. Because there is no hope for this world—great world with all its scientific achievements and other growing accomplishments on so many fronts—there is no hope for this world except in the approach of mutual tolerance, peaceful coexistence and goodwill.

I thank you, Sir, again for your exceedingly friendly and affectionate welcome and may I also, Sir, speaking here, venture to thank the people of this great city too who have shown such friendship and cordiality.



## (ii) Denmark

1. Democracy and Social Welfare<sup>1</sup>

Mr Prime Minister,<sup>2</sup> Your Royal Highnesses,<sup>3</sup> Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

When you Sir, Mr Prime Minister, came to India,<sup>4</sup> I think I said that it was a matter of continuous surprise to me that during the long, very long, political career, which involved a good deal of travelling also, I had never visited Denmark. It is a surprise to me because Denmark and the Scandinavian countries had often been in my thoughts, almost from my boyhood up—and that is a long time ago. They were in my thoughts, because they seemed to represent to me two aspects of national and individual life, which appealed to me, that is, democracy and social welfare and social advance, and they seemed to represent both these ideals so well in the Scandinavian countries.

You just said, Mr Prime Minister, that we have been endeavouring to establish a democratic State in India. If I may venture to correct you, we are not endeavouring to do that, because we have done that, and very effectively. But what we are endeavouring to do is the other aspect of it, that is, to raise India on the social plane, on the economic plane, nationally and individually, and that is a tremendous task.

Sometimes I envy countries that are smaller than India, that have a lesser population than India. It is a tremendous task to deal with a population of 360 million people, who have many virtues—and I am a great admirer of my own people, of the common man in India—and if they had not had these virtues, they would not have survived through all the stress and strain of hundreds of years of experiences, which have often been very hard to bear. At the same time,

1. Speech at a banquet hosted by the Prime Minister of Denmark, Christiansborg Palace, Copenhagen, 15 June 1957. *Nehru in Scandinavia*, Information Service of India, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 9-15.
2. Hans Christian Hansen (1906-1960); Prime Minister of Denmark, 1955-60.
3. Frederick IX, King of Denmark, 1947-1972, and Queen Ingrid.
4. Hansen was in India from 7 to 9 March 1957.

while our ancient race has a great deal of racial experience and perhaps a little wisdom, it also carries the burden of the ages with it, which is rather a heavy burden to carry, and it becomes difficult to get out of the ruts in which those people have been cast through centuries and millenia of history.

Now we have this tremendous task, how to maintain such wisdom and long experience that our race possesses and at the same time take them out of the ruts where they have been confined; also because of other factors like foreign rule, etc., which have confined growth. Well, now that those restrictive and restraining factors have been removed, we suddenly have to face this very great task of raising the level—the social and other levels of our people—and drag them out of the habits of centuries. That we have to face almost immediately after what might be called a political revolution, which was a very major revolution; although it was peaceful and cooperative, still it was a major revolution. We have to face a social revolution, and we have to face it at a time when the world itself is going through all kinds of revolutionary processes. We have not got much time because, even if we did not wish to advance fast, we have these world factors pressing us and warning us that if we do not advance fast enough, those factors might overwhelm us. So whether we will it or not, and we do will it, we have to advance fast.

We have to advance fast, in the context of democracy, in other words with the free will of our people. I believe that is the soundest and the best way of advancing. But naturally it does involve, to some extent, greater effort and apparently greater difficulties too, though in the final analysis I believe that is the fastest way of advancing.

So we are facing these tremendous problems with good heart because essentially we have faith in the good sense of our people. Meanwhile, we are a part of the world community and we have to function with the world community, and today in the world, although Denmark might be thousands of miles away from India and other countries may be further away, the fact of the matter is that every country has become a neighbour to the other country, because communications are so much swifter and we more or less live on the threshold of every other country and we have to play our part in this world community.

Personally, our desire is not to get involved in other peoples' troubles and world problems, because we have problems and troubles of our own. We want to make good in our own country and then, perhaps, when we have a little leisure, to deal with other problems. But the choice is not ours; we are compelled to take interest in other problems, because they affect us, or they affect the world and thereby affect us, and so sometimes we have to play that part whether it is in the United Nations or otherwise.

We are entangled today, say, in Indo-China, entangled in the sense that there



are three International Commissions in Indo-China,<sup>5</sup> but why should we, with all our problems, seek to carry other peoples' burdens? That question my people ask me. Why did we do it? Not willingly, but circumstances compelled us, and we feel that if we had refused to undertake that burden, well, there might have been greater trouble in Indo-China. When the two conflicting parties asked us—both of them asked us—we just could not say no, it would have been escaping from our duty and obligation. So we went there, and there we are.

And so otherwise too we get entangled, but the fact of the matter is that we want to devote ourselves passionately and intensively to our own problems and to our own development. In doing so, naturally we come into contact, close contact, with other countries. But above all there are certain world problems which nobody can escape now—conflicts in the world which continue and which sometimes threaten the world with dire consequences. All kinds of strange forces are being released, and one of the persons who must bear the responsibility for releasing these powerful forces is the eminent scientist who is sitting here.<sup>6</sup> What those forces are going to do in the future, nobody knows—they can do infinite good, of course, and they can do infinite evil.

Apart from that, although it is a very important problem of the day, I wonder sometimes if it is not almost worse to live in a world which is always in a sense on the threshold of disaster, which because of that is full of fear, full of apprehension and as a result of fear, I regret to say, full of hatred, of dislike. Fear is about the worst companion that an individual or a nation can have. It distorts one's vision, makes one dislike, and if one dislikes and hates, that again distorts one's vision, and may lead to very unfortunate consequences.

We in India do not presume to say or to feel that we have not got our fair share of human failings; probably we have more of them than other countries. But it was our good fortune, the good fortune of the present generation in India and even of the preceding one to some extent, to be conditioned, to a large extent, by our leader Mahatma Gandhi. Each country is conditioned by its geography, by its climate, by its history, by its past culture and past experiences. The people of Denmark have been conditioned through hundreds and thousands of years of their past experiences. India also. Those experiences have been perhaps

5. Three Commissions, one each for Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia, were set up on 21 July 1954 under the Geneva Agreements and began their work on 11 August 1954.

6. Niels Henrik Bohr, the Danish physicist, whose work on atomic theory won him the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1922. His concept of the atomic nucleus was a key step in understanding such process as nuclear fission. Though he contributed to atomic bomb research in the US during World War II, he later dedicated himself to the cause of arms control. On 16 June, Nehru met Niels Bohr at his residence in Copenhagen.

sometimes similar, but more often different. Climates are different, geography is different. One has to accept that, and there is no harm in that. Today, I suppose the conditioning factors are becoming rather similar, although they are partly different too.

I mentioned Mahatma Gandhi's name as a powerful conditioning factor of the present generation of India. There is no doubt about it because not only those who came in intimate contact with him but vast numbers of human beings in India were conditioned by him to some extent. That conditioning itself was really a continuation of a certain process, a certain line of Indian thought. You know that in the political sphere, in the international sphere, India is said to be a country which keeps away from military alliances. That has, if I may say so, not too much to do with the present state of affairs, although it has something to do. It is the result of the conditioning we had previously, long before the present problems arose. Indeed, to some extent it is due to even earlier conditioning and ways of thinking.

In India, if you travel about, you will see in many places all over that great country, and even in what is Pakistan today, huge columns put up by an ancient emperor of India, who lived 2,300 years ago, the emperor Asoka. He left inscriptions on rock and stone all over, addressed to his own people. They are very fascinating inscriptions.

The story of Asoka is rather a remarkable one, and a unique one. He was a great emperor who had done well, even in the military sphere, and had built up an enormous empire comprising a very great part of India and large bits of Central Asia, and it was his intention to conquer the little bits of India that were left, which he easily could have done. Suddenly, in the middle of a triumphant campaign, he began to feel about these horrible wars, of how many hundreds and thousands of people had been killed, or made slaves, or made prisoners. He had a terrible shock and he stopped that war in the middle of his triumphant career and he said: "No more war for me, in future the only war I shall fight will be to spread righteousness" and he put up all these columns proclaiming this, which was an unusual occurrence for a conquering monarch. Further, he put up on them inscriptions addressed to his own people. He said: "People have different faiths, different opinions. You should honour your faith, but you should also honour the faith of the other person who differs from you. If you honour his faith, he will honour your faith, and thus you will do honour even more to your own faith and opinion." That was a lesson in tolerance which, I take it, is the essential feature of democracy, which an old ruler of India more than 2,300 years ago inscribed on numerous rocks and stones all over India.

I mention this, because there has been something continuous in the line of Indian thought in that direction. We have often failed, as a people; we have



forgotten even the lessons of our own history, but always there has been that strain of thought which was revived in India by Mahatma Gandhi. And because it was in tune with our thinking, it caught the masses and produced this tremendous impression that it did. Of course, Mahatma Gandhi was not just a philosopher, not just a person giving good advice, but he was a political leader also, a man of action. Apart from being a philosopher and applying that philosophy to his action, which was the unusual thing about him, he showed subsequently that that line of peaceful action could succeed, and did succeed.

Why I ventured to refer to this past of India was to say that our present policy is in tune with our thinking during long periods in the past, and it is very much in tune with what Mahatma Gandhi taught us, and even more in tune with our present conditions—that is to say, we just do not wish to get entangled anywhere, we want to serve our own country, build it up and not get into entangling alliances. We want the friendship of all countries, even those with whom we do not agree. We carry on in our own way, politically, economically, socially, trying to learn from other countries and, normally speaking, not going out of our way to criticize others. Perhaps by our own action or thought we may influence others, as we want to be influenced by others. But too much criticism of others, I believe, is not the way to convert anybody, either the individual or the nation, more especially the nation, because that rouses national antipathies, and the mind is closed to listen even to good advice. So we refrain from that, although we have to express our opinions, whether it is in the United Nations or elsewhere, on problems that come up there.

Among these major problems which come up for each country, perhaps the biggest is one of war and peace. And on the answer to that problem, which the future will give, will no doubt depend the future of this world. But I do feel that, apart from actual war or peace, if we aim at peace, surely the mental approach should be peaceful. I cannot understand how out of an approach which is full of violence and hatred, peace can come about. I do believe that wrong means lead to wrong ends. Perhaps the most important message that Mahatma Gandhi gave to his country was that ends are important, means are equally, if not more, important. If the means are wrong, you will get your ends distorted, and any means which are violent and full of hatred cannot, I believe, lead to desirable results which you aim at.

I am venturing to say this, because I feel that I am among friends and I can speak with candour. But a long life connected with public affairs of all kinds has led me to be very chary of saying anything at all, and to throw about any advice seems uncalled for and is likely to be resented. I feel very small before the great problems of the world, and yet one cannot remain silent either when things happen, and one has to express one's opinion.

And so, having said this, I come back to India which is, of course, my engrossing occupation. And I should like to say that we value the friendship of Denmark greatly for a variety of reasons and we have valued the technical help, the scholarships and other things in which we have been helped, but even more than that we value—I do not know how to describe it—what Denmark stands for, that combination of political democracy and great social progress which we ourselves aim at. So we like the atmosphere of Denmark and we should like to learn from it, and the more contacts we have with Denmark and other countries in Scandinavia, the more I am sure we shall profit by them.

You mentioned, Mr Prime Minister, your old contacts with India. Among them, you no doubt know, is the famous hospital in South India, the first tuberculosis sanatorium,<sup>7</sup> at a place called Madanapalli, which was started by a Dane, Dr Moller.<sup>8</sup> It is still one of the famous sanatoria of that type in India. And there are many other contacts. So we would welcome these contacts, for a variety of reasons, some might be called economic, but much more so for something which can only be described as spiritual, not in the narrow sense of the word, but in the widest sense of the word.

We want that understanding, and we want that cooperation, so that we may profit by this atmosphere in Denmark, which you have built up through ages of effort. I am very happy to be here and feel, if I may say so, relaxed because I feel in the company of friends whom I can understand, who perhaps can also understand me, and I am sure that I shall profit by my brief visit here, and learn much, because I have come here more in the capacity of a student and learner than any other.

And I am very grateful to you, Mr Prime Minister, and your government for the kindly welcome and for the gracious words you have said.<sup>9</sup> Thank you.

7. The Union Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium (UMTS) or Arogyavaram, at Madanapalli in Andhra Pradesh, was set up in July 1912 jointly by seven missions. It was converted into a general hospital in 1975.

8. Christian Frimodt Moller (1877-1943); Danish missionary and doctor; came to India, 1907; started a Danish mission hospital in Tirukoilur in Tamil Nadu, 1911; first Superintendent, UMTS, Madanapalli, 1912; Medical Commissioner, Government of India, and Technical Adviser, Tuberculosis Association of India, 1939-42; set up the New Delhi Tuberculosis Clinic, 1940; instrumental in introducing the BCG vaccine in India.

9. Hansen praised Jawaharlal Nehru as one of the statesmen in the world enjoying the highest personal prestige and expressed admiration for "the tremendous creative tasks" he had taken up.



## 2. Press Conference<sup>1</sup>

President (Sigvald Kristensen):<sup>2</sup> Your Excellency, I am happy to have the honour of introducing you to the representatives of the Danish Press and members of the Foreign Correspondents' Association in Copenhagen. We are happy that you have given us this opportunity of meeting your Excellency and we hope that you will have a few words to say to us. Thank you for coming, and I am now giving over to you the microphone and the word.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am happy to meet you, ladies and gentlemen of the Press. I suppose it will save time if you start by putting questions to me instead of my starting off by saying something. It is much better for me to meet points that are in your mind than to give an address.

President: May we have your impressions of Denmark, to start with?

JN: Well, I have gathered, naturally, many impressions. Although I have come for the first time to Denmark, I am not wholly unacquainted with Denmark. I have read a good deal about the country; I have met many people from Denmark, so I come with some background knowledge of the country, which is not enough. To see things for oneself is much more important than reading about them.

Denmark, apart from being a country which is highly developed along democratic lines, impresses one as a soothing country, if I may use that word, not a country with internal tensions and conflicts. So there is a pleasant atmosphere about it. Therefore, in spite of the rather heavy engagements, I have not felt tired. I have basked in the atmosphere of Denmark, partly because the weather has been very good, but it is not due to the weather only. It is the general atmosphere of this country, a free atmosphere of people, in so far as they can be, relatively busy and happy in their work, without internal conflicts and tensions which afflict the world so much.

So my impression has been a very happy impression. No doubt it has been added to by the very warm and friendly welcome I have received—very affectionate welcome—which has moved me greatly.

1. At the Hotel d'Angleterre, Copenhagen, 17 June 1957. *Nehru in Scandinavia*, Information Service of India, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 15-33.
2. (1908-1982); Danish foreign service official; Public Relations Officer, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1950-60; Ambassador to Austria, Israel and Germany.

Kofoed Hansen (*Berlinske Tidende*): I would like to ask whether you have found or learned or seen anything in Denmark which might be adapted to Indian conditions?

JN: Denmark is well known for the development of its cooperatives.<sup>3</sup> That, of course, we have known for a long time, and we have sent students here too to learn about them.<sup>4</sup>

We are very anxious to develop cooperatives in many ways in India, especially agrarian cooperatives. I do not think that normally you can copy anything from one country to another, because it has to fit in with the circumstances of the other country. But one can get the idea, and then adapt it to conditions in the other country. Anything which is just superimposed in a country regardless of its own conditions and environment may not take root, but one can learn from the experiences of others and then adapt them. I am sure that we shall learn much, specially from the cooperative movement here.

I have been impressed by the folk high schools.<sup>5</sup> I cannot see immediately how they will fit in into India, unless they are adapted in various ways, because the first problem in India, you must remember, is spreading just ordinary education among the people, and we have to deal with a vast number of people. That is a terrific problem, and one cannot jump that stage and start something else, although we can try other things too and prepare the ground for further advance. I think that the idea behind the high schools is something very much worthwhile.

Rechendorff (*New York Daily News*): I have heard that you practise yoga, Your Excellency. Can you tell us something about it?

JN: I am afraid that people in Europe and America, and perhaps more so in America, get hold of a few words and imagine a lot of things about them, but sometimes their imaginations deviate from actuality. Yoga means many things in India. It is a kind of discipline, discipline of the mind, discipline of the spirit,

3. On 16 June, Nehru spent several hours in Danish countryside studying life in farms and seeing the working of cooperative dairies and groceries. Cooperative dairies received about 93 per cent of all the milk produced in Denmark.
4. Four Indian students had been going to Denmark every year for specialized study in farming and dairying methods.
5. In the folk high schools in Denmark, boys and girls were taught the liberal arts for about six months, the emphasis being not on examinations but on character-building and leadership.



and discipline of the body. I do not pretend to know much about it; it is too difficult and intricate, but it is true that certain rather simple exercises, physical exercises, have been sometimes practised by me. I spend usually ten minutes on them. There is nothing mysterious about them. Anyone can do them if he has got a straight back. It may be, if you suddenly try to stand on your head, you might not succeed. I still succeed in doing that; I think it is rather a good thing. I recommend it to everybody.

But yoga is a very big word. To use it for a few simple exercises is really to misuse the word. Yoga means union, a kind of integration of the mind, body and spirit, so that you have an integrated personality.

Bach (University of Iowa publication): Mr Prime Minister, in the United States and in Canada at the present time there is a great deal of concern over Strontium 90; over the fallout of the Hydrogen bomb. Is this concern also apparently expressed in your country?

JN: There is very great concern in our country. I cannot say whether it is less or more than in other places, but there is very great concern; there are no two viewpoints in our country about it. I need not lay stress on the dangers, present and future, but there is one point I should like to put before you, which perhaps is not realized. The dangers from Strontium 90 are greater in countries which are underdeveloped, which are, if you like, underfed. That is, people have not the power of resistance. People have less calcium in them. Those people who have more calcium will be less affected by Strontium 90. A country like the United States or the countries of Europe, which drink a lot of milk, will be less affected. Milk is, I do not say it is a preventive, but it is something that prevents Strontium 90 affecting them. And in a country like India which is, by and large, not a well-fed country, which is deficient in calcium, where people take very little milk, although they like it but they cannot get it, partly because of poverty, people are likely to be affected much more by it. There are fewer defences in them. It is not a question of geographical propinquity, because in a fallout after an explosion, the thing spreads anywhere. But this is important, I think, that a country which is poorly fed and has less calcium in its constitution, is likely to be affected by it more quickly.

Another interesting feature is that a country whose food is chiefly grain and vegetables will get Strontium 90 direct from the vegetables. A country which takes milk, for instance, gets it through a process of, say, the milk comes from the cow, the cow eats the grass. It will probably get through the cow one-tenth of what it will get directly from the vegetables. So in that sense too a country like India, and many countries of Asia, whose food is largely foodgrains and

vegetables, is likely to be affected more. But this is only a question of degree. We are greatly concerned about it, and perhaps you might know that both Houses of our Parliament unanimously passed resolutions on the subject separately, appealing to the Powers specially concerned who have been having these experiments to suspend them immediately—and then ultimately, we hope, put an end to it—but suspend them so that the matter might be considered fully.<sup>6</sup>

A correspondent: Have you any trouble with the remains of the satyagraha technique you adopted to gain your independence?

JN: It is a very interesting but rather intricate question. First of all, a country which for a whole generation practised a certain technique of opposition to the government, when it has its own government, it is not easy to shift over to make people think differently. It may be their own government, but people still have the habit of thinking of opposing the government. Because for a whole generation they thought so. Secondly, they are apt to adopt that technique, not rightly I think, but some variation of it, just to press on some complaint or something, which is sometimes apt to be a nuisance.

Rechendorff: You have made a lot of strong opposition to Britain. Nevertheless, when India got independence, she became part of the Commonwealth, and at present you are getting on well together. Is that due to the national characteristics of the two nations?

JN: I think that primarily depends on the nature of our movement for independence. It depends also, I agree with you, to some extent on the national characteristics of the two peoples. But basically our movement, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, was not only a peaceful movement, but we were always told to be friendly to our opponents, which is a difficult thing to do. So we found, at the height of our movement, when people were being shot down in the streets for demonstrations, and hundreds of thousands were arrested, an Englishman could walk through an Indian crowd without being touched. Not that the Indian crowd is better than any other crowd—not at all—but because of this continuous teaching of Mahatma Gandhi that we must separate the individual from the policy. We must not have any ill will against the Englishman, we may have a great deal of ill will against British imperialism, but not against the

6. See *post*, pp. 758-759, for the text of the resolution passed in the Lok Sabha on 22 May 1957. The Rajya Sabha passed the resolution two days later, with amendments.



Englishman. It may not be very easy to distinguish, but for thirty years we have had that lesson. Also I think that, if I may say so about my own people, they have tremendous failings, they misbehave often, but they are not people who nourish hatred for long. They may get angry. But they are not the kind of people who keep on trying to hate and remember past things. And so when independence came, it came by agreement. And so we were very happy to forget old memories which are not good. Of course, they lie in the subconscious somewhere, and if something happens, they may come up again. But normally we have forgotten them.

Litauer (Polish Radio): I am very interested in the problem of disarmament and German unification. At the present moment, there is a lot of discussion which should come first, disarmament or German unification. Would you tell us your point of view?

JN: I would like to start by saying that I do not feel competent to give advice to the world in regard to the world's big problems. They are too difficult, too intricate, and behind all these problems lies not only the problem itself, but tremendous apprehension and fear of each other. The main problem is, I suppose, to lessen that fear somehow. Then it becomes at least easier to tackle the problem itself.

You will remember, about two years ago, the Big Four Conference, the Summit Conference, met in Geneva.<sup>7</sup> The Conference itself did not decide much, but it did result in some lessening of tension. People thought things were going in the right way and that there would be agreements. You can see how a right move lessens fear and tension and creates conditions for settlement of problems, while if those fears are there, it becomes a game of Powers manoeuvring for position all the time, and suspecting the other's move.

This matter of German unification, I think most people in theory agree with it. I am saying, those who are opposed to it agree in theory with it. But it is so intimately connected with this fear and apprehension that if a move could be taken to lessen that apprehension and fear, and create a greater sense of security on both sides, it would be easier to tackle it. Also to try to solve a very intricate problem as a whole, altogether, is very difficult. Perhaps it is easier to tackle it step by step. Take disarmament. Well, I am all in favour of it. But I realize the difficulties and I cannot suggest that suddenly there should be full-blooded disarmament. But if even a small step is taken towards disarmament, it creates

7. It was held in April-July 1954. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, p. 464, 466, and 483.

an impression that the world is going in a good direction and it lessens tension, and you take the next step later.

Miss Coghill (Reuters): Would you tell me, Mr Prime Minister, about the present conflict between Egypt and Jordan?

JN: By conflict you mean, I suppose, difference of opinion. They are not fighting each other. They are pulling in different ways. I do not know what opinion to give, except that all these Middle Eastern countries, if you go back a little—I am not talking of Egypt but other countries—really came into existence after the First World War. Before that they were part of the Ottoman Empire. They came into existence at a moment when there were not so many people in those countries to take charge of them. And all kinds of kings were established there, either by the British or the French. It was rather an extraordinary arrangement. It did not last long. There were many changes between the two wars.

The arrangements made were rather artificial. In Saudi Arabia, the arrangement made was upset by King Ibn Saud,<sup>8</sup> not the present one<sup>9</sup> but his father. And other things happened. During the Second World War, the British themselves pushed out the Vichy regime from Syria. All these upsets have been happening there.

You must remember that this applies not only to the Middle Eastern countries but to the whole of Asia, and progressively to Africa, that there are strong currents and ferments there. Countries which for some hundreds of years have been under foreign domination, political and economic, and had not progressed, have got a strong feeling of nationalism and independence. That is the basic thing. And sometimes it is a heady thing which makes them behave not very wisely, and then come influences and pressures from outside which pull them in this or that direction, so that it is not at all easy to explain or even understand the situation in simple terms.

But one thing you must remember, which is basic. It is the strong feeling of nationalism and independence. The second feeling is of social progress, to have the good things of life. Now in all these countries of Asia, the first problem in social progress is land reform, because in many of them there were feudal land systems; huge landlords were oppressing and preventing all progress. And in the Middle East one of the basic problems is still the land problem. Feudalism exists, not in all, but in many countries there. You will find often that Western Powers or Eastern Powers, any power, go and deal with the Governments of these countries, forgetting that behind the Governments are these strong ferments

8. King of Saudi Arabia, 1932-1953.

9. Saud ibn Abdul Aziz, King of Saudi Arabia, 1953-1964.



of the people. And then they are surprised if something happens. They ignore the people.

The basic thing is that the people, first of all, want a certain national freedom, which means a feeling of non-interference by other countries. In the past they have been controlled or governed by foreign powers, either directly or indirectly, so that the first impulse of the people there is against this, to be free and not to be controlled or directed by foreign agencies. The second is the feeling to get rid of feudalism and the like, and for the peasant to have a share of the land and opportunities of progress.

It is sometimes said that communism is coming to those countries. There are few countries in the world which are so far removed from communism, except in so far as a poverty-stricken country may do anything. They have not come out of the feudal stage, and communism is so far off. Communism may make a little trouble; but they just are far, far behind from that point of view.

Koch (*Observer*, London): I would like you to tell us a few words about the role of the Scandinavian countries in world politics today, particularly in connection with the lessening of apprehension, fear and tension, and in connection with putting a stop to the atomic weapons trial.

JN: I imagine that the Scandinavian countries can play a fairly considerable part in helping to relieve tension, partly because they are not involved in this big game of power politics, of the Big Powers. They are advanced, and relatively happy, countries, not interfering with other countries and not wanting any interference with themselves. So a country like that is in a position, not because of its military power but because of its independent policy, to influence other countries because the bona fides of these countries are not suspected by others, as the bona fides of a big country might be. That is why you see often a country like Sweden being chosen to represent in some commission or the other, because it is supposed to be an independent, non-partisan country. It may have its sympathies, that is a different matter; every country has sympathies. Not that. It is not tied up. A country like that has a greater role to play in some dispute or settlement, or just exercise its soothing influence.

Parker (*Economist*): Do you see any similarities between India's current economic difficulties and the economic difficulties being experienced in Denmark?

JN: I am afraid I do not know much about Denmark's economic difficulties. Briefly speaking, in India our difficulties are of foreign exchange, that is to say,

we have been importing machinery, capital goods, on an extensive scale in our programme. We import hardly any luxury goods. We stopped that long ago; just a little may come in, and even that is stopped now. And our imports are outrunning our exports.

Secondly, our Five Year Plan has been somewhat upset by other things happening. We had a First Five Year Plan, which was a relatively modest one. It was our first effort, and we succeeded rather well in it, which gave us a good deal of self-confidence. At the same time we felt that we had not been going fast enough in increasing our production, capital investments, etc. We had to deal with an ever increasing population, and a vast number of people who are either unemployed or underemployed. We are having an addition of large numbers of new unemployed from the growing population. So our rate of progress must be such as not only to absorb all the newcomers, but some of the old comers too.

Also our rate of progress will depend on how much we invest. In an underdeveloped country, it is always difficult to increase the rate or pace of investment. The mere fact that you are underdeveloped means that you live from hand to mouth, and have nothing to spare. If you want something to invest, you have to cut down some of the expenditures, and ultimately it is a burden on the people generally, because for the moment at least, you have less for them because you are investing. But that is inevitable and you have to go through that process. In the Second Five Year Plan, we are more ambitious and we tried to increase our pace of investment much more, and therefore the returns from the investment. Broadly speaking, I think we said it would be a five per cent increase in the national income every year, that is, twenty-five per cent in five years. That is the broad approach.

Secondly, in the First Five Year Plan we rather emphasized food production as being very important for us, and we still emphasize it very much. We are an agricultural country, and we can make no progress industrially unless our agricultural basis is sound. Therefore, even now we attach the greatest importance to greater agricultural production. Having said that, I want to say that in the Second Plan we emphasized industrial development. Industrial development can only proceed with some speed if we have a basic heavy industry. You can almost measure the industrial development of a country by finding out how much iron and steel it produces, how much power resources it has. So we set out to increase our iron and steel production and our power production, apart from many other things.

We had one or two steel plants. Now we are building three enormous additional plants and power resources. So all this has put a great burden on us, from which we can get no dividend for five or six years. The dividends come later. Then, of



course, we will profit by all this, but for the present we have to bear the burden.

The result of all this is a great drain on our foreign exchange. For the iron and steel plant, we have to import even steel, apart from machinery: large quantities of iron and steel have to be imported. That is absurd because we have plenty of iron ore resources. Another thing. Ever since we drew up the two Five Year Plans, prices in other countries have been going up, that is, prices of machinery. Whatever estimates we made jumped up, suddenly. Then the Suez Canal closure came in, which also hit us somewhat. So our two difficulties are foreign exchange and the burden of internal prices going up because of various factors. And unfortunately we have had a succession, for three years now, of bad harvests and natural calamities that hit us, and we even had to import foodgrains, which again affected our foreign exchange position. Because we had to import foodgrains, we had to pay for it in foreign exchange. So all these difficulties put together have been a heavy burden.

Now we are determined to go ahead with what I would call the hard core of our Five Year Plan. We have no choice. We cannot leave an iron and steel plant half finished. We have to go ahead and finish it. We may trim some parts of the plan, delay them a little, but the main part has to be performed. And because of that, this year's budget of India has put heavy additional taxation on all classes of people.<sup>10</sup>

Parker: About the Five Year Plan. Are you getting any assistance from Scandinavia?

JN: We are getting some assistance with regard to minor projects. I do not think it touches the major projects. And some assistance in training people too we are getting.

Litauer: Which are the major assisting countries?

JN: The major assisting country is the United States. Most of this assistance is in the shape of credits. Or, for instance, they supply us with foodgrains on credit: we pay for it later and we convert that into counterpart funds and all that. Then we have received credits from the Soviet Union for a steel plant. We have three steel plants: one is being built by the Germans, one by the British and one by the Soviet. The British have given us credit, the Russians have given us credit, the Germans offered us credit but the terms were so onerous that we said we would pay in cash.

10. See *ante*, pp. 94-95.

Rechendorff: In the light of India's own police actions against the States of Hyderabad and Junagadh, how can India claim that Pakistan has committed aggression in Kashmir? Why have you refused arbitration on this issue suggested by the Swedish Ambassador Jarring?<sup>11</sup> Why do you refuse plebiscite in Kashmir?

JN: That is a bunch of questions and not one question. First of all, I do not know what you know about Junagadh or Hyderabad. You cannot mix up questions which have no relation to each other. When the British left India, there were round about 500 and odd States in India, semi-autonomous, semi-independent, but very much under the British. When the British left, they left a kind of vacuum. They said these States could either join us or Pakistan or remain independent, which is absurd. It is absurd in the sense that it was impossible for any country like India to function when there were 500 States in it, calling themselves independent. A number of these States were big States but most of them were very small.

I think we did one of the most remarkable things in regard to the States. In the course of two or three months, we settled this hundreds-of-years-old problem and put an end to them as semi-independent States. They were absorbed into India; three or four were absorbed into Pakistan. Most of these States were right inside India. They were not border States. We absorbed them because of the pressure of circumstances, the pressure of their own people on the rulers, and the pressure of the new Government of India. But we solved it peacefully, by giving generous terms to the rulers, personal terms. We gave them very big pensions, civil lists, outrageously big I think, but even a big pension was cheaper than conflict. It was a remarkable thing.

We had trouble. Junagadh does not count at all. I cannot go into the details of a small part of territory in western India. I might tell you that in Junagadh itself the people subsequently had a kind of plebiscite too. But the two major problems that arose were Hyderabad and Kashmir. Hyderabad, although a big State, is completely surrounded by Indian territory. It is in the heart of India, there is no outlet. It was quite inconceivable to us that in the heart of India there should be a kind of State challenging the authority of India. When the British were in India, they laid down the maxim that there could be no kind of State in India which did not acknowledge the paramount power of the British.

To the ruler of Hyderabad, the Nizam, we offered generous terms, but he did not agree. He built up an army, got arms from outside flown secretly to Hyderabad. Considerable migrations took place from Hyderabad because of all

11. See *ante*, p. 411.



this. On the other hand, in a corner of Hyderabad, a communist movement arose about the same time as in Malaya; it was a typical feudal area and hilly area and rather sparsely populated. This communist movement seized hold of the landlords, killed them and divided the land among the peasants.

Now the odd thing is that the Nizām was a feudal chieftain. He encouraged communism, not because he liked communism but because he wanted trouble for us. This went on, and what with migration and other things we told him that unless he agreed and stopped the troubles that were taking place, we would take action. And we did take action. It lasted about seventy-two hours. Then he agreed and we gave him a pension, which by any calculation is quite handsome, a million pounds a year. He is still getting it. And Hyderabad became one of the States of India. Now it is part of another State.

Then we come to Kashmir. Kashmir is a State in which we were interested long before India became independent because of Kashmir's trouble against the ruler there, the Maharaja. I might inform you that once, just about six or eight months before this had happened, the Maharaja had arrested me and put me in prison.<sup>12</sup> I was associated—we were associated—with the freedom movement in Kashmir. It was a strong organization there, a popular organization, called the National Conference, which wanted freedom from the Maharaja's rule. They did not want to push out the Maharaja; they wanted a constitutional government with the Maharaja as a titular figurehead. And this was going on. Meanwhile, changes were taking place in India; independence was on the verge of coming. The Maharaja had behaved very badly and had put a number of people in prison, leaders of the movement. So we advised the Maharaja strongly that he had better come to terms with his own people, the national movement there. Well, he delayed that, but he was on the verge of doing something. He was a man who could never make up his mind.

When independence came to India, our position in regard to Kashmir was that there was no good of our dealing with the Maharaja only, although the Maharaja was, in law and constitution, the Head of the State. We wanted the people also to be associated. That is why we asked him to release the leaders of the people, allow them to function. Then came independence, and immediately there was a great deal of trouble in Pakistan and in the adjoining areas of India. It was a terrible affair. There was a good deal of killing and vast migrations, millions and millions of people coming over to India and many going to Pakistan in the course of two or three months. We were fully occupied with this business.

12. Nehru was arrested by the Kashmir Government, on 20 June 1946, on the State border for defying an order prohibiting his entry into Kashmir issued by Maharaja Hari Singh. He was released the next day.

We suggested to the Kashmir Government, because independence had come, that we should have a Standstill Agreement to carry on various services—telephone, telegraph, postal—because we were doing that and we could not suddenly end them. And the Kashmir Government agreed to having Standstill Agreements with Pakistan and India separately, so that things might carry on—the normal services—till some decision was made.

Then about two or three months later—when we were terribly occupied with these internal difficulties—came the invasion of Kashmir from the Pakistan side.<sup>13</sup> Originally, the invasion was by tribal people coming through Pakistan and armed by Pakistan. We were very much put out, and it created a very difficult situation for us. It came very suddenly, and we could do nothing about it suddenly. Then reports started coming in—in two or three days—about massacres and looting in Kashmir—massacres even in a convent, where the Mother Superior and the Sisters were massacred. Others were massacred, regardless of religion—Hindu, Muslim, Christian; women were carried away.

There was great excitement in India. They were marching, these raiders were marching on Srinagar, the capital. We had this very difficult decision to take, what to do about it, should we leave it at that? We felt it was very difficult for us to do anything. We could not reach there in time. There was one rather inefficient airfield; we could go by air, but if the airfield fell into the hands of the raiders we could not go by air either. If we did not do anything, it was certain that there would be enormous massacres in the capital city, and looting. And that would raise so much passion all over India that there would be war immediately.

So we decided that we must intervene,<sup>14</sup> and we had no idea at that time of anything big. We thought they were raiders only, a few thousand raiders. We came to a decision, I think, about 6 or 7 o'clock at night. And we asked our Air Force, which was a very, very poor air force with no planes practically—it was just after the partition: "Can you send men there, armed people?" And all night they stopped such civil planes as they could get and early in the morning at 5 o'clock we sent a dozen ancient Dakotas taking troops, about 20 or 30 persons each. We landed about 150 persons just in time at the airport. The raiders were within five miles of the airport, and our people landed there. If we had gone there one day late, we could not have landed. Well, these people protected the airfield. Next day we sent another 150 and within a week we had driven the raiders out of the Valley. When these people were driven out of the Valley and on to the hills, we suddenly found that it was not only raiders but the Pakistan Army sitting there. That was more difficult to dislodge by a

13. The tribal invasion started on 22 October 1947.

14. On 26 October 1947.



few troops; we had about a couple of thousands then. That was the beginning of this trouble, and the fighting lasted for about a year, a year and a quarter, when there was a truce.

Now, I have not told you that before we went into Kashmir, both the ruler, the Maharaja, and the popular party there, both appealed to us to come to their help and both asked for an accession of Kashmir to India like other States had acceded. It was a formal document for all States—a printed document. We accepted that, and Kashmir had acceded formally according to the law laid down by the British and by us before we sent any troops there. By that accession Kashmir became part of India, just like Baroda or 500 other States in India. I say that, because people talk often of Kashmir having acceded afterwards. There has been no accession afterwards. The accession took place then, completely legally. What we said later was: the accession is complete, of course, but we shall allow the people to give their opinion about it when peaceful conditions prevail. But there was no doubt about the accession.

Then came the UN Commission here, and we were exceedingly anxious to put an end to the fighting. You must remember our background. Throughout these twenty or thirty years of fighting or struggling against the British, our movement was based on peaceful methods and non-violence. This is our background; this is our policy, and it was a terrible ordeal for us—soon after independence—to face a situation like this.

So we tried our best. Ultimately the UN Commission passed two resolutions, to which we agreed. To begin with, Pakistan did not; later, Pakistan agreed to the second resolution. These two resolutions, passed in August 1948 and January 1949, are the only resolutions passed by the UN, which we accepted and to which we are committed. During all this period of eight or nine years, nothing has been done by the UN to come in the way of those resolutions. All that has happened is they have discussed ways and methods. We have discussed them, we have made suggestions, others have made suggestions, but there has been no other agreement. Therefore, the basic things are those resolutions of the UN.

Those resolutions said, first, that they had found that a new situation had been created by Pakistan troops coming into Kashmir territory, which was Indian territory. A new situation because Pakistan had denied that. When the Commission came, they found they were there. Therefore, the first thing to be done was for Pakistan to withdraw its troops from the territory, the very first thing. The second thing they said was that it was India's responsibility to preserve the security of Kashmir under the Constitution and otherwise. Nobody challenged that. But when Pakistan withdrew her troops from there, India should lessen her troops, not withdraw all of them because we had to keep them to guard Kashmir,

but India should withdraw the bulk of her troops, keeping as much as was necessary to maintain the security of Kashmir.

There were many other things too, but the main thing was that Pakistan should withdraw, because whatever the rights and wrongs of India might be, Pakistan had no right there at all, under any circumstances. You may consider it legally or otherwise, the accession to India. But Pakistan has no right at all to say that Kashmir has 70 or 75 per cent Muslim population, and therefore it should go to Pakistan. Now, we never acknowledged that the division of India was on the basis of Hindu or Muslim or any religion. If we did, where would we be? After the partition, we have got forty million Muslims in India. We do not treat them as citizens of Pakistan but as citizens of India. They are in every village, we cannot divide every village on the basis of religion. It is an out-of-date, medieval notion. So we had not accepted that. Secondly, the UN Commission said that Pakistan should not increase its military potential in regard to Kashmir. Thirdly, that propaganda for war must cease, so as to create conditions which might ultimately lead to the holding of a plebiscite. These were the two or three main things.

Now it is eight or nine years since then and Pakistan has not withdrawn. There is no doubt from any point of view and both the Commission and Sir Owen Dixon,<sup>15</sup> the Australian judge, have said too that Pakistan had no legal position there. Now, they have not withdrawn. Their aggression has continued, still continues. And our position is, first of all, they must withdraw and vacate their aggression and, secondly, in terms of the UN resolutions, they had to withdraw before anything else could happen. They have not done so yet. And, thirdly, there is continuous propaganda in Pakistan of holy war, jihad as it is called. It is quite impossible to have any kind of approach to a peaceful settlement with holy war in the air, which would create not only enormous trouble in Kashmir but in the whole of India and in the whole of Pakistan. So whether you consider this matter from the legal or constitutional point of view or from the point of view of aggression, or from the point of view of practical consequences, we cannot take any step till Pakistan withdraws its aggression and puts an end to this propaganda of holy war.

Question: Government propaganda?

JN: Oh yes, Government, Press, everything; speeches of Government leaders.

It is often said, why I do not know, that India has not carried out some UN resolutions or directions. I am not aware of any such. The only ones were in

15. Australian jurist who served as UN mediator on the Kashmir dispute in 1950.



1948 and 1949. Now, the last meeting of a Security Council was held in January last, and they passed a resolution<sup>16</sup> that nothing should be done in regard to Kashmir which comes in the way of previous UN resolutions. The apprehension was that something was going to be done. Now, the position was this that after waiting for about five years after the original invasion by Pakistan, the Kashmir people got rather fed up. They said, we must do something in our own country. And they held elections for a Constituent Assembly and they formed a Constituent Assembly to draw up their own Constitution. They started drawing up their Constitution about three or four years ago. The first thing they did was to kick out the Maharaja, the ruler. They made land reforms and all that. Last November, they finalized this Constitution, completed it, a part of the Constitution being the accession to India being recognized.<sup>17</sup> There was no new accession. It merely stated the procedure on the basis of the accession which had taken place eight years ago, and it became an autonomous State.

Well, this was in November last. Nothing was happening after that, except that on the 26 January 1957 they were winding up their Constituent Assembly, putting an end to it because it had done its job. This winding-up meeting was supposed to do something, and the UN resolution was drawn up thinking that it was going to do something. But all that it did was to say, now we wind up and we cease to be. And after that, some months later, fresh elections were held there under the Constitution and a new Legislative Assembly was elected.

So I would like you—because there has been so much confusion about the Kashmir issue—to remember two or three broad facts. If they are correct, then one conclusion follows. One is that Kashmir acceded to India. There is no doubt about it; by legal and constitutional means, the State acceded; the same type of paper, document and everything. And not only the ruler who had every right to do so, but the great popular organization which had fought for the freedom of Kashmir supported the accession. Secondly, that Pakistan undoubtedly invaded Kashmir State and committed aggression. And the aggression is continuing; they occupy nearly half of the territory. Thirdly, that whatever we have agreed to—the UN resolutions, other commitments—we stand by them; we have not gone beyond those commitments in the slightest degree. And, fourthly, we have to face continuously this kind of holy war propaganda which would have tremendous effect all over India.

16. UN Security Council Resolution of 24 January 1957.

17. The Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir first met on 5 November 1951 and adopted a new constitution on 17 November 1956. It came into force with effect from 26 January 1957.

Then there is another aspect to this question, not directly related but still having a powerful effect. That is, we have had, as I told you, these big migrations, nine or ten years ago. That was over then. But afterwards from, East Pakistan, migrations have continued. That is one way. People from East Pakistan have come to India in millions and they are coming today, day after day. It is a terrific burden on us. Four million people have come from East Pakistan alone, apart from the West, and they come without their property, without their land, without anything. They are of all classes, the middle class, peasants, and we have to rehabilitate them, settle them.

Why do they come? Partly because economic conditions in Pakistan are bad. They are relatively better, they think, in India. Secondly, because they are afraid of their future there; they have no security there. Now, if there is any crisis with Pakistan, more people come to India immediately. You can measure the crisis by the number of people who come. Now, are we to accept millions and millions continuously? If there is any trouble in Kashmir, if a wrong step is taken in Kashmir, the result might well be that half the population of East Pakistan marches in. There are still, I think, about nine million people left there. We try to prevent them. We try to argue with them. We just cannot go on receiving people. We have received from East and West Pakistan, nine or ten million people altogether, and about five or six million went from India to Pakistan originally. But they continue coming.

I am sorry I have taken so long time.

President: We have one last question.

A correspondent: You have mentioned Scandinavia today but not Finland. I would like to know if what you said about the Scandinavian countries stands for Finland also—or is there any special role for Finland in international politics?

JN: Really, I am not an expert on this region. I should imagine that Finland's case is partly similar, partly different.

President: Thank you, Your Excellency. All my friends on the Press side are very happy for your coming here. Thank you.



### 3. The Priorities Before India<sup>1</sup>

Mr Chairman, Mr Mayor,<sup>2</sup> Prime Minister and friends,

I came here in Copenhagen the day before yesterday, and tomorrow morning I shall be going away. In these brief three days, I had such a multitude of impressions that it is a little difficult to sort them out. I am not thinking for the moment of impressions in the sense of sights that I have seen or of the many interesting places that I have visited but rather the other impressions which one gets from the people, intangible things, indescribable things, but very powerful things which one remembers when the sights are forgotten. I have had those impressions, impressions of great friendliness, of affection even, and I want here on this occasion to express my deep gratitude to all of you, my deep gratitude to the King, to the Prime Minister and his Government, but if I may say so, above all to the people of this great city, who have shown me affection and friendship wherever I have gone.

Most people still think of India as a country with Maharajas and yoga and all that. I am not a competent person to talk about yoga or about other things with which India is identified, various philosophies and the rest. They are very well worth understanding, but what I want you and others to feel is that while India certainly has the yoga, discipline of the mind and body and the spirit, while India certainly has philosophies, ancient philosophies, about which people have thought for hundreds and thousands of years and written about them, India today is something much more, something in addition to all that. India is a country pulsating with some kind of new life, new experience, new desires and new urges, trying hard to realize them, trying hard to make up for lost time, trying hard to solve the great problems which afflict her, the principal problem being the poverty of her people.

Our country is a great, big country. It has great resources, I believe. It is a rich country in its resources, but it is a poor country of poor people. I do not wish to delude you and to imagine that India is a great, big country with palaces and all that. Yes, there are some palaces; there are going to be no more palaces in India for a long time. We cannot afford to waste money on palaces and on show things. If we have to build, we have to build hundreds and thousands and millions

1. Address to the Danish-Indian Society at the Town Hall, Copenhagen, 17 June 1957. *Nehru in Scandinavia*, Information Service of India, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 34-40.

2. Aksel Moller (1906-1958); member of Folktinget, the Danish Parliament, and Minister of Home Affairs and Housing, 1950-53; Mayor of Frederiksberg, 1957-58.

of small houses for people who have none. And so we have to face this tremendous problem of poverty, and everything else has to be seen in that context. Mahatma Gandhi used to tell us often that if you have any problem before you, any difficulty, try to think of how that affects the poorest in your country. Try to think whether the step you propose to take will benefit the poorest in the country or not. That is the yardstick I should like to apply.

Well, we had the high privilege of being trained and conditioned by Mahatma Gandhi, small folks as we were. We failed him very often, as we fail him now, but still we learned something which has kept us going, and which has given us strength. When I say us, I refer to vast numbers of people in India. So India having achieved her political independence, after a long struggle, has immediately to set about marching on another journey. There is no resting time, no resting place, and those who imagine they could rest find themselves completely mistaken. Having achieved a political revolution, even though we did it peacefully and in a friendly way, we had to think of social and economic revolutions, which were much harder, much more difficult. And so we thought of this, and we have faced these ten years of independence.

I am talking about India because I have some right to talk about India. I know something about it, but in a way what I say about India applies in different degrees and in a variety of ways to all the countries of Asia, that is, those who have political independence. They have to face social and economic problems, and social and economic problems that are rather different from the social and economic problems of Europe. That is to say, by and large, the countries of Europe have solved the primary problem of poverty. They have enough to eat; they may have difficulties, people may be unhappy here and there, but the primary needs are satisfied here; while in the countries of Asia we lack the primary things of life, and therefore the other problems that come afterwards seem rather secondary to us. Our politics deal with the primary necessities of human beings first of all, though we deal with other matters too. It is well to remember that. That is, the politics of Asia are turned basically, at the present moment, around the primary necessities of life—food, clothing, housing and so on; and we go a step further—education, health and the other things that come afterwards. We have really no time for the fine points of politics.

Many of the problems of Europe, very important as they are, nevertheless are something that come after the primary necessities of life are satisfied. These problems seem to us, therefore, not of the first importance, because we struggle for survival. We are struggling for survival as individuals, as a nation. We cannot relax, we cannot let go.

The governing factor in Asia is the social factor, all else is secondary. If I talk about peace, well, naturally I am keenly interested in peace, the idea of war is



abhorrent to me, but in the final analysis I cannot afford anything to come in the way of the peaceful development of my country. Peace becomes not a right urge, which it is, but a thing of imperative necessity for my country and other countries round about there.

Therefore, I want you to realize this basic background of Asia, and which is to realize that in Asia, in the last few years, gradually, all kinds of suppressions have been lifted; independence has come, and all these suppressed energies are coming out, sometimes badly, sometimes they create trouble. It misbehaves, but it is life that is coming out. It is life that is pulsating through the countries of Asia. Life may take a wrong turn or a right turn, that depends on circumstances, on training, on what the reactions are.

People talk about the renaissance of Asia; these are big words, but still good words, to show that tremendous changes are taking place, have taken place, in the minds of men. You see changes in a country, obvious changes, political, economic, etc., after those changes have come into the minds of men. That is where changes take place, that is where revolutions take place, that is where wars take place—in the minds of men.

I believe, in the constitution of UNESCO, the very first article says something to the effect of wars taking place in the minds of men. Therefore, UNESCO tries to affect the minds of men. Now it is in the minds of men, hundreds and millions in Asia, that changes have taken place and are taking place. Some changes you will like, some you will not like, but it is no good ignoring those changes. That is why when we think of these matters in a rather superficial political way: this country is with us and that country is with us and this country is against us, and that country falls into line and that does not, it is very, very superficial.

Or you may deal with the governments of the countries. If the government is truly representative of the people, it is good. You know in fact what the people think more or less. Where the government is not representative of the people, they will be completely misled by the government. You deal as an individual or a group, and those people may not represent at all what the people are thinking, the mass of the population.

You see that often in Asia. You can see that in the last generation. You can see that in the last few years, Great Powers dealing with countries in Asia, naturally they have to deal with the governments there. Sometimes they bring pressure to bear upon them, sometimes inducements, sometimes threats, all these things, forgetting that they are bypassing the millions of people there.

The result sometimes is that something happens in that country, and then other people are surprised, "What is this?" Something new has happened, because they do not even try to understand what the hundreds and thousands of Asians are thinking and feeling.

It is difficult for you to understand. It is difficult for me to understand, much more so to persons coming from afar, but the main point is that something has happened, and it had to happen. You cannot keep a whole continent bottled up. The bottling up process has ended, and great forces have come out, and they have to make changes. They are making changes. Changes are happening. What direction those changes will take depends on so many factors, primarily of course on those very people, those very countries. Secondly, on what other countries do or not do; also, of course, if there is peace or war in the world.

So I want you to appreciate this. I myself am a seeker after this, and I try to understand what is happening in my own country. I know something about my country, but I do not understand it even now fully much less do I understand the other countries of Asia. But I do understand all of them in the sense that we have passed through the same experiences, broadly speaking, and because we have passed through the same experiences, of foreign domination, struggles, therefore we can understand each other a little more, although we are different.

So I want you to appreciate all this, and I want you then to think how this question of war and peace especially affects countries in Asia or countries like India. It is a matter apart from the terrible dangers of modern war. It is going to stop them from doing what they want to do, and establishing themselves firmly and solving some of their social and economic problems.

There are other aspects to this question of war and peace, apart from the direction that modern weapons have taken—I am not going into that—but one thing I should beg you to consider, because I think it is even more important than these atomic and hydrogen bombs. It is the cold war, the war of hatred, the war that makes a person, a community or a group constantly think in terms of violence and hatred.

I speak absolutely honestly. I prefer the hydrogen bomb to the cold war. I can think of nothing worse than this continuing feeling of hatred and violence enlarged upon human beings, distorting their thinking, distorting their lives; nothing distorts a person more than hatred and fear. Fear and hatred are the worst companions that a person, a community or a nation can have. We cannot get rid of fear altogether, that is a different matter, but it does seem to me terrible the way people live on daily doses of hatred and thinking in terms of violence and injury, whoever the opposite party may be. If that kind of thing goes on, inevitably it affects the community. How we can put an end to it, I do not know. But I wish to emphasize before you how we are getting rather used to a most unfortunate state of affairs. We take for granted this kind of cold war. I think it is a horrible thing to take for granted things, which are essentially and absolutely bad in themselves. An evil thing will never do good. That is one thing which Mahatma Gandhi taught us repeatedly, never to indulge in evil means even to



gain a good object. He said you never gain it, you lose your way and distort yourself in the process.

There is one thing which is perhaps not fully realized by people. In our struggle for independence, the Chairman just said, we did no physical harm, to the other party, but we embarrassed him. It is true that we embarrassed him, but there was always an attempt to have goodwill for the individual against whom we were functioning. We were not fighting against individuals, but against the system that we disliked.

Now, we are not angels, we misbehaved and all that but there was this continuous urge in us not to misbehave. The result of it is that this long struggle between India and England, lasting for generations and involving tremendous suffering for our people, when ended, left very little ill will behind. It is an extraordinary example. I could give you many examples of other countries where a struggle has ended with hatred and ill will continuing and lasting for generations. Of course, we were fortunate in making a right approach, in having Mahatma Gandhi as our leader, because the end of any struggle or any war depends not only on what you do but how you do it, or the manner you do it. We have had two world wars in Europe; perhaps they solved some problems, but they certainly gave rise to infinitely worse problems.

I may end in all humility by quoting the Buddha. He said that true victory is victory in which you defeat nobody, because there is no ill will left. Well, I do not know if it is possible, the victory in which we should defeat nobody, but there is something in that saying, a great deal, because the moment you defeat, the other party thinks of revenge and prepares for revenge, and when it is ready, it wants to hit out itself, and so the pendulum swings—defeat—victory—defeat—revenge.

I think now, partly because of the hydrogen bomb and all that, it has become not a highly modern precept, but good practical politics, to try to find some other way than the way of war. Otherwise you destroy yourself, and if you discard the way of war, then it seems to me obvious that you must discard the way of cold war. It has no justification then. A cold war can be justified in order to prepare for a hot war, but when you say we should not have a hot war, but have a cold war, there is no justification to it. Therefore, we must seek other ways and other remedies. This basic theme seems to me so obvious that the methods that have been followed in the past leading towards this hatred and violence are no longer sound today. I cannot say, about India or any other country, whether because they are unsound, we should not care for our security. We should take such measures as one can to prevent our security being affected. Every state will have to do that, but having done that, one has still to keep in mind that the only real security left in the world is peaceful cooperation between nations.

I cannot venture to tell you how problems can be solved, but I do venture to say that whatever way you may find to solve the problem, your method should be one of peaceful approach and avoidance of hatred, violence and cold war. If the right method is adopted and fear and apprehension become gradually less, perhaps we may go ahead step by step.

May I thank you, Mr Chairman and the Danish-Indian Society, for the welcome and for the kind words.

### (iii) Finland

## 1. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence<sup>1</sup>

Mr Prime Minister,<sup>2</sup> Ladies and Gentlemen,

You have just proposed a toast, Sir, in which you associated my name, but leaving my humble name out of it.<sup>3</sup> It was a very good toast, because it was a toast for goodwill among men. I suppose there could hardly be a better toast or a better thought for us to have in these days, when goodwill is often smothered so much by thoughts of ill will against each other. But, first of all, may I repeat what I have said to you and to others here, both in private and public, about my great happiness to be here in Finland, even though for a short time.

Some countries are big and some are small; some are important, some may be unimportant. Every country is important from its own point of view. I suppose importance otherwise comes in, insofar as a country might play a greater or lesser role in world affairs, trade affairs or political affairs. I often wish that in some respects my own country were considered not important because this idea

1. Speech at a dinner hosted by Vaino Sukselainen, Prime Minister of Finland, Helsinki, 18 June 1957. *Nehru in Scandinavia*, Information Service of India, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 42-48.

2. Vaino Johannes Sukselainen, Prime Minister of Finland, 27 May-18 October 1957.

3. "May I propose a toast" said Sukselainen, "for your personal well-being, for the happy future of India and for better understanding amongst men."



of importance means a lot of complications and a lot of burdens. We want to live at peace in our country, interfering with nobody and nobody interfering with us, but with friendly relations, cooperation, with other countries. But circumstances compel us, and you, and every country nowadays to participate to some extent in world affairs.

You mentioned, Sir, something which I appreciated very much, something to the effect that there was some kinship of spirit, apart from other things, between India and Finland. I do believe that there is a good deal of truth in what you said. You also mentioned that starting, for different reasons, and treading different paths, we have often arrived at the same conclusion, in the United Nations or perhaps elsewhere. As a matter of fact, I have often wondered why people or countries seem to take it for granted that everyone should agree with them. I just don't understand it. It seems to me at any rate an outlook that is totally opposed to democratic outlook. Democracy listens to opposition, in fact it encourages it, listens to criticism, allows various opinions to flourish, and then after full discussion, free discussion, decisions are arrived at. But although we believe in democracy—some countries at least, not all—even in those countries which talk about democracy, they forget it in the international sphere, and they want just one opinion to prevail. It may be good opinion but it does not seem to me a democratic way of proceeding at all.

You said, Sir, something about a neutral policy.<sup>4</sup> If I may with all respect say so, I do not quite understand the use of the word neutral. It is often used, of course, but I have never been able to understand it, in this connection. So far as I know, the word neutral has been applied in wartime, and the opposite word to neutral is belligerent. Now we use this word neutral in peacetime, or apparent peacetime. Am I to presume that not to be neutral is to be a belligerent? Obviously not. Then why this misuse of words, because words have a precise meaning, and the misuse of words really denotes—if I may say so with all respect—not only a lack of clarity of thinking but wrong thinking, and hence many difficulties arise. I prefer to call India's policy one of non-alignment, that is, not being tied up to any particular policy, any particular nation's policy or group's policy. We agree with them; we happily agree with them. If by any chance we do not, we regret we do not.

4. Pointing to the similarity of outlook of Finland and India in the field of international relations, Prime Minister Sukselainen said, "Finland intends, as a neutral country, to avoid deliberately anything that might promote international conflict, and to work in every way for conciliation, to bring nations closer to each other and to remove friction. Are not these thoughts very close to yours, Sir?"

What is the alternative to it? The alternative is surely that whether you agree or don't agree you must follow a certain policy. If that is so, it means surrendering your judgement to somebody else's judgement and policy by force of circumstances or under pressure. Surely that is not a healthy state of affairs. I can understand some countries, having common interest or common objectives or common ideals, normally functioning together. That is easy to understand, they do function together, they cooperate with each other more. But to be told beforehand that you must cooperate with me, in any circumstance, itself means that there is not much room left to exercise one's own judgement in the matter. And that is why I say that in the international sphere, progressively the democratic approach is forgotten, even by democratic countries. Of course it is forgotten by the authoritarian countries; they do not function in that way even in their own countries much less they do outside. And that is unfortunate because this kind of approach does not help.

There are obviously in the world today different approaches, different ideologies, if you like—it is a bad word but I use it—conflicting interests, and one tries to resolve them. Then again, a country's outlook or foreign policy, what is it governed by? Many factors. Certainly some broad approach to the problem, call it broad ideals, if you like. Every country's policy is governed by that country's national interests, naturally, especially in democratic countries, because if a government does not represent its national interests, the government will be pushed out, and some other government will come in. But it is governed also by certain factors like geography, obviously past history, tradition, etc.

Geography is a very powerful factor. Finland's geography naturally affects her policy very much, India's geography affects our policy. We simply have to deal, where we are situated in the world, with our neighbours to the left, to the right, to the north and to the south; we cannot ignore that, it affects our policy. Of course, it is true, that in the modern world this kind of geography does not count for so much, because owing to rapid development of communications, each country becomes a neighbour of the other, practically. You have these countries all sitting on the threshold of each other and producing a state of affairs by which you cannot ignore each other. You have either to be friendly or to be hostile. Anyhow the question that really arises is how far with different ideas, with different systems—whether political or economic—countries can still tolerate each other and cooperate with each other, as far as it can be done, without coming into continuous conflict. That is the problem, because if it is admitted, if it is supposed, that they should not tolerate each other, there is bound to be conflict. If we rule that out—as we do I take it—then the alternative is only tolerating each other, whether we like each other or not, or if I may put it in a different language, coexistence, peaceful coexistence. What can we base that upon?



Well, we tried some little time ago, we did lay down what we call the five principles, the Panchsheel. It is a Sanskrit word which means the five foundations. It is a very old word, the Panchsheel; it was used in India 2,000 years ago, not in a political sense but in a moral sense, the five foundations of character. But at a bright moment it struck me that I might borrow those words, which were used in a different context, and use them in a political context for five principles of international behaviour, political behaviour.<sup>5</sup> That was a happy thought of mine because it caught on in India and in some other countries. However, what are these five principles? You know, Mr Prime Minister and Mr Foreign Minister,<sup>6</sup> very well these principles of peaceful coexistence.

Firstly, acknowledgement, recognition, of the integrity and sovereignty of each other, by two countries, by every country. Secondly, no aggression on each other. Thirdly, no internal interference. First was external aggression, and now no internal aggression and no internal interference. And this was extended later fully, no internal interference, political, economic or ideological. Then, fourthly, something about mutual respect; and, fifthly, just peaceful coexistence, as a result. If by any chance all countries accepted these five principles, that is, they did not commit aggression, respected each other's freedom and tolerated each other fully, obviously, the principal reason for international conflicts would go, provided that were done.

I do not say all the world can become saintly by repetition of the phrase. One may have to be vigilant and wary, but at any rate a certain world public opinion is built, which grows and gradually influences even evil-doers, and makes it difficult for them to misbehave. There is no other way; one has to take risks in this world. One can never be dead certain about the future. In fact probably the greatest risk is, if I may say so, to function as the world is functioning today. So, in this matter, as you said, Sir, there is a community of approach and spirit.

Our political and economic structure in India is democratic; our political structure is that of a parliamentary democracy. Just as you allow every party to function, we allow every party to function. We had elections on a tremendous scale only three months ago.<sup>7</sup> The number of our voters on the rolls approached 200 million. We gave the vote to every adult citizen, man or woman, most of them illiterate, and quite a number of them primitive people living in the jungles. We gave them the vote too; we treated every individual as having a right to it. It

5. See *ante*, pp. 456-458, for Nehru's letter to Russell Fifield, explaining the origins of the term Panchsheel.

6. Johannes Virolainen, Foreign Minister of Finland, May-October 1957.

7. The second general elections were held from 24 February to 14 May 1957.

was a brave act when, about ten or nine years ago, we gave everybody the vote, but we trusted them. If they want to go a certain way, let them go. So we had our first general elections<sup>8</sup> about six years ago, and now we have had our second general elections, and my own faith and respect for the Indian public and the Indian voter has grown, even though we have had a hard knock from the voter sometimes. We should not complain, we should not judge the voter because he does not agree with us always, but he has exercised sound common sense. I do not know how he will behave in the future. But whatever he does, whether I agree with him or not, it will not be just at the spur of the moment, and he would have thought about it. Anyhow one has to take these risks in democracy as in everything else.

So we have political democracy, and our structure of government in Parliament is 100 per cent democratic. We are now involved in working out our economic plans. They are very difficult, chiefly because for the last 100 or 150 years or more we were bottled up, economically speaking and politically also. Your country was bottled up<sup>9</sup> for a long time, so you know the result of that. It suppresses creative energies and it diverts people's attention only to one thing, to gain freedom of their country, and so when freedom comes, one has to do what one should have done normally in 100 years' time. And what about our vast population? The moment our political revolution was over, we had to come up against the demands of economic revolution, and come up at a time of world crisis, as it is now going on, a tremendous crisis, which comes in our way. So we have all these difficult problems to face in the economic sphere.

The social factor becomes more and more important. Naturally we want to raise our people, not only raise our people, not only raise our nation but each individual. And so these problems come up and we try to deal with them basing ourselves in a democratic way. Because we have always felt that there is no halfway house to democracy; either you have it, or you do not have it. Pretending to have it, saying that you have democracy and under the cover of that have something else, that is not giving it a fair trial.

Well, we have sunk our boats so far as that is concerned, and we go ahead along that path. And on the economic plane, too, we went ahead and have

8. From October 1951 to May 1952.

9. From the 12th century onwards, Finland became a bone of contention between Sweden and Russia. In 1809, Sweden ceded Finland to Russia. While Finland declared herself an independent state in 1917, civil war broke out in 1918 between rival groups supported by the Germans and Soviets respectively. In 1939, the Soviet Union invaded Finland. During the war, Finland joined the German attack on USSR and regained lost territory. But in 1944, faced with the advancing Soviet Army, she signed an armistice with the USSR.



produced what we call a mixed economy. What the future will be, I do not know, but we have a large public sector, government-owned sector, and we have a very large private sector, and we encourage both to function, and there is no other way. If we planned, we had to have both and coordinated by the central plan. But whatever we do, we do; we do not follow any rigid theory. We think most of the troubles of the world are due to people sticking to rigid theories which are out of date. Even if they were good at one time, they become completely out of date, but people go on swearing by them. So we have no doctrinaire approach, no rigid approach; we have a broad social approach; and we try to test everything by the yardstick of: Is it good, will it raise the level of our masses? If it does, then it is good; if not, then it is not good. And so by trial and error, making many mistakes from time to time, we are trying to march along this journey. It is a difficult journey, but we are stout of heart and we realize that we have to carry our own burdens; a country which cannot carry its own burdens does not go ahead; it cannot march ahead on somebody's back as that somebody would throw it down to get the strength to march. But we do certainly welcome help and cooperation, and we have received it from some countries, for which we are grateful. But all the help and cooperation which we have received is only a very small percentage of our own effort: it is not a major percentage. What we welcome most of all, is this friendliness of spirit, kinship of spirit, and that atmosphere of cooperation between us and other countries. And because we find it so much here in Finland, we are particularly grateful to you and happy.

May I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to drink to the welfare of Finland and her people and the good relations between Finland and India.

## 2. The Pursuit of Philosophy and World Problems<sup>1</sup>

Most people think that India is a land of philosophers. And philosophy has been a pursuit of the Indian mind for long ages past. Perhaps, if I may say so, they pursued philosophy so much that they forgot the rest of the world. They are trying to get back to the rest of the world, not discarding philosophy but certainly

1. Address to the Friends of India Society, Helsinki, 18 June 1957. *Nehru in Scandinavia*, Information Service of India, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 48-55.

trying to come out of their ivory shells and trying to meet the problems of the day.

It is true that when we have to face great problems, as we have to face them in the world today, one has inevitably to think not only of the external aspects of those problems but try to go deeper into them and, therefore, in a sense, one has to philosophize—but philosophy as applied to the world's problems and not something separated from everything else. Therefore, I am not going to talk to you about philosophy as a subject because I am totally unable to do so.<sup>2</sup>

I am by fate and circumstance what is called a politician. I am not quite sure if I was made to be a politician but circumstances have compelled me and many others in India to play about in the realm of politics. Our politics were somewhat peculiar politics, because we received training under a leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who was hardly a politician. He was something very different, though he functioned on the plane of politics also. He made us behave in a way which surprised most people in India to begin with, because it was so different from the normal behaviour of politicians. And he evolved a movement which combined two things which normally do not combine. One was a very strong ethical approach to political problems. The other was, this was done not in an individual way, which can be done, but in a mass way. He combined certain ideological approaches to positive mass action. What he said was perhaps not new. Great men have said it many times. But to base a political movement on that and to have mass action on that basis and train the masses in that way was certainly quite new.

We pursued this movement, and we gained success in it by peaceful methods. Thereby we gained a certain feeling of self-reliance. Indeed, the whole object of that movement was to give self-reliance to the Indian people and to make them shed their fear. Fear is a bad thing; it is a very bad companion. It oppresses one, it prevents one from growing. The great thing about Mahatma Gandhi was that he succeeded in ridding the Indian people very largely of fear. Remember that at that time fear was a pervading thing in India, as it always is where there is foreign domination. Nobody dared utter his thoughts because he was afraid of getting into trouble, going to prison, suffering in other ways, being shot down. Mahatma Gandhi said: "Why are you afraid, after all what will happen if you are not afraid? Well, you may be punished. You may be sent to prison, you may even be shot down. Well, what of it? After all, because of fear, you are terribly miserable all the time. And if you shed fear and are not afraid of the consequences that follow, you will be much happier and much stronger."

2. In his opening remarks, the Chairman, Juho Savio, had requested Nehru to speak on Indian philosophy.



Mahatma Gandhi always laid stress on this fact, that you must be mentally free, then you will gain your political freedom.

Well, it was easy to say that, but the surprising thing was that we did, in a large measure, shed our fear, even the poverty-stricken peasants of India who were oppressed, afraid of everybody in those days, afraid of their landlord, afraid of their landlord's agent, afraid of the policeman, afraid of the moneylender, afraid of the law courts, afraid of the government. And yet, suddenly, they seemed to get less afraid, when Mahatma Gandhi's message reached them, and some kind of hope came into their sunken eyes, some measure of self-reliance, some little element of pride in themselves. It was an astonishing change for multitudes of human beings, this release.

I am mentioning this to you because this impressed itself upon me very powerfully in those days when I saw the Indian countryside, these peasants suddenly becoming less afraid and, therefore, in a sense, in spite of their poverty, a little happier because fear makes for unhappiness. Then, after that, many things happened, many depressing things. Our movement went on year after year, decade after decade, and people suffered much and sometimes people misbehaved. They were not angels. None of us were angels. We were very ordinary people. And so we were conditioned and trained, and ultimately we attained our freedom through those peaceful methods.

Another thing that Mahatma Gandhi said, and continuously repeated, was: "You are fighting a system, you are fighting foreign domination, you are fighting British imperialism. You are not fighting the Englishman. You are not fighting any individual. Therefore, you must have no anger or hatred in your minds against the British people. Oh! yes, fight the system which is bad. Fight evil, not the individual." Well, again, all of us were very ordinary folk and we became angry, and sometimes I fear we were very angry but nevertheless this message often repeated had some effect on us.

And when India attained her Independence ten years ago, at last by agreement with the British, we did not harbour any ill will against the British people and we became friends, much better friends than ever we were before. That shows, I think very remarkably, how, if you pursue a right path, you adopt the right means, then the consequences are not likely to be wrong. It is not enough, as Mahatma Gandhi said, to have a right objective. Your means, your ways to it, must also be right. If you follow evil methods even to get right ends, then you will be led astray and the consequences will be bad.

We have seen, and you have seen very much, the horrors of world wars, two world wars. Well, a number of countries engaged in the war emerged victorious and they thoroughly defeated their enemies. But a few years after defeating them, they found that they had not solved many problems. In fact, they had

more difficult problems. The First World War came to an end with utter defeat of one party and only a few years after that the victors were in difficulties. The Second World War came to an end again with the complete defeat of one party, and soon after the victors were faced with tremendous problems and difficulties and people even talk of a third world war.

Surely, there is something wrong about this approach. We solve perhaps one problem and have to face many more problems of infinitely greater difficulty and magnitude. Why? I do not know. But it does seem to me, apart from the horror of war, that a method which is employed, which itself is bad, which is based on violence and increases hatred, cannot lead ultimately to right results. Something goes wrong. We see the result of these two wars, how much humanity has been brutalized, how the tenderness and graciousness of life have gradually slipped away. We all become rough people, rough and crude in our behaviour. Fortunately, there is still tenderness and graciousness in individuals, but nations become rough and crude and shout at each other and curse each other, thereby obviously not improving international relations.

It may be that somebody is wrong, some nation is wrong or some government is wrong. It may be that sometimes every government is wrong. It may or may not be. The point is how do you set about righting them? If you curse them, you do not convert them. You make them angry with you. If you go to war, then you have all the evils of war, hatred, violence, brutality, everything which debases humanity. If you do not go to war and you simply sit down and curse each other, well, normally civilized human beings should not sit down cursing each other, that is no civilized practice. If I may say so, it is even better to hit a man than to sit down and curse him. Hitting him may be bad, you are in a temper; but cursing in cold blood seems to me opposed to any civilized canons of behaviour. You do not convert the man you curse; you make him angry and he curses back at you and it is a match in mutual cursing.

That is what the world is today. Not altogether, but that is what happens whether we call it a cold war or anything else. It is simply a match in cursing and in manoeuvring to frighten the other party. If we are going to solve the problems of the world which are very, very difficult—and I have no solution, I do not pretend to have any solution—I do submit with all humility that the approach should not be one of cursing.

I do not say, as a responsible politician, speaking for India, that I can forget my responsibilities for India. I have to protect India in case of danger. I have to take measures, so that if emergency arises I can protect India. Every country has to do that. If Mahatma Gandhi had been in charge of the country, he might perhaps have adopted his own methods. But we are not Mahatma Gandhi; we are simple, ordinary human beings. We function in a democratic society, and in



a democratic society saints may be worshipped, they are not followed. Saints are too difficult to follow. Saints, as a rule, are stoned to death by the crowd. The crowd may honour them afterwards, but for the moment a saint often has to suffer that.

So one cannot go much beyond in a democratic society. A government cannot leave public feeling and march ahead by itself. If a government tries to do that, it ceases to be a government. Somebody else becomes the government. It is pushed out by the democratic society. At the same time, one has to give, or one tries to give, a certain turn to the democratic society in a right direction. Try to give a lead to them and, of course, take a lead from them too. Therefore I say, no person in a responsible position can merely say, let us live in friendship and goodwill, let us trust everybody and let us wind up our armies, put an end to them. I believe the era of national armies is past. I think it is absurd for nations to keep huge armies or small armies. But even I, as Prime Minister of India, cannot wind up the Indian Army in the circumstances. My people would not allow me to do so. They would kick me out. Well, it does not matter if they kick me out, but the fact is there are certain risks which no responsible government can take.

So I am not saying that countries should take any kind of risk. But I do submit that in the conditions as they are today, countries functioning in warlike terms all the time, which I call cold war, is utterly illogical. If you want a war, it is very bad, but I can understand it. But when you say that war today, a big war, is out of the question, that the hydrogen bomb will destroy the world, therefore, war should be ruled out—if war should be ruled out, then why cold war which is an incitement to war? It is illogical. It creates an atmosphere which poisons people's minds and which prevents a return to normality, to a state of affairs where fear is not a dominant factor.

Today fear is the dominant factor. And the odd thing is that the bigger and the more powerful the country, the more afraid it is. It is a very extraordinary thing. Greatness and power do not give assurance to a country today. It is just like a rich man being always afraid of the thief coming and stealing his property. He is more afraid than a person who has no riches, who may be happier because he has nothing to lose, so he does not mind if he loses what little he has.

The two greatest Powers in the world today are the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and both are terribly afraid of each other. And both are constantly taking steps lest the other go ahead and be stronger. It is an extraordinary thing. One should have thought that these great Powers should at least be without fear. But they have the most fear. And there is something wrong about that. And in effect, I believe, there is a gradual realization—it is very

gradual but it is coming—that this path of fear and apprehension and hatred does not lead anywhere.

I believe personally that the world is passing through a great transitional period. We are on the threshold of the atomic age, with all that it represents. It may change human living completely in the next ten, fifteen, twenty years, just as the Industrial Revolution changed it a hundred years ago. That, of course, affects all this business of war because it changes the whole texture. But I am saying something beyond that. Just as the hydrogen bomb has for the moment become the symbol of the greatest violence imaginable, so the hydrogen bomb and atomic energy seem to me—bad as they are,—or they may be good, of course, not the bomb, I mean, but atomic energy—rather symbolic of the tremendous and revolutionary changes that are taking place or will take place if we survive. And if there is no war, we will survive. I think we will survive, because humanity has survived all kinds of dangers and misfortunes.

I think that we are passing through—almost unconsciously, people hardly realize it—a tremendous period of change in people's thinking. Because these things—atomic energy and the hydrogen bomb—have forced people to think. And they begin to realize that on the physical plane, this great advance in communications brings every country nearer to the other. We cannot remain apart. Every country is the neighbour of the next country. The nearby neighbours are not much nearer than the country further away. Within a few hours you go thousands of miles. So that we have all become neighbours. We hear each other, we talk to each other and we cannot really isolate ourselves from the rest of the world.

That is an external aspect of it. But these external aspects affect people's thinking too. Because, after all, the biggest revolutions begin in people's minds. Everything begins in people's minds. War begins in people's minds, peace begins in people's minds, great inventions, discoveries, atomic energy, hydrogen bomb, all begin in people's minds. So I think that we are gradually passing through this revolutionary phase. Nobody can be a prophet and say what it can lead to. But if we survive, that is to say if the world is not destroyed meanwhile by hydrogen bombs and the like, it will probably go into another and higher phase of existence, humanity I mean.

That is to say, we cannot judge even political and economic problems as purely political and economic. We have judged them too long like that, and we have ignored other phases which are very important. You may call them ethical, you may call them moral. You may even call them philosophical, if you like. I do not quite know. But whatever you may call them, you have to have an integrated approach to these problems. You cannot separate them, just as a human being tries to be, or ought to be, an integrated personality. You cannot divide up a



human being, his mind in one place, his emotions in another, his passion in a third place, his body going one way, his mind another. He splits up. He goes mad or he just is unhappy, terribly unhappy. The more integrated the man is, the more effective and worthwhile he or she is. So communities, so the world.

In this present age of tremendous scientific developments which throw us against each other, the world has to become more integrated or it will burst. There is no choice left. If I may put it differently, you have no choice today between peaceful coexistence and mutual destruction. You have got to face these choices, final choices. The middle courses gradually eliminate themselves. So on the political plane, you have to face this choice of accepting peaceful coexistence, which means coexistence with people and nations you disagree with. There is no difficulty in existing with people you like. The difficulty comes when you have to exist with people or ideas you dislike.

That is on the political plane. But on a different plane also we have to develop. Science has thrown us together by the development of communications and the like. How are we to adjust ourselves? We can only adjust ourselves in a mental, emotional or other way to these tremendous developments of science, whether it is atomic energy or radar or all these latest things in communications. But we have not adjusted ourselves to them. Science has gone ahead leaving us behind. We take advantage of science, of course; we throw the hydrogen bomb. But we have not advanced mentally to the stage of utilizing those things for human good. So there is this tremendous revolutionary change that the world is facing. It does not mean that the change will be over in a year or so. It will take ten years, fifteen years, twenty years, I do not know. The Industrial Revolution took many, many years. So it will take time and we shall have to integrate ourselves, not only on the physical and economic levels but on the ethical and moral levels also. That is going to a different plane and that is where perhaps philosophy comes in.

I hope you will forgive me for this rambling discourse. It is a great pleasure to me to come here to meet you all, indeed to come to Finland, because in the past years, although Finland has often come to our minds in India, we are a far away country from here. But circumstances forced us to think of Finland because events were happening which were testing Finland, which cast a tremendous burden on Finland and we admired the spirit of the Finnish people, the courage with which they faced all their difficulties. So my being here makes me happy that I can pay my tribute to the people of Finland. I know you have difficulties to face but I have not a shadow of a doubt that people of the quality which has been seen here will face any difficulty with courage and overcome it.

Thank you.

### 3. To T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

Hotel Vaakuna  
Helsinki (Finland)  
18 June 1957

My dear T.T.,

As usual, I am having a heavy and continuous programme wherever I go and get very little rest or time for any other work. These countries attract me greatly and, I must say, they have given me very warm welcomes. What is rather moving is the fact that crowds stand outside till midnight just for a glimpse, if the Finnish people, who are supposed to be very phlegmatic, warm up.<sup>2</sup>

I enclose an extract from a letter from Homi Bhabha which might interest you.<sup>3</sup>

Here in Finland the Government is in great difficulties—external finance, internal finance, demands for higher wages, etc. You know perhaps that Finland has sent a contingent of troops to the Egyptian-Israel border.<sup>4</sup> I was surprised to

1. JN Collection.

2. Nehru wrote to G.B. Pant the same day: "I am having a warm welcome wherever I go. This is not confined to the Government, but extends to the people who crowd every place where I am expected. I like these people in Scandinavia."

3. Writing, on 10 June about his recent visit to various places in Europe, Homi Bhabha noted that he had seen an atomic reactor built underground in the middle of Stockholm and suggested that India's pilot plutonium plant at Trombay should also be built inside Trombay hill for protection. Bhabha wanted the power generating station at Bhakra to be similarly protected, since the dam was being constructed close to the Pakistan border. Further Bhabha observed that in Zagreb (Yugoslavia) a electrical machinery plant obtained steel for large equipment from Western Europe, while Russian Steel was used for small and medium-sized generators. This was because, the energy losses in the Russian materials were higher, noted Bhabha. He stated that this problem was not faced by the Russian producers of heavy equipment since they made the machines bigger to allow for energy loss, thus making it more costly. According to Bhabha, this did also not affect their competing with the rest of the world since such decisions were taken on a political basis. Bhabha noted that there was an important lesson for Indian State enterprises to learn from this. He therefore suggested that "one should consciously aim at producing a situation in which different State enterprises can compete freely with each other, so as to ensure a high degree of efficiency."

4. Contingents from Finland and nine other countries were part of the United Nations Emergency Force which supervised the Egypt-Israel Armistice Line. The Finnish contingent was withdrawn in December 1957.



learn that they are paying forty-five pounds per month as salary to each one of their soldiers who has gone. They could not send their normal conscripts according to their regulations. They had to ask for volunteers and pay them much more. Compare this to what we pay our men who, on the whole, are well paid according to Indian standards.

In the course of conversation today, the Finnish Ministers said that they wanted to buy many things from India such as tea, etc. But they were just unable to pay for them in sterling or dollars. They have, however, plenty of roubles and if we could accept these Russian roubles in payment, they would gladly buy our stuff. I do not know if there is anything in this. If we have to make any payments in roubles to the Russians, this might help in opening out a new market for us here in Finland.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Nehru also wrote to Morarji Desai, Minister for Commerce and Industry, about this matter.

#### 4. Press Conference<sup>1</sup>

President (Osmo Orkomies): Your Excellency, it is a great pleasure for me, on behalf of the Finnish Press and on behalf of the foreign Press represented here, to tell you how glad we are to see you here tonight at our Press Conference. Mr Prime Minister, may I suggest that I call on the journalists who wish to ask questions?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Certainly. Sitting here in this room, which is a University room,<sup>2</sup> I feel like a professor taking his class.

Aari (*Helsingin Sanomat*): May I ask a question with regard to the UN and its standing today? Also, whether you believe that the present forces in the Suez Canal would form some kind of nucleus of a permanent international force?

1. Helsinki, 19 June 1957. *Nehru in Scandinavia*, Information Service of India, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 56-76.
2. The press conference was held at the Helsinki University building.

JN: Well, it is not a question of my belief. I do not know. India has also sent its contingent there. We have not sent it to form part of a permanent force. We should like to get it back as soon as possible. What the future may be, I do not know.

Aari: I would like to ask you about the standing of UN as a peaceful organ. Do you believe this organ will help lessen tension between East and West?

JN: Well, first of all, it seems to me quite essential that there should be an international organ where disputes and international problems are discussed and attempts are made to solve disputes. Therefore, some organization like the UN is quite essential in the modern world. Secondly, the UN was formed for that purpose. It may be criticized as not having succeeded always. That is hardly the fault of the UN. It is the fault of the nations themselves, not the organization. I think that the UN has, in spite of some failures, done, in many other cases, very good work indeed. And it has to continue doing that. How far it will make progress, as I hope and think it will, depends on so many circumstances that it is difficult to prophesy.

Representative of the Associated Press: There is distrust between this colossus over here and that colossus over there. I wonder if you could possibly expound for us some sort of formula of disarmament whereby the two colossuses could learn to trust each other. Do you think it possible, Sir, for us to get together on some formula whereby we could trust each other in disarmament?

JN: Essentially, it is hardly a question of a formula, though, of course, one has to work with formulae. Naturally. I should have said that because of certain circumstances in the world and the progressive acceptance of the fact that any major war ought to be unthinkable, people in governments and even statesmen are being driven to find some way out, and if the drive is hard enough in peoples' minds, I have no doubt some way out will be found. It is very difficult to say what will happen, but there appears to be a little more optimism now about some way out being found. To expect some full-blooded complete solution is to be too optimistic; I mean, at one jump. Therefore, it is better to try for one step at a time, each step lessening tension and thereby helping in the next step.

So far as nuclear and thermonuclear weapons are concerned, we have ventured to suggest that the first step should be a suspension of the explosions, test explosions, so that time may be given to consider this matter in a calmer atmosphere. Even a suspension would improve matters much. It is about three years now since in the Indian Parliament we proposed various steps in regard to



nuclear weapons; the first step was the suspension of tests, so as to consider their complete abandonment later.<sup>3</sup> There was something else too about fissionable material and all that, but the point was that if one step is taken for suspension, then immediately there is a slightly better atmosphere for a consideration of abandonment. Apart from this, we think that these test explosions are definitely injurious to humanity, even as they are. So all I can say about disarmament is that every attempt should be made to take a step, even a small step, and that is something, and I hope that the near future might see some such step.

Question: How big is that hope?

JN: Well, I might refer to it in terms of percentages or what? On the one hand, we have hoped in the past, and been disappointed. But as you know, hope deferred makes the heart sick. So there will be no disappointments. On the other hand, if one gives up all hope, then, well, one becomes rather functionless and rather miserable. One has to hope, but I think there are definite indications that something might result. I do not know how long it may take, say, in the course of this year.

President: Now I would like to call one of the representatives of the Indian Press.

JN: Why the Indian Press? They see me all the time.

President: Well, they might like to ask something specially regarding Finland.

T.V. Parsuram (Press Trust of India): Would you give us your impressions of Finland?

JN: I have been in Finland, let us say, for two days, two very pleasant days, with more or less the heavens and the sun smiling upon us, but that made no difference. I came to Finland very favourably disposed, very partial to Finland, even before I came here, for a variety of reasons, historical and other. And I found an extraordinarily friendly and likable people here, occupying naturally a rather difficult position but facing their problems with courage and solving them one by one. I like and admire the Finnish people.

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 445-449, for Nehru's speech in the Lok Sabha on 2 April 1954.

Zilliacus (*Hufvudstadsbladet*): Do you think there is any chance of developing some closer cooperation between India and Finland or India and the Northern countries in the UN on the question of world peace?

JN: Well, first of all I did not give a special place in the world for India and Finland for world peace. There are many other countries, of course, but as we were talking about Finland and India I referred to them. There has been some fair measure of cooperation between India and these countries in the UN and elsewhere, and I should hope that there will be more cooperation.

Daudy (Agence France Presse): Now about the Suez question, I would like to ask you, first, if you think that the Egyptian memorandum ruling passage across the Suez Canal can be considered as a final settlement or as one step? Secondly, what is your position about the passage of Israeli ships in the Suez Canal?

JN: I should imagine that the Egyptian declaration in regard to the passage of ships through the Suez Canal is a very satisfactory approach to the problem. It lays down some basic considerations; it is not rigid, unless you might say that the recognition of Egyptian sovereignty is a rigid position. Apart from that, it is a flexible thing. There is plenty of room in it for consultation with user powers and others: even, I believe, in some cases for a reference to the International Court in regard to some disputes; I do not quite remember in what cases. That is a very good basis. I do not say it is one hundred per cent complete. It may develop on that basis.

As for the second part of the question about the passage of Israeli ships, I think that the Suez Canal ought to be open to all ships to pass through. The position taken up by the Egyptian Government all along has been that they abide by the Convention of 1888. Now if that is so, then it becomes a question of interpreting the Convention of 1888. Further, I believe, they have said, or they have implied, that if there are two interpretations, let the International Court of Justice decide; presumably meaning thereby that they will accept the International Court's decision on it. I am not committing them; I do not know. It is a presumption. Anyhow, my own view is that all ships should be allowed to pass through the Suez Canal. And that is my interpretation of the 1888 Convention also.

Pedersen (United Press): Going back to the question of disarmament, there have been reports that the Disarmament Committee has reached partial agreement. Do you have any suggestion as to whether anything further can be done in the Committee or anywhere else?



JN: As a matter of fact, I am not fully cognizant of the details of these approaches. I do not know; how can I suggest any detailed approach?

Question: Is there some other organization?

JN: There is no other organization. The only other way is informally to meet together to discuss it. Not organizationally. The Heads of States or the representatives of States can meet informally to discuss the matter, which I think is usually a better method to begin with, because there is less rigidity there. Of course, that should be followed by formal discussions. It is always helpful if informally we have discussed the matter, perhaps seen some opening, then following it up in a formal approach, in the UN or in the Disarmament Commission, wherever it may be. The difficulty is that the great Powers, or for that matter small Powers too, in these conferences adopt such rigid attitudes, which they do not often enough when they discuss this matter informally.

Question: Sir, why don't you invite the Big Four to meet in New Delhi?

JN: Because that would be highly presumptuous of me. I welcome them if they wish to come. Who am I to issue summons to the great Powers to come to Delhi? If it is all that easy, then the great Powers would have come to an agreement long ago.

Question: Well, I did not want to sound captious, but I have seen these international gatherings are always in the wrong arena; the position that New Delhi and India and yourself have established might be a very good background.

JN: As I said, I would be very happy if we could help in any way. They would be very welcome indeed if they are prepared to come to New Delhi or anywhere but I do think that this kind of throwing out invitations is rather an adventurist action embarrassing to those invited and to the person inviting unless, of course, one knows....

Aari: The Indian goodwill delegation which came here said something about the Indian Five Year Plan. Would you in a nutshell give us the situation today?

JN: It is a big question and a very interesting one for me. I do not quite know how to give it in a nutshell, but I shall try to do so. On the attainment of independence, we had immediately to face the economic and social questions

before India. In fact, the object of independence is to get a chance to improve the condition of the people. And so we thought of what steps to take. Remember that, on the one hand, India like other countries had been, well, prevented, if I may use the word, from progressing economically because of conditions prevailing there. I am not saying that the British Government was deliberately preventing us from doing things; in some matters they were. But conditions of foreign rule themselves prevented this kind of thing happening.

So when we were free we thought of this; we thought of it previously too; we set up a Planning Commission. Our resources were obviously limited. Any country that wants to make progress has to find money for investment and an underdeveloped country that lives from hand to mouth has precious little to invest. It has always to face that difficulty, how to get resources for this purpose? The first step it has to take really is to live an austere life to get that money. That is, the first effect of it is not benefit to the masses but rather a slight burden to the people for a little while till they get going. So we had a Planning Commission and they produced the First Five Year Plan in which we laid great stress on the food position because after partition in India, our food position was very bad. So we laid great stress on grow-more-food campaigns and increasing our food production. We also laid great stress on big river valley schemes for irrigation and for power – hydroelectric power—and we did many other things. That Five Year Plan was a great success. It was a modest plan. We did increase our food production beyond the targets aimed at. That is very satisfactory, and we did other things. This led us to frame the Second Five Year Plan, which was much more ambitious because we saw that the pace of progress laid down in the First Plan was too slow.

What do I mean by too slow? Because of other events happening which rather overwhelmed the progress made, the growing population. I do not mean to say that the population of India grows at a very high rate; it does not. It is a fair rate but not a high rate. But in the totality, the country being big, the total number growing is very big. So there was a growing population, there was a vast number of unemployed or, even more so, underemployed people, and behind it all was the fact that after Independence, the people expected a sudden solution of all our problems. Nobody can function magically in these ways. So that the social urge and the demands of the people were tremendous, pressing in upon us, so that we said that we will have to advance at a faster pace, which meant shouldering heavier burdens.

So we drew up our Second Five Year Plan. In this, as before, there was great stress on agricultural production being increased, especially food, but also there was great stress on the growth of industry. And we felt that if industry was to grow really, the basic, the mother industries must be started, the heavy industries.



Now, heavy industry involves iron and steel and power. So we have started a number of very big iron and steel plants. Power, of course, we are trying to develop in various ways. We are going to start very soon a big machine-making industrial plant, that is, a plant which in itself makes the machinery for an iron and steel plant in future. And, of course, minor industries also we are starting.

Heavy industry, as you know, means putting in large sums of money over a number of years without dividends. They take five, six or seven years to develop. After that we get heavy dividends. So we have to pass through a very difficult period and we are passing through that difficult period now.

That is one aspect of the question. The second thing is the way we are attacking our rural areas. We started less than five years ago a community development programme for our villages and rural areas. Remember that about eighty per cent of India's population at present lives in villages, and there are about 540,000 villages in India. Some are very small, some are big, all sizes, enormous numbers. And it is a very difficult thing to move them [the villagers] out. Of course, many of them come to the towns and go to the new industries, but the major part of the population remain in their villages.

So we started this Community Development Programme, grouping villages in tens and hundreds and giving them some extra guidance—usually forming a group of experts that we gave them, say, an engineer, an agricultural person, a medical man, an educationist, an animal husbandry man, a little group for a group of ten villages. And what we call a village level worker, that is, we trained young men and young women, we picked them out from the village, the right people, and gave them a year's training and sent them back to the village. The whole idea was that while we helped, it was the villagers themselves who must do the things. Whether it is better agriculture, better animal husbandry, making roads, making schools, houses or little hospitals, that is, shake them up, make them self-reliant and more cooperative with each other.

This was started less than five years ago. It has spread already to, I think, 240,000 villages, that is, over forty per cent of the total. Now I do not say that wherever it has gone it has worked wonders, but the general level of progress has been remarkable; some more, some less, depending on the people of the villages. It has shaken up rural India for the first time in two hundred years and I think, personally, that is the most revolutionary thing happening in India, this Community Development Programme. Our difficulty with it is that the demands it makes upon us are difficult to fulfil: demands firstly of trained personnel. We have to train people rapidly, from the village level worker upwards to higher grades, whether it is doctors, engineers or others. However, we are trying to fulfil that.

Now, our present difficulty with the Plan is, firstly, of foreign exchange. That

is, we have cut down our imports considerably to save and concentrate on machinery which we have to get till we make it ourselves. Between the State ordering machines for its big schemes and private enterprise ordering machines, well, so much is coming that it tends to exhaust our foreign exchange reserves. We cannot stop it immediately because it was ordered a year ago, two years ago. It is gradually coming in, and that is one great difficulty which we have to pass through during the next year, eighteen months or two years somehow, but after that we make good in many ways.

The second difficulty is that all our estimates for the Five Year Plan have proved underestimates, for a variety of reasons, chief of them being that prices have gone up all over the world. All the machinery we are getting is much more expensive now, whether we get it from America, Germany, England; wherever we get it from, prices are heavier. In India prices have gone up too somewhat. The Suez Canal hit us somewhat also, partly because of delays, partly because of prices going up. So these are the major difficulties which we face. They are not remarkable difficulties. Quite a number of countries are facing similar difficulties, both in regard to foreign finance and internal finance. And you may know that our Finance Minister about two months back produced a budget.<sup>4</sup> And he was, well, rather courageous about it, if courage can be measured by the number of taxes imposed. Because we wanted to shoulder the burden, not to run away from it, not to escape from it. It is a pretty heavy burden.

Pedersen: Concerning the forthcoming Commonwealth Conference<sup>5</sup> in London, the first one since the happenings in Suez, do you think that the post-Suez relations among the Commonwealth countries will be a major topic for discussion? What other topics might be discussed?

JN: Speaking personally for myself, I was in London after the Suez crisis and met the then Prime Minister<sup>6</sup> and other Ministers; that is, when I was coming back from Washington I stopped in London last December and naturally we discussed even then, though informally, what had happened round about the Suez Canal. You know, these Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conferences have no formal agenda. They discuss broad subjects. They may discuss, say, disarmament, they may discuss something about the situation in South-East Asia, the situation in Europe. And we do not pass resolutions, we discuss each other's viewpoints and try to understand each other and pass on to the next

4. T.T. Krishnamachari presented the General Budget in the Lok Sabha on 15 May 1957.

5. It was held from 26 June to 5 July 1957.

6. Anthony Eden.



subject. It is very helpful in understanding each other. We do not agree about everything: we agree about many things, we do not agree about others. That is the normal practice, which I think is a good thing, because if you sat down and insisted on agreement, difficulties arise because each Prime Minister is responsible to his Government and to his Parliament—independent countries meeting, and with definite policies which their parliaments have adopted. So within the ambit of that policy, he discusses it or he goes back to convince his own parliament or his government about any variation. So I suppose at this Conference, as usual, we shall discuss the world situation in its various regional and other aspects and try to understand each other.

Pedersen: As the post-Suez situation or some other broad topic is almost certain to be discussed, will there be a revaluation of Commonwealth relations today?

JN: I have not quite understood you.

Pedersen: It has been said that the Commonwealth is not in quite as good condition as it has been, and so will there be an emphasis on realignment of Commonwealth nations' relations today?

JN: That kind of vague talk has taken place previously too; last year it did, and it might again, but not in the Conference. In the newspapers usually people write. I do not know if anybody will bring that forward, it is rather a difficult question. First of all, every single Commonwealth country—I am not talking about India or the Asian countries, but this includes others too—is very jealous of its complete independence and sovereignty. It does not wish to treat the Commonwealth Conference as a kind of super-State, issuing orders to it. That is one thing. The other is, obviously, if you try to split up the Commonwealth Conference into an inner circle and an outer circle, obviously that would not be liked by the outer circle. They would say, what is this? Are we just hangers-on to the inner circle? All these difficulties arise. So I imagine that probably they will continue to carry on as they have carried on in the past.

Question: Do you happen to know one single nation in the world today that does not want peace?

JN: That does not want peace? No. So far as people are concerned, I am quite convinced that the people of every country want peace. So far as governments are concerned, I think the government of every country, barring perhaps one or two small countries, wants peace definitely.

Question: Would you care to name those countries?

JN: I should not like to. Anyhow, they are of no great importance in this context. I am not referring to any important country, but there are one or two countries which think that a war, general war, might profit them. They are not European countries, I might say.

Daudy: Yesterday, Sir, you made a point of the difference between what you called neutrality which had a smell of war and non-alignment which signified the Indian policy today.<sup>7</sup> I would like you to make it a little more clear. I wish to know if you do not feel that nations like yours which feel they should not be aligned to any definite policy, have still the possibility to consult each other. Particularly in the UN very often we see that a group of nations are agreeing on some rather important issues and it generally happens, of course, that they are so-called neutral nations, or northern nations very often, a certain group of Arab and Asian nations. Don't you think that this contains some possibilities for the future?

JN: Consultation?

Daudy: No, not consultation, but starting, maybe, from different points, they meet on some main issues. Don't you think that there lies a possibility for the future?

JN: But that is obvious when today countries or representatives of countries are constantly meeting in the UN. They are meeting in other ways too, or directly through diplomatic and other means discussing problems. This is certainly going on. It is natural that like-minded countries consult each other more. Obviously, that is a good thing, the right thing. Take the Commonwealth itself. I think the great value of the Commonwealth is that, in spite of differences of opinion, people meet and discuss in a friendly way and try to understand each other. India has close relations with a number of South-East Asian countries. We have no formal bond, no alliance, no commitment, but we just are friendly and discuss questions very often amongst ourselves without committing anybody. That kind of consultation among like-minded countries certainly, but even others, should be encouraged in every way.

You referred to what I said yesterday about neutrality. That was, of course, rather talking about the precise meaning of words, and what I said yesterday

7. See *ante*, p. 505.



was that previously the word neutrality was used in case of war. It is odd that it should now be used in peacetime. Neutrality previously was used as something opposed to belligerency. That was the normal use of it previously; now it is loosely used about any country that does not line up even in peacetime. But that is only a criticism of the use of words, imprecise use of words. It is a bad thing, though, because behind the imprecise use of words, there is the imprecise ideas in one's head, and they produce foggy notions in people's minds.

Daudy: Could you define the non-alignment policy?

JN: I do not know if I can define it, but I will say something about it. Obviously, it refers to military alliances; it does not refer to trade, commerce, etc. If you have a military alliance, presumably that military alliance is aimed against another country or group of countries. You see there is a difference between alliances, for if you will remember the Locarno Pact<sup>8</sup>—it was long ago—it was a security arrangement between rival Powers. They came to an agreement, after the First World War, Germany, England, France and other countries, about mutual security. The Locarno Pact unfortunately did not last; that is an unfortunate fact. But it was not aimed against anybody. It was to give mutual security to the countries concerned. I am not advocating that; I am merely saying it was not aimed at anybody. Therefore, it was a step towards stabilization in Europe. It helped. But any kind of military alliance which is either directly or indirectly aimed at another country—it may be due to fear, due to apprehension, it may be considered a defensive alliance—but if it is aimed at another, then you get what you have got today, that is, two alliances or two groups forming alliances aimed at each other or through fear of each other, if you like. It does not matter how you put it. But they are aimed at each other, whether the reason is fear or not. And inevitably tension continues.

I can very well understand that a government, any government, cannot simply make itself weak and powerless against any dangerous contingency that might arise. But it is one thing not to be weak, even to be prepared for dangers arising,

8. The Locarno Pact was signed in London in December 1925, whereby the Allied powers and the states of Poland and Czechoslovakia sought to secure the post-First World War territorial settlement, in return normalizing relations with defeated Germany. The principal treaty was between Germany, France, Belgium, Britain and Italy, under which the first three signatories undertook not to attack one another, with the latter two acting as guarantors. Part of the Rhineland was demilitarized. Germany also agreed not to revise its borders with Poland and Czechoslovakia by force, while France signed treaties of mutual guarantees with Poland and Czechoslovakia. In 1936, Hitler violated the Pact by remilitarizing the Rhineland.

and at the same time not taking a step which aggravates those dangers, aggravates in the sense of tension. Because in the nature of things, every step taken by one side is very soon duplicated by the other. So whether it is in armaments or anything else, this goes on. This is regardless of who is right or who is wrong. That does not matter. But the point is it leads towards further aggravation of the situation, further tensions. And, well, you are playing about with the hydrogen bomb. You do not know where it might lead to. It is dangerous to play about in these matters. And above all, it leads to this continuing atmosphere of hatred; hatred of whole peoples almost, of whole countries.

One of the worst features of wars is that one country begins to hate intensively the other country, the enemy country. And all the machinery of propaganda is made to do it too. Now we see a new development, that in peacetime we have one of the worst features of war, that is, propagation of hatred. That is a bad thing. It is a corrupting thing, a whole people being seized with hatred of another people. The fact of the matter is—I am not talking about governments or leaders—the general run of people in every country are a very decent lot. They can be misled, that is a different matter. But it is always a far better approach to appeal to the better sentiments of an individual or a nation than to threaten it or to make it appear that it is in danger.

Question: Would you care to tell us which came first, the tension or the facts which created the tensions?

JN: It is the hen and the egg business. Well, your question, if you will forgive my saying so, is not a good question but it is part of a very good question. That is to say, trying to understand present-day problems in the larger perspective and trying to forget individuals, whoever they may be, or individual governments, because we get lost in this. Most of us, I suppose, were very angry with what Hitler did. I was very angry, but it is wrong to consider that all that happened in Europe was just due to one Hitler. Other forces were at work too. That is, we should understand really what happened ever since the First World War; because the First World War put an end to a very important phase in Europe's history, and ever since the First World War, the world has not settled down. It is undergoing a process, a revolutionary process of change, this change expedited by the real elements in revolution, that is, technical progress too, resulting in the atomic bomb. That is a real revolutionary agent too, apart from others.

Then other things have happened. One of the biggest things that has happened, has been happening, is what you see in Asia. After about hundred or hundred and fifty years of Asia submitting quietly to the domination of some European Powers, well, it has ceased to submit. Many countries have become independent.





WITH PRESIDENT URHO KEKKONEN OF FINLAND, HELSINKI, JUNE 1957



ADMIRING THE FINNISH COUNTRYSIDE AT MANTTA, 19 JUNE 1957



They want to make progress. There are so many factors. Another way of looking at it is that in the world today, the social factor has become highly important, social progress. Whether the Communist talks about social progress or the Social Democrat, the Conservative—it does not matter what party it is—every party has to face the problem of social progress, in its own way, whether in Asia or in Europe. In Asia from scratch up, from a very low level, and one has to make good quickly, otherwise one is swallowed up by other forces. It is highly important. Then, if you look at it from a technological point of view, this tremendous improvement in the means of communications. It is amazing what the last hundred or hundred and fifty years have done and what the last twenty or thirty years have done. They go on improving: I won't mention the ordinary things, but take radar which has upset the whole structure of the world. You are thrown against each other, nations, individuals. In other words, the old equilibrium of Europe, and even the world we might say, pre-First World War, has been repeatedly upset since then and no equilibrium has been found. And all this is a search for some kind of new equilibrium.

Meanwhile, other problems have arisen which are deeper than political and economic problems, important as political and economic problems are. We have arrived at a stage which is symbolized, by the hydrogen bomb. That is only one aspect of it. Well, you have to find solutions at some other level of existence than the purely political and the purely economic. I may be talking actual nonsense to you because I cannot logically justify all this. I think that humanity is faced with far deeper problems than even the newspapers indicate. And those deeper problems really raise moral and ethical issues. I do not know how they will be solved, but just as in the domain of physical science, we seem to have reached a certain end, and the next step seems to be outside the normal domain of it. And if I may put it in another way, almost from the third dimension you have peeps at the fourth dimension in the physical world, in physics today. It is very difficult for anyone but an expert scientist to understand it. So we have arrived at a critical stage of change in the world, mental change, physical change; you see all these changes. But I say that has brought humanity up to a state of mental change and appreciation of all these numerous forces at work, and if it does not adapt itself, there is lack of equilibrium and conflict. I do not know if I have said anything which makes sense to you, but anyhow I have tried to explain it.

A correspondent: We are all aware of the wonderful efforts you have been making in international activity to promote peace. Would you tell us if you believe that all the countries appreciate these wonderful efforts of yours?

JN: Appreciate?

Correspondent: Well, this is a different way of putting the question, different from the Associated Press.<sup>8</sup>

JN: First of all, what is this mighty effort that I have made except talk a lot? I do feel strongly about it and, therefore, I talk about it, but it is not much of an effort to talk about it. I do not know about other people appreciating it. I do not think I appreciate it very much.

Aari: I have two questions. (1) Do you believe that the Jarring Report<sup>9</sup> will help the solution of the Kashmir problem? (2) Will you tell us something about the election results<sup>10</sup> in Kerala?

JN: Well, these are two entirely different questions. So far as Kerala is concerned, first of all, it is an indication to you of the complete democratic freedom of elections, and not only elections but other freedoms for anybody to function as he likes, whether we like him or not. Kerala is a very small State in the south of India, where for a variety of reasons, the Communist Party got slightly less than half the number elected. They have not got the majority, just about three or four less than the majority. But subsequently, four or five Independents supported them in forming a government. So they have got a majority of two or so.

Now that by itself does not indicate anything in regard to the growth of communism in India. In some other States where the communists really used to be strong, they lost very heavily. My own personal view is that in Kerala it was not the Communist Party that won, but rather—I should confess to you quite frankly—it was our Party that lost. It is not the same thing. That is to say, our Party's government which functioned there previously became very unpopular. And so it was a vote against them, not so much a vote for the communists.

Also, in Kerala the communists, ever since they formed a government, have been functioning with extreme propriety, declaring again and again that they will function within the terms of the Indian Constitution, will not do anything which might bring them into conflict with the Central Government, because

8. See *ante*, p. 518, for the question asked by the representative of the Associated Press.

9. Gunnar Jarring, the Swedish Representative to the UN, was asked by the Security Council to visit India and Pakistan and present a Report on the Kashmir issue. This was submitted on 30 April 1957.

10. In elections to the Assembly in Kerala, the Communist Party of India won 60 seats, out of a total of 126 seats.



the Central Government is strong, of course. I do not know about the future. In so far as particular areas of India are concerned, nobody can say. But taking India as a whole I see no prospect at all of any marked advance by the communists.

Now, coming to the Jarring Report. The Jarring Report, if you will read it carefully, brings out certain aspects of the Kashmir question which were rather ignored by most people. It is a very cautiously written report and Mr Jarring's mission, well, was not a success in regard to solving the problem. That is obvious. Now, it is rather embarrassing for me to discuss Mr Jarring's Report; that matter will come up some time or other before the Security Council. But since you have referred to this matter about Kashmir, I should just like to say, there is so much confusion about this that the real facts tend to become hidden. The real facts—you must remember. First of all, whatever India may or may not have to do with Kashmir on the legal, constitutional or other plane, by no stretch of imagination has Pakistan any place there. I put that to you because people forget it. It has no position in Kashmir at all, of any type or kind. Except one, if you consider that. Pakistan says that, in Kashmir, seventy per cent of the population is Muslim; therefore, Kashmir should belong to Pakistan. Now, that is an argument which we have never accepted in the past, and we will never accept in the future. That is, religion determining the nationality of an individual or group. We have got in India at the present moment forty million Muslims, Indian nationals. According to the Pakistani argument, the forty million Muslims in India are in some way or other not suited for Indian nationality and should go to Pakistan. India would go to pieces, and India would cease to be a nation. It would just go into little bits of religious groups here and there.

So Pakistan, by no argument—I am not referring for the moment to what the UN has done—has any place there. Pakistan comes into the picture because it invaded Kashmir. Remember, that is how it started. It invaded Kashmir with armed force, suddenly, without any notice. I came to know about it on the second or third day of the invasion. It surprised me, it stunned me; I did not know what to do about it.

There is no doubt that Pakistan invaded Kashmir. This is a fact. It is not only a past fact, it is a present fact. It is sitting there, occupying nearly half of Kashmir's territory with its armies. Now, again I repeat, whatever the rights and wrongs of India might be, Pakistan has no right there at all, by any stretch of imagination.

Secondly, Kashmir State acceded to the Indian Union by the normal constitutional and legal processes which had been followed by 500 States in India. By the same documents, the same methods, the same authorities, it acceded. And legally speaking, it was a complete accession. Behind the demand for

accession was not only the then ruler of Kashmir who had the right to do it, but the only big popular party there, which appealed to us.

Now it was our extreme desire to find a way out peacefully because all our background in India had been peaceful under Mahatma Gandhi. And, fancy, immediately after Independence our having to face an invasion and war; it horrified us. We went to the UN, not Pakistan. We went to the Security Council, asking the Security Council to call upon Pakistan to withdraw. We said that Pakistan is an aggressor. But in spite of that, we did not call upon the UN to name it as an aggressor because Pakistan is our neighbour. We wanted to be friends with them. We did not want to put walls between us. So we called upon the UN to ask Pakistan to withdraw and not help the raiders, etc.

That was the beginning of it. Then came the UN Commission. And after about a year, two resolutions were passed by the UN Commission and the Security Council, which had been accepted by us and by Pakistan. The first thing in the resolution is an acknowledgement, a statement, that Pakistan had created a new situation by taking her forces into Kashmir. And she should withdraw them completely, both official and non-official forces. She should, in fact, vacate the aggression before any other step could be taken.

That was the first thing the UN decided. And the second thing they said, there must be no propaganda, no country should carry on propaganda of war or of increasing tension. This had special reference to Pakistan's propaganda based on holy war, a religious war. It did not help matters much if that propaganda was going on. Now I am not going to take you through all the history, but those were the basic UN resolutions passed, which we accepted. We accept that commitment today—and the other things that follow. The first thing, the very first thing, that the Security Council demanded was the vacation of the aggression. They did not use the words I am using. They asked Pakistan to withdraw her forces, official, non-official; well, they have not been withdrawn. In fact they have been increased, and Pakistan's potential has been increased in various ways. So that every other question does not arise.

People talk about a plebiscite. It is true that in this resolution, after enumerating one, two, three, four, five, six things—all this to be done by Pakistan or India—ultimately, they said, when all this is done and when the UN Representative certifies that all this has been done, then the question arises, then the two governments of India and Pakistan will meet to consider the question of a plebiscite, etc., when all that has been done. Now it is nine years, and Pakistan has not done the very first and most important thing of vacating aggression.

One thing else, this talk about a plebiscite. We have had two elections in Kashmir in the last three or four years, that is, in Kashmir which is not occupied



by Pakistan. Pakistan has not had, ever since its formation, a single election in its own territory. A most extraordinary situation.

You know, any of you can go to Kashmir. It is not a closed country. Last year, 70,000 went to Kashmir. It is a functioning state. It is more prosperous than it has ever been. People are better fed. Industries are growing up. Are we to take any step upsetting that country and possibly leading to very dangerous consequences, without all kinds of matters being decided beforehand?

Take another aspect. Even today, there is a daily exodus of people from East Pakistan to India. From East Pakistan alone—I am not referring to West Pakistan—we have received four million refugees in the last few years. And they come daily. They used to come at a rate of about 20,000 or 30,000 a month, pouring in, sometimes 30,000 or 40,000 people, leaving their land, peasants coming over, professional people, with nothing with them, and it is a terrific burden on India. Now, that shows the state of affairs in Pakistan when people leave their land and property and come over. No peasants leave their land easily. They come over. And we have to rehabilitate them. Now, if we take a wrong step, whether in Kashmir or anywhere else, it may well mean millions of people from East Pakistan suddenly coming over to us. So we have to consider all these matters. But legally we are completely on sound ground. The State acceded to India. It is a part of India. But apart from that, the aggression of Pakistan, the admitted aggression of Pakistan, continues. People talk about aggression in other places; well, this aggression should end before the matter can be considered in any other way.

Miss Tarno (STT, the Finnish News Agency): I want to ask your opinion if the Charter of the UN, as it now is, is elastic enough, or has it to be changed in some way and, if so, how?

JN: The ideas proclaimed in the Charter are very fine and very noble and very well expressed. If you are referring to the machinery of the UN, for instance, this power of the veto, etc., well, you cannot improve human beings by language. Language is very important. I mean to say, the Charter of the UN expresses a state of affairs existing in the world. You cannot improve the world by changing the Charter. Improve conditions and the Charter itself will automatically be applied in the right way or you then change it.

President: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sorry to say but I think we have to finish our Press Conference now.

Pedersen: May I just ask one more question?... I want to ask, what is the future of Goa, the solution of the Goa problem?

JN: Well, all I can say is that the Portuguese Government continues to follow a policy which is as remote from any considerations of the present day as possible. At one time, some years back, they told us that more or less they held Goa because of a papal bull of the 16th century. I do not call that a very helpful approach to the problem. Well, the world was divided up between Spain and Portugal.

Some people imagine that Goa is populated by Portuguese people. Of course not. Goa is inhabited by Indians, hundred per cent Indians. There are, I believe, about one per cent or less people from Portugal; government people and maybe army people and others. The other ninety nine per cent are completely Indian. Some are Christians, about one-third are Christians, Roman Catholics, and about two-thirds are non-Christians. Anyhow, they are all Indians. And for us Goa is exactly the same as the rest of India. When we fought for independence for India, we meant the whole of India, whether it was the British-occupied bit of it or the French or the Portuguese. It made no difference to us. We concentrated on the British because they occupied most of it. Afterwards with the French, we happily came to an agreement, with the result that we have made Pondicherry, the French settlement there, a seat of French culture. We are developing a French university there. And the French Government is helping us too. Now, obviously, the Portuguese will have to go from there [Goa]. For the moment, there is no great progress made at all, because we have said we will not use force.

We do hope that gradually, world opinion and the Goans' own opinion will have effect. Remember that in Goa, which is a small tract, a small area, thousands of Goans, not people from outside Goa, have been in prison and are in prison today. Literally, thousands of them are in prison still. That is the condition inside Goa.

President: Ladies and gentlemen, the Press Conference is finished. Mr Prime Minister, I would like to express our gratitude to you for this Press Conference. I can assure you that the students, your students tonight, have very highly appreciated the deep wisdom and the great humanity of their Professor. Our heartfelt thanks.



## 5. Interview to Finnish Radio<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am very grateful to the people of Finland for the very warm welcome that they have given me, affectionate welcome. I came here because I had admired Finland and her people. They have gone through great difficulties. And coming here I feel that my visit, short as it is, is amply justified.<sup>2</sup>

Laurin Zilliacus: We are extremely interested in your view of the general aims that should govern the foreign policy of a sovereign State and the appropriate means to use in pursuing them. The quickest way to come to grips with this topic is perhaps to begin with the specific question of the use of force. We note, on the one hand, that Indian military forces exist and are also being improved. We note that they are standing on guard at the military demarcation line in Kashmir. On the other hand, we note that you have repeatedly declared that you will not use force to settle the dispute; and you have not used force in the recent dispute with French colonial vestiges or in the still unsolved dispute with Portugal. What is the underlying policy that finds these diverse expressions?

JN: A nation's policy is governed by many factors. First, it might be said, and let us hope, that there is some idealism about it, some distant objectives. Second, and most important, the nation's interests have to be considered. No government can sacrifice or put in jeopardy a nation's interests. Third, a democratic government cannot diverge too much from the people's sentiments and views. So all these factors have to be considered. Fortunately in India, because of her past traditions and more specially because of the tremendous influence exercised by Mahatma Gandhi, there has been, and is, a powerful urge towards peace. That fits in, that is, the idealistic aspect fits in with the other aspects. The other obviously is the national interest; and we cannot, as a government or as a people, say or do anything which might endanger those national interests. So we try to balance these various factors.

You referred to Indian forces standing on the demarcation ceasefire line. That

1. Interview to Laurin Zilliacus for the Finnish Radio, Helsinki, 19 June 1957. *Nehru in Scandinavia*, Information Service of India, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 77-82. The interview was broadcast the next day.
2. Nehru spoke these words first in Hindi at the request of the interviewer and then repeated them in English.

is true. Remember also that on the other side of the ceasefire line are Pakistani forces in strong numbers. They are standing on Kashmir State territory which they invaded, and which, according to law, belongs to the Kashmir State. Normally speaking, it should be India's right to push them out militarily. The ceasefire itself took place eight or nine years ago at India's instance. To undertake military operations is to revert to war, we are against that. On the other hand, we are equally committed to prevent any further aggression. So we have to keep not only those forces there, but the Indian Army and our defence forces in India. If we were completely pacifist, we might have put an end to all our defence forces and trusted to circumstances or the goodwill of nations. Unfortunately, in existing circumstances, that is not feasible. Also, the Indian people would not put up with it because they will see that we are not discharging our responsibility, kick out the government that does it and put in another government. So we will have to balance these two things, and the way of balancing is that we do not accept, or we are not prepared to permit, any kind of further aggression. On the other hand, the aggression that has taken place, we do not accept it, but we do not wish to put an end to it by military means. If I may just say one thing more, you may have heard about the so-called five principles.

Zilliacus: Yes, we have all heard of them.

JN: Well, those five principles, I think, broadly laid down, are the policy which should govern international relations.

Zilliacus: Your representative in the UN has stated categorically that the Indian Army is not being equipped with any kind of atomic weapons, not even tactical atomic weapons. Will not this put India at a grave disadvantage if a Power equipped with such weapons attacks Indian soil? Are there advantages in refraining from the possession of atomic weapons which you regard as outweighing the military disadvantage?

JN: That statement was made by me initially in India; in fact, when I inaugurated our first atomic reactor.<sup>3</sup> I said there that on no account will India go in for atomic weapons. I hope that promise or guarantee will be kept whatever the government in India might be. I hope that long before a crisis of that kind might arise, the world will have come to some arrangement about the non-use of these

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, pp. 197-200 for Nehru's speech while inaugurating Apsara.



weapons. But taking your question in its final form, suppose the world does not come to such an arrangement and other countries possess them, what then? Well, I would say, even then I hope, and believe, that India will not go in for them. That does not mean that India will submit to any kind of attack or invasion, but it does mean that it will not be in a position to attack other countries with these weapons. After all, those weapons are aggressive weapons, they are not defensive weapons. I do not protect India by having atomic weapons. I attack, or I can attack, other countries with them. Our whole policy is one of defence, not of attack, and if such a terrible contingency faces us, well, we shall face it with such strength as we have, that is if we are attacked.

Zilliacus: All governments, or practically all governments, declare that their armed forces are merely for defence. Even Hitler did to begin with. Is there a criterion, or at least are there signs, by which an ordinary citizen can observe, that will show him, whether the declaration is sincere or not?

JN: I really do not know what criterion you could have. You know that the United Nations, or rather the League of Nations before that, often discussed the question as to what aggression was. And they laid down some criteria to judge it, crossing the border into another country, etc. Not one hundred per cent satisfactory, but, anyhow, there it was. If it is well recognized that this physical fact of going into another country is aggression, that it must not be done, that immediately limits it. It does not solve the problem, it limits it and, as you said, from that would flow that weapons which can attack the other country should be debarred or not used. The difficulty, of course, is that unless some kind of proper equilibrium is established in peoples' minds, in countries' minds, nobody can guarantee what would be done at a moment of crisis when a country feels or is made to feel by propaganda that it will be attacked, and therefore they attack the other country first. It really becomes a question not so much of formulae but of making people think a little differently.

Zilliacus: Are there really less risks in the long run in remaining alone than in joining a military alliance—less risks in regard to defence?

JN: Broadly speaking, I should say that is so. But that also is governed to some extent by the geography of the country. Some country is, maybe, in greater risks because it happens to be so placed as to be in the middle of a possible conflict. Others would be much safer because they happen to be not in the way of a conflict.

Zilliacus: Such as India and the US?

JN: Quite so. But I do definitely think that a country which does not join a military alliance does not invite trouble. I do not say it rules out trouble, but it does not invite trouble. That in itself is a measure of security because nobody is afraid of it. The difficulty about military alliances is that normally, whether they are called for defensive purpose or not, inevitably they are thought by the other party to be aggressive and that leads to an aggressive frame of mind in both parties. A country that does not join a military alliance but tries, so far as it can, to protect itself does not increase aggression in the mind of the other.

Zilliacus: Do you conceive any foreign policy objective that would justify a military attack on another State's territory. Can you conceive any situation in which you would feel that actually launching a military attack into another State would be a justifiable act?

JN: Well, it is rather a difficult question to answer, but normally my answer would be that I cannot conceive it. But I have not got every single aspect or possible development in view. Also, there is this question always to be considered that any kind of military attack today is likely not to be limited to that but to result in a general flare up.

Zilliacus: You were saying yesterday,<sup>4</sup> reminding us of Gandhi's view, his doctrine, that the means are at least as important as the ends. Applying that to the field of foreign policy, would you say that the use of threat or the use of force is to be ruled out in relationship between States?

JN: I would say that the use of threat either leads, if the other country is very weak, to an ignominious surrender, or, if it is strong, the other country will also threaten. If the other country is very weak, then there is no need for a threat. If the other country is very strong, then the threat is misplaced and has the opposite effect. So, in either event, it is not much good. But I will add that there is a difference in a country if it is afraid of consequences when maintaining its strength. Everybody knows what a country's strength is. Words do not increase it, or lessen it. But shouting out threats is an aggressive form which certainly cannot serve the cause of peace. It only infuriates the other party which then misbehaves also.

4. See *ante*, p. 511.



Zilliacus: You hope that ideals and long-term aims arising out of them are an important factor in foreign policy. I sense that principle behind your policy both towards Pakistan and towards Portugal. You seem to feel that, in the long run, it is better both for your own people and for the world to put up with an obvious injustice or an aggression for a time, as long as it is not pushed further, rather than to win even an easy and quick military victory to solve that immediate problem?

JN: Well, a State is applying force often enough, say, against anti-social elements, robbers, dacoits and the like. The State to some extent is the embodiment of force; not totally, of course, but to some extent. But it has legalized the use of force within its domestic sphere. In the international sphere, there is anarchy regarding the use of force. Ultimately, some time or other, the world will have to adjust itself to some international order to which it submits. Call it a World State. To talk about it now seems to me to talk in the air because we are very, very far from it, and it is just expressing one's wish rather than anything. Normally speaking, force should not be used between nations. The difficulty arises when you do not accept the status quo or want to change it. Well, I would say first of all that the status quo should not be changed by the use of military force. Secondly, we have arrived at a stage when an attempt to change the status quo is likely to lead to a major war, which is terrible. So in either event, both practically and idealistically, it should not be used.

Zilliacus: We want to thank you very much indeed, Mr Prime Minister. You have been so kind to us. If there is any final word you would like to say, please do so.

JN: Nothing more, thank you, except my good wishes to the Finnish people.

(iv) Norway

# 1. Problems of Security<sup>1</sup>

Mr Prime Minister,<sup>2</sup> Mr Lange,<sup>3</sup> Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, You have, Sir, referred to me and to India in such generous language that I feel a little embarrassed in replying to you. I have come here for a short time, it is true, but to fulfil a long-felt wish and I am indeed happy to be here in Norway and to meet so many people who have dealt with me in such friendship and hospitality. I shall carry back with me the pleasantest memories as an individual and I think that very good and friendly relations that subsist between India and Norway will certainly be strengthened.

You have referred, Sir, both of you, to India as a great power.<sup>4</sup> If it does not appear to be disrespectful to you, I would beg to disagree with you. Powers are considered great today chiefly by virtue of their military strength. India neither possesses that strength nor desires to have it in that way. And so, from that point of view, India has no claim now or in the future to be a great power. From another point of view also, I should like to say that, in all honesty, we have no desire to pose as leaders in Asia or anywhere else. We have enough problems of our own—tremendous problems—and, normally speaking, we would like to keep ourselves aloof from other entanglements in the rest of the world. But you know very well how difficult it is, whether it is India or Norway or any other country, to keep aloof from what happens all around us and more particularly from big developments which threaten the peace of the world and our own security, and so we get entangled, and there is no escape from it. Yet, there is no

1. Speech at a dinner at Akershus Castle, Oslo, 20 June 1957. *Nehru in Scandinavia*, Information Service of India, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 86-94 and AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Einar Henry Gerhardsen (1897-1987); Prime Minister of Norway, 1955-63.
3. Halvard Manthay Lange (1902-1970); Foreign Minister of Norway, 1946-63.
4. Prime Minister Gerhardsen said that "the new Indian State is today one of the leading powers in Asia. India's word has great weight in the exchange of views between nations, and her influence will increase in the years to come." Foreign Minister Lange said, "India has emerged as a world power and she is playing a prominent part in world affairs and in the manifold international organizations."



desire to be so entangled and there is no desire to offer advice to others, which often appears to be presumptuous.

The more I have had to deal with public affairs, the more I have felt that it is very difficult for the people of one country to offer too much advice to another country. Conditions are different, problems are different, and above all, there are certain factors which govern a country's thinking. I should put primarily the factor of geography as a powerful governing factor—where you are situated, who your neighbours are, creates problems, special problems for each country which are not duplicated elsewhere.

Then, of course, there is long history and tradition and other factors which condition a people, their thinking and their actions. India has had a long conditioning through hundreds and even thousands of years, and gradually in this long course of history we have been moulded for good or for bad as we are. In particular, we of my generation have been conditioned and moulded by our leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and by the great national movement to which we had the honour to belong. That was a very powerful factor which affected our thinking, our action and indeed our lives. It uprooted us, just as war uproots people, just as Norway was uprooted by tremendous experiences in the last war and otherwise too.<sup>5</sup> So we are conditioned by these factors, as indeed you are conditioned by other factors, and for any one then to presume to tell another person, who has been conditioned differently or whose country has been conditioned differently, to follow this or that path, does seem presumptuous and something that should not normally be done.

Of course, we grow more and more interrelated in the modern world, owing to the growth of communications and various other factors. Each country, however far it may be, becomes a neighbour of the other countries. And so we have common problems; we certainly have common problems in regard to war and peace and many other factors. In fact, the common problems will grow more and more in the future if we have to keep pace with all manner of technological and scientific developments which throw us into each other's laps. We have to pull together and if we do not pull together, well, we come into conflict. It is not a question of countries living an isolated life of theirs, more or less, with occasional contacts, neither too close to each other nor hostile to each other; that is rather unlikely in the future.

5. Norway remained neutral during World War I, although its shipping industry played a vital role in the conflict. It declared its neutrality in World War II but was invaded and occupied by the Germans, who established a puppet regime, while the King and the cabinet set up a government-in-exile in London.

I believe that even though thousands of miles separate Norway and India and the other Scandinavian countries, even though as you mentioned you are associated with a system of alliances<sup>6</sup> and India, wishes to remain unaligned in any military or like alliance, even so, I think, there is a great deal of common thinking and I hope common action, between us. For my part, faced as I am an enormous population in India, hundreds of millions of people undergoing change at a rapid pace, in a country where you will find almost every century represented and overlapping one another, with all this mixture of peaceful progress and at the same time, all kinds of turmoil and ferment, I look with a great deal of, shall I say not only admiration, but in a measure of regret, that my country was not a small country with a smaller population and that perhaps our problems are not quite so big as they are. Countries may be big in size, but the whole history of the world has shown that bigness in size does not really count for very much. It is bigness in some other way that counts. Countries small in size have made a tremendous mark in world history. Countries, big in size, have often been quite static and stagnant, and the playthings of others. So size does not count, it is some other quality, some inner quality in a people or in a country that counts.

I believe—perhaps I am partial to India—that what has counted in India in the past hundreds of years, in spite of many disasters it has faced, has been some inner quality which has kept her going. It is because of this belief of mine that I have a great measure of hope for the future of India. I am not for the moment, referring to our Five Year Plans and the rest, important as they are, but something deeper than that, which if a country possesses it, is a well-prepared country; it survives disasters. If it does not possess it, then all the rest of the progress might well be superficial, which can be knocked down easily.

It was very kind and generous of you, Sir, to say in your welcoming remarks that you understood the position India has taken up, in regard to these world policies, in which great blocs of powers appear to face each other, not in too friendly a way. I am grateful for that understanding. I equally understand the apprehensions and fears that have often led countries to associate themselves for the sake of their security. It may be that India's geographical position itself naturally affects our thinking and, other countries are not so favourably situated from that point of view. So, it is in no spirit of criticism that I would speak of any country's actions. It is for that country to decide what is fitting and proper.

6. Gerhardsen said that while Norway had found it necessary to solve her security problems within a regional defence system, i.e., NATO, India, under Nehru's leadership, had kept outside the blocs. It was a good thing to know, he added, "that there is *one* great power that does not belong to any of the camps."



But I would venture to say something not about the actual policy to be pursued but rather the background approach to any policy. It may be presumptuous of me to say so but there is no point in my speaking to you in a trite and casual way. You are friends, believe, and I wish to speak to you with the privilege of a friend. What struck me very much is not what people actually do, countries, statesmen, etc., but even more so the manner of doing it. I can understand a great apprehension of a country for its own security. We have seen great wars and the torment of humanity during those wars and nobody wants to repeat that experience, especially in his own country. It is natural to think of that certainly avoiding that war and, at the same time, in so far, as it is possible to ensure security for oneself or one's country. But then the question arises, as to how that is to be done. Firstly, I suppose, by trying to ensure that war does not take place. Now, if we seek for peace and assure peace, I should have imagined that the approach to this question should also be peaceful, non-aggressive, gentle if I may say so, trying to win over others and not an aggressive approach. Because one can adopt that aggressive gesture either to a very weak party which will succumb and will otherwise also not dare to take any action against the other party, or these gestures can be against strong parties. If they are against strong parties, and the strong party repeats that gesture of defiance and threat and it becomes a competition between defiance and threat which does no good to either party. And we have more and more fear and tension in a background of growing hatred based on that fear. I do believe, that nothing is bad for an individual or for a nation as to be reared up in fear and hatred. These are corroding things which prevent one's normal growth, just as it prevents the individual's growth and which always keeps us on the brink of a possible disaster because when nations are moved by hatred and fear, then one does not quite know when something might not happen which leads to disaster.

I am troubled above all, if I may say so, not even by the hydrogen bomb but the mind of human beings which is so full of violence and hatred today. I believe, the Constitution of UNESCO begins by saying that wars begin in the minds of men. Everything begins in the minds of men, the hydrogen bomb began in the minds of men, even the good things began in the minds of men. In India, one of the famous sayings of our ancient great men was that human beings are made by the thoughts they think; what you think, you will gradually become. If we are full of fear and anger, then we distort our growth and we gradually are moulded in that direction. If a country thinks that way, the same thing happens to that country. So, today even a more important thing than what you said, Sir, about disarmament is to how to disarm people's minds, a very difficult thing. Of course, it may be said, and rightly said, that in order to disarm people's minds, you have to pursue disarmament on a more practical plane. I entirely agree. That itself

will reduce tension and lead people to think a little more calmly and dispassionately and with a little less fear and hatred.

It is obvious, that the world, as it is constituted today has many problems which require solution. To say that the world must continue exactly as it is today, the status quo being maintained as it is everywhere is not a very satisfactory proposition. And there many things that I should like to change in the world. The question is, however, how to proceed about changing and ultimately, the choice lies between some warlike method and some peaceful methods. Now, if you think of a warlike method, you really have come to a stage when, even what might be called a petty and conventional wars are full of danger, and they might lead to a big war, and the big war might lead to the hydrogen bomb and that might lead to something in the nature of the extermination of humanity, step by step.

So to think of war as a means of producing changes that we wish and that are no doubt desirable, leads nowhere. Because that war will not produce the change that we desire, but will produce all kinds of undesirable changes. Even the two world wars, which compared first to the possibility of a hydrogen war, were petty wars and two wars which resulted in a complete and absolute victory for one side, created problems of that side almost immediately after and which were even more difficult than the ones they had to face before they had the war. It is patent that wars have not settled problems or if they have settled one, they have produced a number of others. And a war with the hydrogen bomb, obviously, will not settle any problem except, if it is a settlement of problem to put an end to a large section of humanity. So naturally most people and almost everybody in the world, desire that there should be no war, and if changes are necessary, as they are in the world they should be brought about by peaceful methods. It may be that it will take a little longer, but that appears to be the only method. Also any attempt to bring about change by any other method leads usually to stronger resistance by those who do not want change. And you get into a deadlock and other things follow because then all the fears, suppressed and explicit, come out. So I venture to suggest to you that, from any line of reasoning this way of thinking, that problems can be settled by war or threats of war, is not logical.

Then we have what is called cold war which is in a sense rather a new phenomenon. Of course, it has been there before too, but not in this aggravated and continuous sense. What exactly is the point of a cold war? A cold war would be understandable if it is meant to lead to a shooting or a hot war, but we have ruled that out. So, what does it lead to? And if everybody is convinced that the cold war is not going to lead to the other, then it ceases to be a threat except in a very vague way. While it is not a threat, it does obviously, increase all those tensions and in the very nature of things, a cold war has an essence of threat and





WITH MRS HJORDIS LIE AND TRYGVE LIE, OSLO, 22 JUNE 1957



WITH SCHOOL CHILDREN, OSLO, 22 JUNE 1957



propagation of dislike and hatred which, I would venture to say is bad in itself, but apart from that, leads nowhere because by our first premise we have tried to rule out a big-scale war. So, it is just a dead end which embitters people's lives and makes the solution of problems more difficult.

As I have said, no one in a responsible position can just ignore problems of security. I am not a pacifist, although I was trained by a person, who, in his own way, was the greatest pacifist of the age, Mahatma Gandhi. But even so, he was a very practical pacifist and he recognised that he had to take the world as it is and not live in some world of his own ideas. So we cannot ignore the problems of security and no country can take undue risk with itself or its security. But granting that how can we even increase that security or how can we remove the dangers to that security is the problem. I submit, that the way of war certainly is not, nor is a way of cold war.

I have obviously no remedy for the world's ills but of one thing I have been convinced for a long time, because I heard it so often from Mahatma Gandhi, that a right objective can not be attained through wrong methods, and I believe that is basically, and fundamentally and if I may say so, scientifically true. Just like any other rule of science, an action has a certain consequence, a certain reaction. A right action has a right reaction and a wrong action is likely to produce a wrong reaction. So from that point of view, the approach, while we must consider questions of security, nevertheless, the approach should be rather a friendly one, rather one to try to win over even the other person without lessening your security. That, probably will help more in that mental disarmament, which is so essential and obviously, in the physical disarmament also. That is all that I have ventured to place for your consideration. And I have done so, because I feel convinced that people in all, broadly speaking, are likely to agree to what I have said.

You referred, Sir, to our Five Year Plans, and our other activities to rebuild India and make her a new nation. It is a tremendous task and an exciting task. Long ago, more than a generation ago, speaking for myself, and even more speaking for others, we in India had many dreams, dreamt about the future, dreamt of an independent India, and all that, and we laboured to that end. Then a time came when we saw, in a large measure the realization of our dream. It does not often come to people to see their dreams and visions come true. So we have been blessed by this fact, and whatever troubles and danger may confront us in the future, we can never conclude that life has not given us in abundant measure what we asked of it. It is true, that we have great problems but we face them with good heart and we try to face them in a friendly way to other countries, and at any rate we do try, in so far as we can, not to say or do anything which might add to ill will or tension. Indeed because of this, very often, we rather

suppress ourselves in expressing an opinion, which we feel strongly, lest the mere expression of opinion might add more to ill will. Merely criticising others, well, sometimes criticism is necessary, undoubtedly, but it seldom convinces a person who is criticised that he is wrong. So, we try to refrain from saying that, unless the problem comes up before us and we have to face it.

You referred to the democratic way of life. We treasure that and value that. We value that even as we value our national freedom and independence. We value individual freedom. In fact, quite apart from these political freedom, the whole concept of life in India has been that of individual freedom. They attached great importance in India in the past to what they call the freedom of the individual, call it what you like, mental or spiritual freedom. And the history of India, with the many failings of the Indian people, has also shown the extraordinary tolerance of those people, not among themselves only but of others who were of a different opinion. We have many religions in India, not today, but for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years. I wonder how many of you know that Christianity came to India long before it came to Europe, in the first century AD and established itself there and is there in strong numbers still, specially in South India. Later, Christianity got rather mixed up with political domination. It was the political domination that was objected to, not Christianity or any faith or opinion.

I shall tell you if I may, of a great Indian of the past, long ago. Some of you may perhaps have heard his name. He was Emperor Asoka, who lived in the third century BC, whose empire covered a great part of Central Asia, and a very great part of India, and he had it one time the idea of conquering even the other little bits of India that remained outside his control. And he started a war for that purpose. And naturally he was too strong; he was winning that war, when suddenly a news came to him of the tragedy of that war and how many people were killed, and injured and maimed and made slaves. He had a strong revulsion of feeling and in the flash of victory, in the tide of victory, he called the halt, he said "No more war for me, and I have had enough of this."

There are few, if any, examples in history when victorious monarchs stopped in the middle of victory, like this. Subsequently, he put up all over India huge stone or rock columns on which he inscribed his edicts. They are still there for you to see and for you to read. There are many, many edicts, proclamations to his own people. They are very interesting because he sort of confessed, he tells us how he changed his mind, when this shock of the war came to him. But one is particularly interesting in which addressing his people he says, "You should honour your faith and opinion but you must also honour the faith and opinion of others. If you honour other people's faiths and opinions they may honour yours. If not, you will not honour your own."



That was 2,300 years ago. And that message still arouses chords in our minds in India. It was repeated by Mahatma Gandhi and by others, and perhaps if something in the nature of that message is understood in the modern world with greater tolerance, more goodwill, and the tensions that exist today will gradually fade away.

I am very grateful to you. Mr Prime Minister and you, Mr Lange, for your very cordial and friendly sentiments not only to me but for the moment here I represent my country, therefore to India. Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, may I ask you to drink to the welfare and prosperity of the people of Norway and to the friendship and cooperation of Norway and India.

## 2. Press Conference<sup>1</sup>

President (Rolf Jerving): It is a pleasure to introduce the Prime Minister of India and it is certainly one of the rare opportunities for the Norwegian Press to talk to and question one of the leading statesmen of the world.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Ladies and gentlemen, I do not propose to make a statement or anything. I shall leave myself in your hands to be dealt with, I hope, gently and kindly. But I would like to say how very grateful I am to the Norwegian Government and people for their very kind and friendly welcome and hospitality here, which I have appreciated very greatly. I have felt in many ways at home in the atmosphere of Norway. I feel that we have a great deal in common in our thinking in spite of the great differences between India and Norway, and that we shall be able to cooperate in many activities in the future. I hope that the Prime Minister of Norway and the Foreign Minister will do us the honour of a visit to India. They will be very welcome if they come there. Now, I am in your hands.

H.Sinding-Larsen (*Aftenposten*): Sir, can birth control solve all the population problems of India?

1. The Grand Hotel, Oslo, 22 June 1957. *Nehru in Scandinavia*, Information Service of India, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 94-108, and AIR tapes, NMML.

JN: Well, the first thing is that India, which has a very big population, certainly has no great and tremendous pace of growth in population—in the totality, of course. It is a big country, and it grows in a big way. I say this because I want to remove the impression that India is terribly overpopulated. Of course, we do not want population to grow at that pace and we are, in fact, perhaps one of the very few countries in the world which have taken up family planning and birth control in a governmental way. We are encouraging it. It is a slow process, naturally. The way you put your question, whether birth control will solve the problem. There are many factors which help to solve a problem, this is one factor.

Can you hear me at the back? Did not get the beginning? Well, I said that, there are few countries in the world which have taken up family planning and birth control in an official way. In India, of course, in such a matter, progress is bound to be a little slow, it takes effect after many, many years and we cannot wait till then for the problem to be solved.

H. Oye (*Verdens Gang*): Why does not India accept some form of arbitration in the Kashmir dispute?

JN: In the Kashmir dispute? For the simple reason that a country does not accept arbitration about its own territory. I am not aware of any country that has ever done it. And, what is more, the United Nations, with our approval, laid down a certain procedure eight years ago, which we accepted. In that procedure, it was admitted that Pakistan had invaded Kashmir and the first step that the United Nations Commission said was that Pakistan should walk out of Kashmir. It is eight years now—they have not walked out at all. They are still sitting there, continuing their aggression after eight or nine years. Other questions followed that—but only followed—after they have walked out and vacated their aggression.

There is no doubt about it that Kashmir, like every princely State in India, 500 of them, went through a certain legal, constitutional process of accession to India. There is no doubt about the legality of it; it is just like any other state. Kashmir became a part of the Indian Union, and aggression was committed against it. Now, it is rather odd for this aggression to be overlooked and for India to be asked to do something about its own territory. We did agree—under certain conditions—at that time for a plebiscite to take place. As I said, the first condition was that Pakistan should vacate her aggression. She has not done that yet and after nine years, she is sitting there over nearly half the territory of Kashmir. During this period, we have had two elections in Kashmir; we have an elected Chamber there which passes laws and everything; and Kashmir has made great progress. That is, that part of Kashmir, which is at present associated with



India. While, on the Pakistan side, in fact in Pakistan itself, ever since Pakistan was formed, they have had no elections.

On the question of arbitration, perhaps you are referring to Mr Jarring's recent report. There arbitration was not suggested about Kashmir. What was suggested was that arbitration as to how far Pakistan, had carried out its obligations and not about the whole question. Now, surely the United Nations appointed a Commission to do certain things. The facts are there. It is for the United Nations, not for arbitration, to say that those things are done or not. For instance, it said that Pakistan should vacate. Well, we don't want an arbitrator to say whether Pakistan is in possession of large chunks of Kashmiri territory or not. Let them report, whether Pakistan has gone out of Kashmir State territory or not.

Also one of the major things that the United Nations Commission said was that no party should start propaganda which adds to tension—war propaganda and the like. And that was an essential condition. Well, we are faced all the time by war propaganda, jihad propaganda. I do not know if you know what jihad is. Jihad means holy war. Now, how can you settle down or have any process when you are constantly threatened with holy war?

India is a secular State. We have many religions in India. Hinduism, of course; Islam, there are forty million Muslims in India; Christianity, a very ancient religion in India; Buddhism and so on. We give freedom and full opportunity to every religion. The State as such does not favour any religion; no religion is the State religion. But it gives free field to all, respects all of them. Now, we come up against all this difficulty of Pakistan and holy war all the time. And if we accept the theory of dividing countries by religion, India's whole structure will collapse because we have got many religions. We are not prepared to accept that. We are a secular state and we remain that.

You see, behind this Kashmir problem, it is not a question of territory. It is a question of basic approaches, a kind of theocratic approach on the Pakistan side and a secular approach that we follow. And, as I said, it is open to any of you gentlemen to go and see—in Kashmir today—thousands of tourists go there. I think last year seventy thousand tourists went. And compare conditions of Kashmir on the Indian side with the other side. But the main thing is that we have honoured every commitment we have made to the United Nations. The real major commitment was in the 1949 Resolution of the UN Security Council. The first part of that commitment was that Pakistan should withdraw its official or non-official forces. It has never been done. And we waited year after year and then we have gone ahead with certain constitutional arrangements, internal autonomy in Jammu and Kashmir; we could not wait for ever. Kashmir is legally and constitutionally, according to the rules laid down for it, a part of the Indian Union territory and an autonomous part, with its own legislature making laws,

etc. Secondly, nearly half of Kashmir is still under Pakistan occupation and Pakistan has not carried out the very first thing that the United Nations Commission asked it to do—that is, vacate this aggression.

H. Sinding-Larsen (*Aftenposten*): Sir, do you consider the news covering on India in the Press of the Western world to be correct and extensive enough?

JN: No, I don't think so. I don't think it is at all extensive. It may sometimes be correct, sometimes not correct, but it is certainly not extensive. And part of the covering—I am not referring to Norway, of course, because I do not quite know how far Norwegian Press covers it—really relates to items which are very unimportant. If a Maharaja does something or a snake-charmer does something, I am not interested in that. The kind of covering I should like is an interest in India's planning, growth, difficulties, problems, so as to make people understand what our problems are.

Olav Maaland (*Bergens Tidende*): Mr Prime Minister, you said you hoped that your visit here will result in cooperation between Norway and India in future activities. Does that include the UN Report on Hungary when it will be handled by United Nations?

JN: The UN Report on Hungary, did you say? I cannot say about that or any specific item, what shape it will take, how it will come up. Obviously, I cannot commit Norway or myself about what measure one might take. I believe that on a large number of things, our outlook is, if not similar, not dissimilar.

Henriksen (NTB): Sir, the invitation to the Prime Minister which you referred to, is that to be taken as a formal invitation, which has already been put forward?

JN: I have mentioned it to them, if you call that formality.

A correspondent: Sir, with regard to the Hungarian question, could you state your views on the uprising in Hungary?

JN: To begin with, quite apart from Hungary, we are of opinion that no foreign troops should remain in any country, whatever country it may be. The presence of foreign troops is itself a sign of control by a foreign power. Now, that applies to Hungary as to other countries, wherever they may be, in Europe, or Asia or Africa. Secondly, we think that the rising in Hungary was, undoubtedly, a national



rising. There may have been other elements in it too, but in the main, there is no doubt that it represented a national upsurge. Thirdly, it was suppressed. There is no doubt about that. And, lastly, it is one of the greatest tragedies of recent times. Now, that gives you my broad approach to the question.

One thing else I would say, that this question of Hungary should, well it is a concern of others, but primarily it is a concern of the people of Hungary. And one should consider it with a view to the betterment or to helping the people of Hungary and not merely as a pawn in an international game, in which poor Hungary suffers while the other people shout at each other.

Per Riste (NRK): Sir, what is your opinion of the situation in the Middle East just now?

JN: It is a very complicated situation, and I am not quite sure if I understand all parts of it. I should say, the safest way to deal with it is to leave the Middle Eastern countries without interference from outside, because interference from outside creates a lack of equilibrium. Otherwise they would find some equilibrium. If you remember, most of the Middle Eastern countries took shape after the First World War. Before that they were part of the Ottoman Empire, and very backward conditions they were in under the Ottoman Empire. Immediately after that England and France put all kinds of odd kings and princes here and there. It was an extraordinary arrangement, playing about with these countries. Then there were internal changes; somebody pushed out somebody else. King Saud's<sup>2</sup> father<sup>3</sup> pushed out the man England had put in Arabia. The French were pushed out of Syria. And so the situation remained fluid most of the time.

Then came a tremendous upsetting factor—oil. People think more about oil in the Middle East than about the poor people there. Some people may imagine that the Middle Eastern people have got wealth through oil, but they have much more trouble through oil than anything else. They probably had a calm and more peaceful life without oil than with oil. So all these confusing factors and behind it, of course, a common factor you will find all over Asia and elsewhere, that is, a powerful growing nationalism plus the emergence of a social factor, that is, a demand for social progress. Primary thing, political independence; secondary, more social thinking or, if not thinking, social urges, demanding social progress among the people. Thirdly, you will find that in most of these Middle Eastern countries, especially in Western Asia, conditions are feudal or

2. Saud ibn Abdul Aziz.

3. Ibn Saud.

semi-feudal still. In some, some changes have been made. Also, you will find that most of these countries are very, very far from being democratic. The rulers can hardly be termed popular rulers. I am not talking about all; there are differences between them. So, there is a hiatus often between the ruling authority in some of the West Asian countries and the people. And other Powers coming into the picture, dealing with the ruling authorities, increase the hiatus between the people and the rulers. I do not know if I made myself clear, but there it is. Anyhow, I think that if the Middle Eastern region is left in peace for sometime by other Powers it will gradually help towards producing some kind of equilibrium and normality.

Henriksen (NTB): Sir, do you think that Nasser is a nationalist or that Nasserism....

JN: Nasserism? I have never heard of Nasserism before. Nasser and his group, first of all, represented opposition to a very corrupt regime under the old king. Secondly, they represented social urges too. Egypt is the only country in the Middle East which has had land reform. It is an important factor that people forget. No other country has had any kind of land reform so far as I know. Egypt has at least had some land reform and has put an end to some of the old feudal landlords. So, in that sense, on the one hand, Nasser certainly represents a nationalist urge in Egypt and, secondly, also to some extent the social urge.

Erikdal (*Arbeiderbladet*): Is it right to say that the Indian Government is aiming to create in India a socialist society, and what are the main features of the social pattern you want to achieve?

JN: It is true we have said that we want to create a socialist pattern of society. We have deliberately not defined it in precise terms, because we do not want to be tied down to any dogma or doctrinaire approach. At the present moment, we have got what is called a public sector and a private sector in industry. Land, of course, is all private sector. In industry, we have a public sector and a private sector, the public sector meaning State owned industry, and the private sector means private enterprise. Broadly speaking, the very big undertakings are in the public sector. Of course, railways are in the public sector, most communications are in the public sector. The new iron and steel plants that we are building, largely though not wholly, are in the public sector. We have not touched private enterprise as it exists in the heavy industry. For instance, we have got a big very big iron and steel plant in the private sector. We don't touch that. But if a new iron and steel plant is made, it is in the public sector. We want



planned progress in India and the utilization of our limited resources in the best way. We want both the public and the private sector to fit into our plan. We give freedom to the private sector, but we will not encourage the private sector to set up a luxury industry. We have not got enough resources for that. But if they set-up anything which is in the broad framework of our plan, we encourage it. We give it loans, governmental loans. The way of controlling the private sector is, well, we have to issue licences for the import of machinery. So, in that sense, there is a certain general control of private sector. Afterwards, of course, they go ahead, and we give them initiative to go ahead, because we want more production, whether it is in the private or the public sector. Our general approach is, say, in land, to have private holdings with growth of cooperation among them—the cooperative movement—agrarian cooperatives and the like. And in the public sector, the important strategic industries, the big ones, to be in the public sector with a wide field for the private sector. We are proceeding by trial and error without any rigid doctrines, and we consider the position from year to year, and sometimes vary our policies accordingly.

Jorgen Vogt (*Friheten*): Have you, Mr Nehru, studied the Soviet draft proposal for a two or three years' stop of the nuclear tests<sup>4</sup> and what is your opinion about the proposal?

JN: About the stop of test explosions? I have seen it more or less in the newspapers, nothing more. But quite apart from the Soviet proposal, it is three years now since we made a proposal in the Indian Parliament for the immediate suspension of atomic test explosions pending their total abandonment after consideration.<sup>5</sup> We have felt very strongly in India about these explosions, throughout these years and we have been pressing for that. We should like, of course, their total abandonment, but we said that at least suspend them so that you may consider the question more. I take it that in the Soviet proposal there is something like that. They have said, I think, suspend it for two or three years. Well, in so far as that is concerned, we are in entire agreement with it.

4. This proposal asked for the immediate cessation of all nuclear weapon tests for a period of two or three years. It was submitted to the sub-committee of the UN Disarmament Commission by the Soviet Union on 14 June 1957. According to this proposal, the Soviet Union would agree to the institution of control for the cessation of these tests and the establishment of an international commission to supervise the fulfilment by the States of their obligations. On the basis of reciprocity, control posts would be set up in the territory of the Soviet Union, the US and the UK and in the Pacific Ocean area.

5. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 445-449 for Nehru's statement in the Lok Sabha on 2 April 1954 on this subject.

H. Haugen (Associated Press): The *Daily Mail* of London reported yesterday that you would come to the Commonwealth Conference with a proposal for condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Hungary in the United Nations. Is that true?

JN: I should not like to say much about the manner of functioning of the *Daily Mail* in London. Here is this report on Hungary by the UN Committee, which I have not seen. I saw a summary last night for the first time. I have not talked about it over here with any of the Norwegian ministers. There has been no mention of it. And so out of its head the *Daily Mail* brings out this astonishing report, a complete fabrication. I was astonished at the power of imagination of the *Daily Mail*.

R. Halle (*Hoyres Pressekontor*): How about India, Great Britain, the relations in the Commonwealth and India's membership in it?

JN: We are there and we propose to remain there, so far as we are concerned. I do not know, what more I can say. We think, it is a very helpful; we think it is a good type of relationship. It is a relationship of entirely independent countries meeting together, without any commitment at all, discussing matters in a friendly way, expressing one's opinions, trying to influence each other, no doubt, by our talk and then remaining equally free and uncommitted afterwards. You see it is a better type of relationship than even an alliance. An alliance commits you to something which you put down in the alliance. The Commonwealth Conference is not a constitutional thing; it is a friendly arrangement between countries. In the Constitution of India, there is no reference to the Commonwealth. We are a republic. Pakistan is also now a republic. The other countries of the Commonwealth are monarchies. So it is a friendly arrangement for meeting together, exchanging information with each other, and thus keeping in touch and trying to cooperate wherever we can, but each country quite free to follow its own policy quite independently. As you know, various countries in the Commonwealth follow their policies. One country in the Commonwealth is following a policy, which is very strongly resented by India and Pakistan and other countries—South Africa. There is nothing in common between South African thinking and action and that of India or, for that matter, other countries. Yet, oddly enough, there we are in the Commonwealth. If, by any chance, South African policies are pushed on us, in the Commonwealth, we will not be in the Commonwealth. So it is a novel type of arrangement, this Commonwealth, of which there is no precedent and, therefore, it is difficult to explain. Each country in the Commonwealth is a democratic country. I am bound down by the policy



of my Parliament. I can't go and commit myself there against the policy laid down by my Parliament. All I can do is, if I am convinced, to go to my Parliament and try to tell them that this is the right policy.

H. Sinding-Larsen (*Aftenposten*): Sir, would you tell us a little about India's relations with China? How does the man in the street regard China, as big brother, or with a feeling of equality in power in spite of the difference in number?

JN: I don't think the man in the street in India worries himself about these questions. He has, broadly speaking, a friendly feeling for China. Remember, that we have, nearly two thousand miles of common frontier, that is, including Tibet. It is a tremendous stretch of frontier we have in common. And by and large, we have been neighbours in some way or other for hundreds and maybe thousands of years. It is interesting to remember that during these two thousand years or more, of contact, there has never been any kind of conflict between India and China. We have come into contact, not only directly because we have a common border, but all over South-East Asia, for hundreds of years we came into contact because both India and China, being countries of big populations with a measure of adventurous spirit in them, sent out their people, their arts and crafts and language all over South-East Asia. If you go to any part of South-East Asia, you will find the impress of India there and the impress of China, both, in different ways. Religion went to a large extent from India into China—Buddhism. Huge, wonderful architectures in Indonesia, in Indo-China, all in the Indian style, reflecting the Indian genius. The Chinese too came there. But, in spite of all this, it is a fact to be remembered that China and India never came into any major conflict, though there might have been petty disputes. At the present moment, we follow a political and economic policy which is different from that of China and there is no reason why we should interfere with China, or China should interfere with us. And such petty problems as we have had, we have been able to solve by meeting together. We do not agree about many matters, but that does not come in our way.

H. Haugen (Associated Press): Sir, do you still think that Portuguese Goa should be included in India?

JN: It is in India. Do you think it is in Portugal? It is not a question of thinking, it is inevitable. Nobody can prevent it. It may take a little time. When we wanted the freedom of India, we did not want the freedom of what might be labelled British India alone. We wanted the freedom of India. Because one part, a big

part, was held by British imperialism, another part, a small part, by Portugal and a small part by France, did not make the slightest difference to us. Naturally we concentrated on the big part, which was British and, and ultimately succeeded in attaining freedom. Then we thought of the little French enclave and the little Portuguese enclave. With the French, after some years, we came to very friendly arrangements and the French enclaves have come to India, the Union of India, and, what is more, we have converted those places as centres of French culture. We wanted Pondicherry to be a centre of French language and culture in India, and we cooperated with the French Government, in cultural activities there. But the Portuguese Government, unfortunately, lives in the Middle Ages still. It does not understand that we are in the 20th century. That is a misfortune, I admit, but you cannot always go on living in the Middle Ages.

What is Goa? If you imagine that there are Portuguese living there, you are mistaken. They are Indians, speaking Indian languages. I think very much under one per cent of the population of Goa is Portuguese and that includes the soldiers that they have got. They are just the Portuguese officials and soldiery. The rest are all Indians. I think about one-third or about forty per cent of the population is Christian—Roman Catholic—and about sixty per cent belong to other religions in India. That does not make any difference, because we have a vast number of Christians in other parts of India. And they are honoured and respected. Christianity went to India, South India long before it came to Europe. It came in the first century AD and is a well-established religion in South India.

The point is, basically, what do the people of Goa want? Well, they are not allowed to function there—in a small bit of territory—and thousands of them are in prison in the most barbarous conditions, including Roman Catholic priests and others, who want the freedom of Goa. It is a total anachronism. Everybody knows that if India had been so inclined, in a military sense, there is no difficulty in taking possession of Goa. It is a tiny enclave; it is probably a question of a day or two's work. But we do not want to use military power for that, because, broadly speaking, it is against our policy. We think it is not a good way of dealing with a question.

H. Sinding-Larsen (*Aftenposten*): Sir, have you found on your trip through Denmark, Finland and Norway things which you would like to transfer to India? Ideas or...

JN: Yes, there are many things here, even before coming here, which attracted us, many things in the agricultural field, in cooperation, some in education. As you know, Norway is helping us in regard to fisheries development. But everything that is taken from another country has to be adapted. It cannot be



taken as it is, you have to adapt it to conditions there. If I take something, say, from the United States of America—and we want many things from the United States of America, as it is very highly developed country—the mere fact that it is technologically so highly developed makes the gap between Indian conditions and the American conditions very big. There is no good in my suddenly transporting a lot of machinery from America and planting it down in India. One must have the background for it, develop to it, so as to adapt these things.

Erik Loe (*Arbeiderbladet*): Are there still many British people working in the service of the Indian Government?

JN: Not in the service. There are a number, of course; I do not quite know how many. There are very few, still, in our Navy. In fact, even at the present moment, our head of the Navy is an English Admiral.<sup>6</sup> I think, he will be leaving in a few months, by the end of year. After that he will be replaced by an Indian Admiral. We have some British trainers, too, in our Navy chiefly, not in the Army – maybe a few in the lower grades in the Army. In the civil services, there are a few Englishmen still functioning, but not many. Most of them decided to go at the time of Independence. But the number of English people in commercial undertakings has actually grown after Independence. There are more English people, in fact, in India than there were before Independence.

Borge Mors (United Press): Sir, what are your views on the European Common Market, and European free trade area seen in relation to the Commonwealth discussions to take place this week, and the point made, by the *Daily Express* this morning?

JN: The *Daily Express* is not exactly representative of my ideas or thinking. If you want my views, opinions about the European Common Market, I can only give general views. One does not wish to interfere in problems affecting other countries. Broadly speaking, it is natural and right for closer trade relations to develop here between countries in Europe. I suppose that is an inevitable development. But, there are one or two aspects which perhaps may lead to undesirable consequences. One obviously is the question of colonies of some European powers and the effect on the struggle for freedom in those colonial territories. Maybe a number of European Powers, coming together for this, may come in the way of their freedom a little more. They may not want to, but the

6. Stephen Hope Carlill, July 1955-April 1958.

result may be that, which we will not like at all. That is, the European free market may exploit the colonial territories even more. Secondly, I do not know—it is a technical matter—how this will affect what is called GATT, the treaties under GATT. That is a matter for close examination. Thirdly, while any economic cooperation is good, if any economic cooperation becomes part of a military approach, then it is not good. And there is a tendency for economic aid to many parts of the world to be coloured by military factors, which takes away not only from the grace of it, but gives rise to all kinds of difficulties. So I don't know exactly what effect the European Common Market may have on these factors. I merely pointed out to you that these factors are worthy of consideration.

Jorgen Vogt (*Friheten*): Do you think there is a basis for increase in trade between Norway and India, and have you discussed the trade between our countries with the Norwegian Government?

JN: Increased trade? There will progressively be, I think, more opportunities for trade as India develops. There is some trade now; it may increase a little. I did not discuss it. These are technical matters. Our approach is a friendly approach—to increase trade. How to do it is a matter for technical consideration.

H.K.Skou (*Morgenposten*): Sir, do you think that the local Communist administration in Kerala will have any effect on the Norwegian project there?

JN: I should think not. First of all the communist administration there has been proclaiming repeatedly that it will function strictly within our Constitution and cooperate with the Central Government, and thus far they have done so. There has been no more particular difficulty. In fact, I discussed with the Chief Minister of Kerala<sup>7</sup> about the Norwegian project and he told me that they welcomed it and they were very happy. Of course, this assistance has nothing to do with the local government; it has to do with the Central Government. Of course, the local government comes into the picture in India. I don't know there will be any difficulty about that. In fact, the local communist administration has invited a number of important Indian industrialists to come and help them in setting up industries in Kerala.

Erik Loe (*Arbeiderbladet*): What is the main content of the so-called Community Development Programme?

7. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister of Kerala, 1957-59.



JN: Oh! That is a question which interests me very greatly. The Community Development scheme in India is one of the most important and revolutionary things that we are doing in India. It affects or is going to affect all the rural population of India, that is, about 300 million people. The first thing we want to do there is, to pull them out of their static or rather stagnant economic condition, take them out of the ruts—this huge population—and make them do things for themselves, make them more vital, more self-reliant. The Government helps with money, with technical personnel, but the main object is for them to do things for themselves with Government help. We started this development scheme four years and nine months ago—not a long period. It has spread now to 240,000 villages in India, out of a total of over 500,000. It has spreads to about forty-three to forty-four per cent of rural India, and it is spreading fast and we want to complete this process in the next four years, so that every village will be affected. We aim, first of all, as I said, to make people more self-reliant and do things for themselves. In particular, we are aiming at higher agricultural production. Improvement of techniques, not mechanization so much, but rather improvement of techniques, fertilizers, better seeds, manures and better marketing facilities and all that. And we are trying slowly to develop cooperatives. We haven't gone very far, but still we have gone some way in developing cooperatives. Then, education, health, animal husbandry, the cultural pursuits—all these things are taken in in cooperation of the village council. We want the village to turn around two major centres of activity—the elected village council and the village cooperative, aided by experts given by the Central Government. The lowest grade of administrative personnel is what we call a village level worker. We take out bright young men and young women from the village, people who have passed through elementary school, or secondary school, wherever possible, and give them a year's training and send them back to their village, now called the village level worker. They work in the village or in a small group of villages under the bigger committees. We are trying to advance in a number of fronts there. At present, we are concentrating on two things: One is more food production, and the other, development of small village industries, both for production and to give employment.

A correspondent: Sir, will you make some comments on developments in Korea? I am referring to the decision of the United States to supply the troops with modern weapons.

JN: I do not know anything much about recent developments in Korea. But if I may say so, with all respect, these so-called atomic tactical weapons, spreading them out all over the world, is sowing seeds of trouble and discord and violence.

It is bad enough that some major countries possess them. The major countries may function with some responsibility, but when these weapons are spread out to all kinds of countries, you never know how those countries will function, how they will use them, and it may be difficult to control these things afterwards. Thank you.

### 3. Farewell to Oslo<sup>1</sup>

Mr Mayor, Prime Minister, Excellencies and Gentlemen,

My stay in Norway is coming to a close and very soon I shall be speeding away after a brief, but extraordinarily interesting and fascinating visit. Perhaps it is fit that this visit should close with this banquet in this magnificent City Hall of Oslo under your Chairmanship, Mr Mayor. I am deeply grateful to you for this hospitality as well as your generous, kind words of welcome. You expressed and said that many of you or some of you, sometimes think of going to this far-off land of India. Well, you are very welcome, if you come there.

Anyhow, a very, very tiny part of India has come to you, and found friendly people, hospitable people, freedom-loving people, peace-loving people. In our own way, we also love peace and freedom. Freedom, as you said, not only of the community, of the nation, but of the individual, and we have struggled for that, and having attained it, we want not only to preserve it, but to enlarge it. It is a great task, because the country is big and the people are very many. But we are trying our utmost to reach the next stage of our journey. And I have no doubt, we shall reach there.

In that it is a heartening feeling and sensation to have the goodwill and friendship and understanding of others. And I believe that we have and we will continue to have this goodwill and understanding of the people of Norway. And so, I shall go back with the pleasantest of memories which will come back to me again and again about this beautiful country and the friendly and hospitable people of Norway.

I thank you again, Mr Mayor, for your welcome.

1. Speech a banquet hosted by the Mayor of Oslo, 22 June 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.



## (v) Sweden

1. The Approach to Peace<sup>1</sup>

Mr Prime Minister,<sup>2</sup> Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,  
 You referred to me, Sir, in such generous language, that I feel somewhat embarrassed, but one word of yours has particularly affected me and moved me because you referred to me as a friend. That, I think, is a higher honour than any other you could have done me, and so, if you will permit me, I should also speak as to a friend and not merely repeat some rather trite formal phrases.

I have been here in Stockholm nearly two days, and I hope to be here another two days, but even during these two days I have had a multitude of impressions which will remain with me for a long time—impressions of a people I met, impressions of the countryside that I saw<sup>3</sup> and impressions of this beautiful and gracious city of Stockholm, one of the most beautiful that I have seen.

This afternoon, as you know, I went to your City Hall,<sup>4</sup> that magnificent structure, and what struck me there most was the combination of various styles

1. Speech at a dinner hosted by the Swedish Prime Minister, Tage Erlander, Stockholm, 23 June 1957. AIR tapes, NMML, and *Nehru in Scandinavia*, Information Service of India, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 110-117.
2. Tage Fritiof Erlander (1901-1985); Swedish politician; Member of Parliament, Second Chamber, 1933-44, 1949 onwards; Under Secretary of State, Ministry of Social Affairs, 1939; Minister of Social Affairs, 1944-1945; of Education, 1945-46; Member of Parliament, First Chamber, 1945-48; Prime Minister, 10 October 1946-24 October 1957 and from 30 October 1957-9 October 1969.
3. Shortly after his arrival in Stockholm, on 22 June, Nehru flew by helicopter to Harpsund Manor, the official country residence of the Swedish Prime Minister. Nehru's visit coincided with Sweden's midsummer festival which the Swedish people celebrate by going to the countryside en masse. The next day, Nehru visited a farm outside Stockholm to see the famous Hamra herd of Swedish cows. Later, he joined in dancing round an arrow-shaped midsummer pole decorated with creepers, when two schoolgirls took the initiative in teaching him how to dance in Swedish style.
4. Stockholm's City Hall, built between 1911-23 to the design of architect Ragnar Ostberg, is one of Sweden's foremost buildings in the National Romantic style. Inspired by the palaces of the Renaissance, the City Hall is housed in a distinctive red brick building. Each year the Nobel Prize ceremony is held in the building's Blue Hall.

of all kinds of things combined harmoniously to make a beautiful synthesis, and I thought then how much it is necessary in the world of today to think in terms of this synthesis of various parts of the world, of various peoples, even of various urges and opinions and faiths. Indeed, there is no escape from it. It was all very well for people in olden times to live their isolated lives cut off from each other because they lived far apart from each other. There were occasional contacts; a traveller would go to strange lands and write a book about it, which might be read, but there was no real contact and people could live their isolated lives.

I doubt if there is any country in the world today which can remain isolated. Perhaps, one of the countries which is more isolated than any other is Tibet, but even Tibet has been invaded now by people going from India and China especially, by automobiles going there over the mountains and even by aircraft going there over the Himalayas, and I suppose this is having considerable effect on the people of Tibet. Another country which was very much isolated is Saudi Arabia. That has been invaded in many ways, chiefly by vast quantities of dollars as oil royalties. That is another type of invasion which is affecting its isolation, but, generally speaking, the rest of the world is getting hopelessly intermingled.

No country today can be said to be a far country. Every country is a neighbour almost to every other country, and therefore we in the world today have to adapt ourselves to this fact, which has been brought about by modern scientific and technological development in communications and other matters. We are constantly meeting each other, hearing each other and getting to know something about each other. There are only two ways really—one is to adapt oneself to this technological and like processes or else to quarrel, first of all in the sense of not understanding each other, disliking each other, as sometimes neighbours do very much, and not trying to adapt oneself to each other. In other words, circumstances compel us today to be good neighbours, and every country is a neighbour to another country. We cannot escape it. Perhaps it is this inability of ours to adapt ourselves to this rapidly changing world that has created so many tensions, political and other. We suspect persons we don't understand, we dislike them, we fear them, if they appear to be strong. And so we find the world today pervaded by a sense of fear and apprehension, and because fear usually leads to hatred, so many of us dislike others so intensely that it verges on hatred. Now, these are not very admirable sentiments in the individual or in the group.

In the old days, but why in the old days, even now people talk in Europe, for instance, of the mysterious East. The East, of course, has two meanings nowadays—one is Eastern Europe, the other is the Orient, Asia and the rest. I sometimes get mixed up when a person talks to me about the East in India. I



think he is talking about Asia, while he is really talking about Russia. So they talk about this mysterious Orient. In the past, they used to do so—they still do so, some of them, and sometimes newspapers write about it as if another type of human species lives there and all kinds of funny things like snakes crawling about and intrigues going, bazaars, harems and what not. They think that is the East. And, no doubt, if you inquired in some Eastern home, they would talk in an equally mysterious way about the ways of the West. They strike them as very mysterious. All this mystery really being a lack of understanding. Of course, in a sense we are all mysterious individuals to each other. Even the most intimate friends have a sense of mystery about their friend. That is different matter. But to consider that a people of another country are some mysterious individuals because you do not understand them merely shows your own lack of understanding and not any special mystery about those people. So we are thrown together, whether we like it or not, in the modern world, and we are likely to be thrown more and more together as science and technology advance, and the real problem is: what are we to do about it?

Yesterday, at another place, the Prime Minister referred to one of the major problems of today,<sup>5</sup> that of man and the machine, how a man is to adapt himself to the machine, which really is a very important and perhaps basic problem today. What I have said really comes out of it—how is man to adapt himself with the consequences of the machine which has thrown us together.

You referred, Sir, in the course of your remarks this evening to the similarity in many ways of our approach to problems of foreign policy. That is, we stand unaligned, if I may say so, not attached to any group, although we are friendly of course with them. That is perfectly true. And speaking for myself, it has always surprised me why anyone should not understand that, because it seems to me the natural consequence of an independent nation functioning according to its own lights, in sympathy with others, in cooperation with others, but not being regimented to do something whether it likes it or not. Because after all, alignment means being regimented to do something which you may not like and thereby giving up a certain measure of your independent judgement and thinking.

However, I am not going to discuss that matter, but rather to say, that in the problems of today—they are very difficult problems because they are problems

5. Speaking at a dinner given in Nehru's honour at the Harpsund Manor on 22 June, Tage Erlander acclaimed Nehru's policies and said, "You have understood better than most of us that whatever modern society requires of science, technique and organization, man remains the primary goal and also that conditions of man are changing so quickly that nobody should be able to afford dogmatism."

apart from the headlines one sees in the newspapers—they are essentially problems of revolutionary changes coming over the world, and revolutionary changes coming over the world essentially through the development of the machine. The ideas that seem to conflict are themselves children of the machine age that we live in. I confess quite frankly that my mind is not clear at all about many things and of what one should do and what one should not do, what the future is going to be, and, to some extent, I don't admire, but shall I say, I feel that the person who is quite clear as to what should not be done is certainly rather rigid in his outlook and a person who is certain as to what should be done, is a happy person anyway, because he has no doubt in his mind. Well, in that respect I am not particularly happy, because the world is too confusing a world and too various a world for one to lay down any rigid rule.

My country, India, is a big country, and I rejoice in its infinite variety. I have never ceased to be surprised, in spite of my life having been spent in India, at discovering new facets and new aspects of India. I don't want India to be uniformly one. Of course, I want Indian unity and Indian cooperation and all that, but I want to maintain that variety and diversity of India's life. Even so, I think it would be a bad day if the world lost its variety and diversity which add so much to the beauty and adventure of life, and so I do not understand when people expect me to line up in my thinking or action or way of life with others. Naturally, because we come into contact with each other, we influence each other and we become more and more like each other. That is true, but this extreme desire that everyone should become the picture of ourselves does not appeal to me. Why should people become the pictures of each other, why shouldn't they be what they are and develop according to their own creative genius and their own backgrounds?

Science and modern development are unfortunately compelling us to be more and more like each other. One can't help that, but one need not make that a desirable ideal. One can't do everything. More specially, from a democratic point of view, I should have thought that democracy meant not regimentation or uniformity but the opportunity given for individuals to develop according to their own genius, to have their ways of thinking and action—within limits, of course.

So, many questions come up before us from day to day and we try to find some answers, but what comes to my mind more frequently than anything else is not what is to be done but how it is to be done, the manner of doing it, the manner of approach, and what disturbs me tremendously is that this manner of approach to the world's problems is being conditioned so much by passion, excitement, hatred and dislike. Of course, all these things cloud one's own mind, one's own judgement, but what is worse, they produce reactions in the other



party's mind which are equally bad or worse, so that you do not come nearer that understanding which you otherwise might do, if the approach was different.

I have been reading, not the original but translations, of a number of articles appearing in the Swedish press in the last two or three days, chiefly about my visit. Being a vain person who wants to read what is said—and I am very grateful to the Swedish press for all the nice things they have said—but I found there also a reference to this mysterious person whom nobody understands, a mixture of the East and West. It may be, I said, we are all mysterious to those who cannot understand us. But it is true that I have undergone, like thousands and millions of my countrymen, certain processes of moulding in our life in India. We are the children of the Indian revolution. And do not think that the Indian revolution being a peaceful one was no revolution. It was a major revolution of the age. It was a peaceful one and therefore its effects were somewhat different from other revolutions which are of the violent type. But we have been powerfully conditioned by them, no doubt about it. I do not know what the next generation will be like, which has not been conditioned by that. But at least my generation has been conditioned and among the many things that we learned from our leader and master, Mahatma Gandhi, was always to lay stress on the manner of doing things apart from what you do, apart from your objective, and the result was remarkable. When England and India came to an agreement about India's independence we were friends after that. There were no bitter memories carried on as they often are, as they almost always are. It takes a lot of time to get rid of them in the struggle of other countries. I think that it was principally due to the way in which Mahatma Gandhi enjoined us to carry on our struggle. That is, not only peacefully in the sense of not hitting the person on the head but trying to be, as far as we could, peaceful in our minds, and friendly in our minds too, even to those who were opposing. We didn't always succeed, I admit that, but this constant conditioning was an important factor in our not nursing deep hatreds. I believe it is true that the Indian people who have many, many failings and who behave very badly, and very violently occasionally, nevertheless are not the people who nurse hatreds for long. Anyhow, it is not a question of giving up a principle; if one believes in a principle one has to hold on to it and not surrender to what one considers evil, that is true. But even so, not doing that, the approach has to be friendly; maybe it is rather difficult, because only by a friendly approach do you produce a friendly reaction on the other side.

It is a simple truth, I think a science almost: a certain action produces certain results, an action motivated by good feelings produces a reaction of good feeling in the other side. It is a simple thing, you can try with any animal or with any human being. An action motivated by hatred and violence produces a like reaction on the other side. If that is so, then why can we not try to solve the world's

problems with that approach, not giving up a principle, I repeat, because giving up something we consider vital is wrong, because then you surrender something that you consider very important, and a surrender of anything vital does injury to oneself or to a country, like surrendering one's freedom or doing anything in the fear of coercion or compulsion. But sticking to one's point, yet trying to be friendly, yet trying to win over the other party, yet producing an atmosphere in which the other party can be friendly—that is the lesson that Mahatma Gandhi always taught us. And occasions have happened very frequently in the course of our struggle when a violently excited crowd which had come into contact with the police or the army, had been shot at and some people had even died. But even an Englishman could walk through that violently excited crowd and not be touched by that crowd. That does not show that the Indian crowd is better than any other, but by this constant teaching of Mahatma Gandhi gradually they thought they should not do it.

Now I find that international politics is so full of the wrong approach, the approach of threats, the approach, if not of violence, of the imminence of violence, the approach of hatred, the approach of dislike and not against the individual even, but against whole peoples, whole countries. But I do not see how this approach can ever yield a peaceful result. People may mean that peace or something like peace, may continue because of the fear of war; that is a different matter. But it cannot. Out of an approach of hatred, no peaceful consequence can flow. If you threaten, or if a country threatens, a very weak country, well, the threat is not needed, the country is very weak. If one threatens a powerful country, the powerful country becomes infuriated and angry and misbehaves still more. It seems to me logical reasoning. How then does one proceed about it? Of course, one has to adhere to one's principle; if one believes in a principle one has to hold on to it, one must not surrender to what one considers evil. One has to look after one's country's interests, one has to think of one's security and all that. As you know, none of us who are responsible for a country's future can forget our country's interests or security. That is so. Nevertheless, in spite of that, if we are aiming at some kind of peaceful result or conclusion, the approach must be a peaceful one. I do not think there is any other way out, by any logical process of reasoning.

Personally, I think that we are passing through—it is a trite saying—an amazingly revolutionary period in the world's history. And for the moment I am not even referring to the physical revolution, scientific, technological, that are taking place from day to day, but, I should say, some revolutionary period in the history of man's mind which is trying to grapple with these changed conditions and not finding it very easy to adapt itself to it and it is a question of how far it adapts itself. If it cannot adapt itself, it will succumb, and war, or whatever else



may come and annihilate a large part of humanity. Otherwise, it will overcome it. I wonder often what people in the future age will think about our present period, that is, if we survive and they survived till then. They will wonder that here the world had, owing to the advance of science and so many other things, tremendous power to remedy the various ills that the world suffers from, not of a particular class, not of a particular country, but of the whole world. Instead of applying this power and resources they wasted them in conflict, constant conflict, in huge armaments and thereby actually put obstructions in the way of the very thing that they were trying to do. It is an extraordinary position.

You will forgive me, Mr Prime Minister, for these odd observations but the fault is yours, because you referred to me and to my country in such a way that I felt that I might say something that troubles me often. You referred to our Five Year Plan. The Five Year Plan is not merely a plan. It is something infinitely more to India, because it is essentially a struggle for survival. We want to survive, naturally every country wants to survive; and not only want to survive, we want to survive by making progress, by going ahead. Not survive in a miserable way. And we have to work hard for that. We feel that the only worthwhile survival is, first of all, in terms of peace and democracy. Because we do believe in individual freedom. And we do not think that if an individual is deprived of his or her freedom, life offers much to that individual afterwards. So we believe in democracy and in peace of course. But there is something else. We believe that an individual, and much more so a nation makes good only by developing according to its own genius. It is no good your trying to confine your child in a particular straightjacket; that is against all the rules of education today. You allow the child to grow, direct its growth no doubt. So a nation also grows not by being confined in straightjackets or being forced to follow this part or that part. Even though it may make any number of mistakes, it has to find its own way. It can learn from others. It should learn from others.

Mahatma Gandhi once said that I want the fresh winds from all countries to blow into my house, that is India, and to profit by them, but I refuse to be blown off from my ground by them. So India, and other countries too, can obviously learn a very great deal from other countries, much more advanced in many ways. And we propose to learn, and we are learning. We shall learn a great deal, I am sure, from Sweden and the countries of this Northern Europe because these countries, in a sense, more than other countries, represent this democratic progress, and being relatively small countries, they have not got entangled in what are called power politics and are free from all the consequences of this terrible game of great Powers pulling in this or that direction, although they are pushed about, of course—every country is pushed about a little. So we hope to learn much, not only about your material achievements, your ways of doing

things, but, if I may use the word, about your spiritual background in a wider sense of the word.

But India will be worth very little if it did not have some soul and spirit of its own, some way of thinking out its own problems, some way of solving them in its own way after learning from others. That, I think, applies not to India only, but to every country. And we would lose what we consider our spirit if we handed over our decisions to somebody else and merely had to follow decisions made elsewhere. We may profit perhaps a little thereby but all the life and enthusiasm that we possess or seek to encourage in India, would disappear. That would not be a good thing for India or for the rest of the world, because I am convinced that India can only progress when the broad masses of India realize their task and work together in cooperation with each other for their own good, not for the good of one class or one group. And that can only happen when they have that enthusiasm that they are working according to their own thinking and are not being pushed about. And that is a very vital thing, that sensation which a country should have, of doing things itself, according to its own thinking and by its own energy and strength.

We welcome, and we have welcomed, and have been thankful for, help that has come from many countries, and are grateful for it. But we realize that all the help that may come from abroad is a very, very small part of what we have to do. We have to shoulder the burden ourselves. So if we eye another person or another nation with the eye of friendship and the eye of affection we get some friendship and affection from that nation. If the approach is different the result is different also. It is very difficult to do that, of course, and it is very easy for me to talk about it. Nevertheless, I do feel that it is rather vital.

I thank you again, Mr Prime Minister, for your gracious words of welcome and may I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to drink to the good health of the Prime Minister and Madame Erlander<sup>6</sup> and the future friendship of the Swedish and Indian peoples.

6. Aina Erlander, wife of T.F. Erlander, the Prime Minister.



## 2. Problems of Planning and Development<sup>1</sup>

Mr Chairman,<sup>2</sup> Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,  
I am grateful to you not only for this delightful feast but also for the opportunity you have given me of meeting so many eminent leaders of Swedish industry and trade.

I have been here now for three days; in another day I shall go away. This visit of mine to the countries of Scandinavia and, last and most important of all in some ways, Sweden, has been a very great education for me. Not that I was unaware of conditions in these countries; I have read about them, I have met people from here. Nevertheless, it makes all the difference to come for oneself and see people and other developments in a country with one's own eyes.

I have no doubt that, as you said, Mr Chairman, there should be, and there is in fact, a great deal of room for cooperation between Sweden and India in many ways, more specially in our developing industrially. Sweden is, well, as I have seen and as I knew in fact, peculiarly good at high class products, fine tools, fine things, which come from long experience of an industry, so that we can have much to learn from you in that respect as in others. Also technical help.

It is true, as you said, that we are laying great emphasis in India on agricultural production, and at the same time on industrial growth. We do believe—we believed it before, but this has been thrust upon us even more by circumstances, that industrial growth will only take place on the basis of a stable agrarian economy. In fact, however rapid our industrial growth might be, agriculture will form by far the major part of our country's activity and will occupy far the greater part of its population. It is obvious, even if we absorb people in industry by scores of millions in the next ten, fifteen, twenty years, even then hundreds of millions are left over. People do not realize the tremendous number of people we deal with. Suppose we take twenty millions into industry, which is an adequate number, in the next few years, well, twenty millions out of 370 millions does not dent it very much.

So we have to rely on agriculture, for that reason, as also because agricultural production should really give us the wherewithal for industrial progress. If there

1. Speech at a luncheon hosted by the Swedish Export Association, Stockholm, 24 June 1957. AIR tapes, NMML, and *Nehru in Scandinavia*, Information Service of India, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 119-123. Extracts.
2. Nils Danielsen, Chairman, the General Export Association of Sweden.

is any lack in that or if we do not grow enough foodgrains for ourselves, it is a great shock to us—financial shock—because, first of all, it seems odd that an agricultural country should not feed itself. Secondly, if we have to import foodgrains from outside it means draining away our resources in foreign exchange and other ways when really agriculture should have helped us. So in any event agriculture retains, and will retain, the first place. But agriculture by itself cannot possibly solve our problems of growth and poverty and, therefore, we are concentrating on industrial growth, both heavy industry and other forms of industry.

Here again, as those of you who have visited India might know, we are following a rather odd course of heavy industry on the one side and cottage industry on the other, which seems odd to most people and yet, if you look at conditions in India as they are, it is not so odd. When we have to deal with a vast population and give it work, it is better even to let them work on an uneconomic level than no work at all. We cannot absorb a hundred million anywhere. And if they work in the villages and even produce, each one of them, relatively little, in the totality it is a very large production—if a hundred million people do that—which would otherwise be wasted. So we are trying to advance along all these fronts.

You know that we have what is called a public sector and what is called a private sector, the public sector being State-owned organizations and the private sector being private enterprise, privately-owned organizations. Broadly speaking, some of the major and basic concerns are, or are likely to be, in the public sector for a variety of reasons, among them being that, really, private enterprise in India is not big enough for these huge things like river valley schemes or big concerns. On the whole, it is not. It might take up something perhaps. For other reasons also, because we have to plan and we cannot take the risk of our resources being applied in non-essential production, in luxury production, when our resources are limited. We have no objection to luxury by itself, provided necessities have been fulfilled. When necessities have not been fulfilled for the people, we do object to our resources being applied to luxury production. Therefore, we plan and planning means, as you know, priorities, what is to be done first, what is to be done second, with the limited resources we have. And that makes it essential in a country like India for the State to play a great part. We must always remember that any of these questions which people put about a country's economy depend not so much on some theoretical approach but on the practical considerations applying to that country.

It is no good of my trying to do something which the United States of America will do. The United States of America will do it very well, but conditions in America are completely different from India. It is no good of my trying to copy



it even if I wanted to. So we have to fashion our planning and our development so as to suit conditions in India, apart from the objectives we have. But there is, and will continue to be, very considerable, very large, scope for private enterprise. And we would welcome—we have welcomed and we will welcome always—subject to what I said, this question of priority. We do not want things to be taken up which we think are not important in the circumstances of India today, but there are many things, very important, that have to be done there—so we would welcome Swedish cooperation and I think we can learn a great deal and profit much by it. Naturally, any kind of cooperation of this kind has to be for mutual advantage; it is not a one-sided show.

You referred, Mr Chairman, to a barrier to this in the shape of double taxation.<sup>3</sup> Double taxations, of course, are a hindrance. I do not know enough about it to say much. But this question has arisen with various countries, with the United Kingdom, with the United States, and normally, I believe, after some talks some arrangement has been arrived at. Obviously, it should be arrived at. What it might be, I cannot say. Obviously it is to our interest as well as yours that some satisfactory arrangement should be arrived at. And I am sure my Finance Minister is very much alive to that.

You said something, Mr Chairman, about my going about warning mankind.<sup>4</sup> If you forgive my saying so, I repudiate that charge. I do not go about warning mankind or anybody. It would be very presumptuous of me to go about warning people. But it is true that, situated as we are in the world today, there is this curious contrast: on the one side, not only growth taking place in many parts of the world at a fairly rapid pace but opportunities for growth come to the world so much that one can change the whole face of the world and remove so many things that oppress parts of humanity, poverty and disease and all that. We have got the resources. The world has resources. In a sense, for the first time one might say that the world is in a position to solve its problems, the normal problems at any rate, of physical well-being and I would say, to some extent, mental well-being too, though that is another sphere. That will depend on other factors also.

3. Nils Danielsen hoped that Sweden's resources, in the form of capital goods and technical knowledge, might be found useful in implementing India's Second Five Year Plan, and suggested an agreement between the two countries for the avoidance of double taxation of the resultant income, once in India and once in Sweden, to bring such a hope much nearer fruition.
4. The course of Nehru's life, Danielsen said, "sums up the emergence of a new world into the light, and stands as a symbol of man's struggle for freedom and happiness. For this very reason your voice is heard and heeded all over the world. You have placed yourself in the van of those statesmen who have made it their mission to warn mankind that it is marching headlong towards the brink of an abyss."

Just when this is within the world's grasp, the world's energies are diverted to preparations for war and thoughts of war and fears of war and all that. It does seem very odd and very illogical. And when also war itself has assumed such terrific and frightening dimensions that everyone says, every person agrees and says, that there must be no war. And yet, somehow, one cannot follow that reasoning logically.

So certainly I talk about this because I feel all of us are concerned with it, no doubt equally concerned, with survival. In India and like countries, because of our passionate desire to make good, to make progress, to raise the level of our people and all that, any process which interrupts that and puts an end to that seems to us too bad. So it is not some kind of an intellectual conviction that peace is a good thing but a passionate objection to that peace being interfered with, which will interfere with all that we are aiming at and working for, simply upsetting the apple cart completely. Therefore, certainly, we talk about it. As a matter of fact, in India there is strong feeling for peace. I believe it is everywhere in the wide world, even though perhaps in India you will hear less about it; you will hear less about peace conferences and the like than maybe elsewhere because there is no, shall I say, political background to this peace propaganda. It is just feeling for peace, not the use or the exploitation of the word for some other purpose.

Well, you said something, Mr Chairman, about the two streams of Europe and Asia flowing together. That is true. In fact, as things are in the world, obviously we come nearer to each other, whether Europe or Asia or other parts of the world and we meet each other and intimate contacts develop, naturally, and it is therefore essential that we understand and tolerate each other and profit by each other without any attempt to impose on each other. Because that, of course, rubs everybody the wrong way. That is not the way to cooperate if there is any kind of imposition on one side or the other. But, as I said last night, some kind of a synthesis is indicated, some kind of a synthesis in human activity and living is indicated, by the mere fact of scientific advance that has brought humanity so much nearer, so much more close together.

So, Mr Chairman, I thank you again and thank all of you, ladies and gentlemen, for your kindness in coming here to meet me today so that I may have the pleasure of your company....



### 3. Press Conference<sup>1</sup>

President (Henrik Hahr)<sup>2</sup>: Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen. Before opening this Press Conference, I want to express to you a most hearty welcome to the premises of the Swedish Publicists Club. It is a body representing the general activities of the Swedish Press, and as the Vice-Chairman I have been asked to act as some sort of Master of Ceremonies, and I will try to do that as informally as I can. And I think that with your permission we start right away, with the questions and answers. We have got several written questions, many of a similar kind, and I will read some of them here, but I will ask at the same time if you want to put some complementary questions or if you want to break in into these written questions. Can we start?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, please.

President: Well, this is the first one: What is the actual purpose of your visit to Sweden and to Scandinavia? Can we get a brief statement on that?

JN: The purpose of my visiting Scandinavia and Sweden, well, is to see these countries and meet the people there. I have long wanted to come here, but unfortunately I could not do so. On this occasion I found an opportunity and I was happy to avail myself of it. There is no other purpose or sinister design about it.

Sven Oste (*Dagens Nyheter*, written question): You have, Mr Prime Minister, for a long time asked that communist China should be seated in the United Nations. Does this mean you believe that the Formosa regime should be forced to leave its place not only in the Security Council but also in the General Assembly? Does this mean that India also supports communist China's

1. At the Swedish Publicists Club, Stockholm, 24 June 1957. AIR tapes, NMML, and *Nehru in Scandinavia*, Information Service of India, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 123-145. Extracts.
2. (b. 1911); Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, 1934-38; foreign correspondent, *Svenska Dagbladet*, 1938-42; Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, radio and subsequently Television, 1942-59; Director, European Broadcasting Union, Geneva, 1960-64; Board, Swedish Institute of Journalism, 1961-64; President, Code of Practice Committee, Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, 1960-64.

demand for control over Formosa and, if so, do you suggest that such a changeover of power shall take place without the inhabitants—all the inhabitants of the island—having the possibility through, for example, a people's vote of making quite clear the various viewpoints?

JN: Yes, we have supported the admission of the People's Government of China to the United Nations for obvious reasons. It is a Government, a stable strong Government exercising authority over that entire country. And by any interpretation of the Charter of the United Nations, it should be there.

You will remember that the question is not of China entering the United Nations. China is there. But as to who is China? What Government represents China? I should have thought it rather elementary to say that Formosa is not China or the Chinese Government. And if the United Nations insists on calling Formosa and the Formosan Government as the Government of China, well, it is flying away from the face of reality. It is not realistic.

We think that the United Nations should be an organization more or less universal in its inclusion of independent countries, regardless of their views, because if you begin to pick and choose as to what views should be represented in the United Nations, you get into difficulties. If you feel that a communist country should not come in, well, there are communist countries in it, like the Soviet Union, like several other countries, so that is not a valid argument.

And, practically speaking, it creates great difficulties in the way of the United Nations to keep a very big country with a huge population outside the scope of the United Nations. You will see that it works both ways: If the United Nations does not recognize the present Government of China, the present Government of China owes no obligations to the United Nations either. So it is not advantageous to the United Nations to be cut off in this way from a large part of the earth's surface.

Take any subject. We talk about disarmament, we talk about development of atomic energy resources. All countries in the world are gathering information about atomic minerals, and you cannot get it from China because you do not recognize China; therefore, you do not know what is happening in a very large part of the earth's surface which is disadvantageous from the scientific point of view, etc.

Then there is the question of Formosa. So far as I know, neither the People's Government of China nor the Formosan Government ever talk of two Chinas. Each claims to be the one and only China. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek refuses to admit that there is any other China but his own. So the question of two Chinas does not arise. So far as we are concerned in India, we recognize only the People's Government of China, not the Formosan Government.



What is going to happen in the future, I cannot say, except that whatever changes or settlements take place should be by peaceful means and not by war or forcible methods. There are difficulties in the way, as everyone knows, but if it is admitted that there should be changes, it should be by peaceful methods—well, things will gradually adapt themselves to that end.

Fleisher (Columbia Broadcasting System): You said changes should be brought about by peaceful methods. Do you mean internal changes within China or are you referring to...

JN: No, I was referring to Formosa—Formosa's relationship with China.

Sven Oste: India has many times claimed that Pakistan violated the resolutions by the United Nations of August 1948 and January 1949 on the question of Kashmir. Pakistan has answered with similar accusations. Mr Prime Minister, why did India reject Mr Jarring's proposal of arbitration?

JN: Mr Jarring's proposal for arbitration referred to a minor point as to whether Pakistan has violated the resolution of the UN or not. Now, first of all, I do not see where arbitration comes in. The UN passed a resolution of which the basic point was, first, that Pakistan should withdraw its forces, official and non-official, from Kashmir State territory. This was passed seven and a half years ago. Second, that neither Pakistan nor India should indulge in war propaganda or in anything that increases tension. The whole idea was that things returned to normality, the aggression and the invasion that had taken place on the part of Pakistan should be vacated; then, when conditions were normal, the question could be considered from the point of view of a plebiscite or whatever methods might be adopted.

The resolution of the UN was in three parts. Part I, there should be a ceasefire and there should be no war propaganda and there should be no addition to the military forces on either side. Part II, there should be a withdrawal of the Pakistan forces entirely and absolutely from Kashmir territory. Because Pakistan had no justification to be there at all, from any point of view; it was aggression. And there are many other clauses. Then, when all this has been done, and it has been officially reported by the representative of the UN to the UN and to India and Pakistan that all this has been done, the two countries, that is, India and Pakistan, should meet together and decide on the method of ascertaining the opinion of the people of Kashmir—after all that has been done.

Well, it is patent that Pakistan forces are in occupation of nearly half of the Kashmir State territory today. There is no doubt about it. Why doesn't the UN face this question and say yes or no to it. Why shirk it? Secondly, it is patent—

anybody can see—that Pakistan newspapers, statesmen, leading men, are constantly talking about a holy war, jihad as it is called. Thirdly, there is no doubt about it, that Pakistan has increased its war potential tremendously. In all these three matters it has not carried out the UN resolution, and in fact has definitely gone against it.

I do not see where arbitration comes in; what do you arbitrate about? Let the UN consider the position and state whether its resolution has been carried out or not.

When you talk about arbitration, you must be clear about what the arbitration is about. In Mr Jarring's proposal it was left to the arbitrator to decide what he is going to arbitrate about.

Remember this, that historically, culturally, politically, Kashmir has been a part of India; there is no doubt about it. Further, just like 500 other States of India, by the same process—legal and constitutional process—on our attaining independence, Kashmir became a part of the Union of India. It is India. It is a part of the Union of India under our Constitution by all the normal processes decided upon when the British left India, which applied to every other State. Therefore, we are not prepared, and I do not know in history of any country being prepared, to have arbitration about a part of its own territory, which is admittedly legally its own territory.

We had agreed, it is true—because of our strong desire for peace—that later when all these conditions are fulfilled, we would be prepared to have a plebiscite. Now nine years have passed, and not a single condition has been fulfilled by Pakistan. We cannot wait forever. If they fulfil them, then we will consider the question. Let them fulfil them, let them vacate their aggression. That is in the main the position there. If you want to ask me any further questions about it, I shall gladly answer them.

Lifbor (*Dawn*, Karachi): Yes, Mr Prime Minister, I would like very much, if I may. In the light of India's own police actions in Hyderabad<sup>3</sup> and Junagadh<sup>4</sup>—

3. In 1947, Asif Jah, the Nizam declared Hyderabad an independent state and on 29 November 1947 signed a Standstill Agreement with India operative for one year. The State Congress which was agitating for responsible government, started a civil resistance movement and a period of political chaos ensued which was ended in September 1948 by the Indian Army moving into the State. The Nizam then agreed to the incorporation of Hyderabad State into the Indian Union with himself as its Governor.
4. Junagadh's accession to Pakistan, announced on 15 August 1947 was condemned by India on 25 September as violating the territorial integrity of Kathiawad. Reports of harassment of Hindus and the invasion of Barbariawad and Mangrol by Junagadh led to the despatch of the Indian Army into the State on 11 November 1947.





WITH SWEDISH PRIME MINISTER TAGE ERLANDER AND HIS WIFE, STOCKHOLM,  
24 JUNE 1957



WITH THE DAUGHTER OF A SWEDISH WORKER,  
STOCKHOLM, JUNE 1957



I do not quite understand, and this is why I come to you and you are probably the only gentleman who could answer this question, which is not quite clear to me—how after such police actions in these two countries one can really claim that Pakistan was aggressive in Kashmir?

JN: The question that is asked has about as much relevance to Kashmir as the man in the moon has. It is only a Pakistan way of trying to get out of its obligations by referring to something else. What Hyderabad and Junagadh, or for that matter half a dozen other places, have to do with Kashmir, is not clear to me at all. Here were certain things happening, after the Partition, in Junagadh. I cannot tell you all its history; it has absolutely nothing to do with it. These two States are entirely within India. It is inconceivable for such a State, surrounded by Indian territory, to be an independent State. It could not be: it is an impossibility. No Government of India can possibly tolerate it just like the British Government never tolerated it—these States. And there was trouble there (in Hyderabad). They were attacking people, large numbers of refugees were coming to our country; they were arming themselves when what is called this police action took place, and the matter was settled in the course of forty-eight hours because all the people in Hyderabad were fed up with what was happening there.

But it has nothing to do with Kashmir. What has that to do with aggression by Pakistan in Kashmir, unless it is said that India failed in its duty somewhere; therefore, Pakistan has the right to commit aggression, which is rather an absurd proposition.

The main point is that whatever India's rights or wrongs may be in Kashmir, by no manner of means has Pakistan the slightest right in Kashmir. There is no question of it. It is aggression. And if you condemn aggression anywhere, you have to condemn this aggression and the least that can be done is for the aggression to be vacated, before anything else can be done. You cannot deal with an aggressor while he is continuing his aggression. We, because of our very peaceful policy, have spent these years not taking any military action after the ceasefire, which we are completely entitled to do because of aggression, simply because we want a peaceful settlement of these problems.

Lifbor: Yes, I believe that the Prime Minister once said that the main thing in Kashmir was the welfare of the people there. Why don't you, if I may say so, let them decide for themselves under the control of the UN? I believe you once said that if such a thing took place Kashmir might turn out to be a battlefield. I don't think so.

JN: I did not say so at all. What I have said is this. First of all, it is open to any of

you, gentlemen of the Press, to go and have a look at Kashmir and see what it is like, see what the people feel like. We have just had an election in Kashmir, we have had two elections in the last five years. And there is autonomy there; they govern themselves, subject to association with India about certain subjects. In Pakistan, ever since its formation, they have had no elections. They do not believe in elections at all. They carry on. They talk about a plebiscite and other things in Kashmir, but in their own territory they have no elections or plebiscites or referendum of any kind. They say they will have it in a year or two; I do not know. Anyhow, for ten years they haven't had it.

And what is happening is, today—I am not talking about ten years ago—vast numbers of people from Pakistan—from East Pakistan—are streaming into India as refugees. They have done so in the past, but even today they are streaming in. We have had from East Pakistan alone four million refugees; it is a large number. It is a terrific burden on India. People come, leaving their land, leaving their property. They are peasants, farmers—no farmer leaves his land unless he finds it difficult to continue there. It is a terrific burden. What I said was, and what this gentleman referred to was, that if a crisis arises in Kashmir, more people will leave East Pakistan for India. In fact, half of East Pakistan may come over to India, about eight or nine million people, and more. It will be a terrific problem. That is what I said, not trouble in Kashmir at all.

Mulvany (*Houston Chronicle*): I would like to ask a two-part question. (1) You said that Kashmir culturally, historically and politically belongs to India. I would like to ask if culturally it does not belong more to the Muslim State of Pakistan and whether there is not a geographical claim on the part of Pakistan because of the source of the Indus River. (2) I would like to ask, if the question is not should there be a plebiscite there rather than any arbitration, and third, do I understand you to say that all the aggression is on the part of Pakistan and there is no aggression on the part of India, in Kashmir?

JN: It is not a question of understanding it. It is a question of a well-recognized fact, which nobody can deny. After all, there can be no aggression of India in Kashmir because Kashmir, legally and constitutionally, by all the processes of law, acceded to India.

Mulvany: May I ask you, please, to explain how that aggression manifested itself?

JN: The aggression manifested itself by Pakistan's army being in the territory of the Indian Union, which is Kashmir. It is there, you can see it. There is nobody



denying the fact that nearly one half of the territory of Kashmir is occupied by Pakistan forces.

Mulvany: But I understood that Kashmir was not a part of the Indian Union until that be determined through UN processes.

JN: Not at all, not at all. Nobody has ever said that before, except some gentleman from Pakistan who didn't grasp the point or who wants to delude other people.

After India became independent, Pakistan came into existence. A part of India was cut off from India and became Pakistan, by our agreement, by mutual agreement. And a procedure was laid down for the Indian States—in India there were over 500 of them—to accede either to India or Pakistan. Now, nearly all of them, barring a few in Pakistan, acceded to India by that procedure. The procedure was that the ruler of that State should accede or not accede as he chose. Now, exactly the same procedure was followed in Kashmir. Just like 500 other States in India, the Kashmir ruler, supported by the only national organization in Kashmir, acceded to India.

That completed the legal formalities and Kashmir became a part of the Indian Union. There is no doubt about it; that cannot be challenged. It may, by our agreement, go out of the Indian Union; that is a different matter. Two countries can agree to anything, but it is a part of the Indian Union and by no manner of means can it be said that Pakistan had any right there, except if you like to say that Kashmir had 75 per cent of Muslim population, and because it had Muslim population, therefore it should go to Pakistan. Otherwise there is no legal, constitutional or moral or any other claim. We are not prepared on any account to accept the division of the country on religious lines because, you will see, ours is a national movement. The people of India, whatever religion they belonged to—there are many religions in India—built up a national movement for the independence of India. We cannot accept the fact that the Christians in India can form a State or the Muslims of India. Even after Pakistan was formed, we have got forty million Muslims living in India. If the argument is advanced that Muslims must go to Pakistan, well, the whole of India splits up; forty million people in every village and town become, if not citizens, somehow associated with Pakistan. So we can never accept the argument that nations are formed by religion. That is a medieval conception. It is not a modern conception. A State consists of various religions, which have freedom to function.

President: You have been asked (by Mr Fleisher, CBS) to comment on two reports in the American magazine *Newsweek*. I will read them and hand them over to you. (1) the real reason for the Indian Defence Minister Krishna

Menon's latest visit to the US<sup>5</sup> was, of course, to get more military aid. To put this point across to Defence Secretary Charles E. Wilson,<sup>6</sup> Menon called on Wilson armed with copies of recent Soviet aid offers and hinted that India might be forced to accept them if Washington does not come through. (2) In India, fears of US-armed Pakistan have created a fertile ground for Russia's MIG-diplomacy. Prime Minister Nehru denied that any offer of Soviet arms had been received or requested but, he added, there was nothing to prevent us from buying arms from the Soviet Union or anywhere else.

JN: My colleague, Mr Krishna Menon, went to the United States to attend meetings of the UN Trusteeship Committee, with which he was associated, and various other matters. He went to Washington, and as a matter of courtesy, he thought it right that he being our Defence Minister should call on the Defence Minister or Secretary of the US. There was no question of his asking, or our asking, for any kind of military aid from the US. In fact, we have never asked any country for military aid. When we have required any military equipment, we have purchased it, usually in England or America or France. Maybe somewhere else, too, but I think these three are the chief sources of supply, chiefly England, the reason being that our military apparatus was formed by the British people, and it is a little difficult to change over from the British pattern of our equipment to other patterns. For the moment that will be an upsetting thing. Therefore, we normally go to England. We have bought things from America and from France also. And I do not think Mr Krishna Menon, in his interview with Mr Wilson, even mentioned any question of American military aid.

Also, there is another reason. We do not take aid, military aid; we purchase. In making purchases, as we all know, it is more difficult to make dollar purchases than any other, because dollars are more difficult to have. So unless we are compelled to, we do not wish to spend dollars which we have not got. Also, American purchases are somewhat more expensive. We have made American purchases when we want them. That is a different matter. But we would rather purchase from the sterling area or some other area where the dollar is not concerned. Anyhow, there has been no question of our asking for military aid from anywhere.

5. See *ante*, p. 437.

6. (1890-1961); Chief Engineer for Remy Electric Corporation; President of Delco Remy Corporation, 1926; Vice President of General Motors Corporation, 1929-39; appointed Secretary of Defence in the Administration of President Eisenhower and served from 28 January 1953 to 8 October 1957.



Then there is the question of what is referred to as Russia's MIG-diplomacy. MIG, the aircraft. Well, I don't know what to say except to repeat that at no time in the past several years has there been any offer by the Soviet Union to us, or any request from us, about military equipment. The Russians have come to our country; Marshal Zhukov came,<sup>7</sup> and others have come. There has been no such talk. There has been a vague general talk, not about military matters, but generally that the Soviet Union is prepared to help us in industry. As you perhaps know, they are building a steel plant for us, just as the British are building another steel plant, just as the Germans are building a third steel plant for us. But we have stated, naturally, that we do not recognize any prohibition to us to buy from any place, military equipment or any other. In fact, we are not doing it, that is a different matter, because it doesn't suit us, because our equipment is largely British, it will upset it for various reasons, but we are not bound down not to buy from any place, whether it is Russia or anywhere else. For the present, we don't feel like it, therefore, we don't do it.

Tunberger (*Svenska Dagbladet*): Well, talking about Russian aid, Sir, we have been feeling, when the Russian leaders visited India, that they were rather more liberal in their promises regarding assistance to India than to promise to assist you with the building of the steel plant. Could you tell us about any more concrete measures which the Russians have taken from that point of view?

JN: I do not know what you mean by their being liberal in their promises, except for general statements they made that they will be happy to help India in her programme of development. There is no other promise. But later, long after they had gone away from India, there was a definite offer of credit of 500 million roubles—I don't quite know what 500 million roubles is in any other currency—credit for buying machinery, etc., in Russia, and that too was not now but, I think, beginning from 1959, about 1958 or 1959, for the purchase of machinery and plants in Russia. And we do propose to buy certain machines for building the machine industry, and a number of plants we are likely to buy from them on the basis of that credit. We have not received from Russia any kind of aid, that is to say, we have received credit, credit terms, that is, phased payment in a number of years, and that is our normal way. Even in the steel plants—we have got three steel plants—we have come to a credit arrangement with the British people too. We pay the money a little later with interest; we pay the Russians for the

7. The Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal G.K. Zhukov, visited India in January-February 1957.

equipment supplied with interest two or three years later. These are the normal arrangements we make. So they have offered us the 500 million roubles credit to take effect, I think, from 1959 or 1958.

Lifbor: Mr Prime Minister, are you really in favour of neutralism as a rule?

JN: That question, I would have to ask you to define to me what you mean by neutralism, then I will answer it.

Lifbor: Well, just to keep half way between other countries having differences, preferring to keep neutral without leaning more to this or that part. I understand, if I am not mistaken, that usually you criticize the military pacts or alliances, and I cannot remember that you have ever criticized the Warsaw Pact or the Russian-Chinese Pact after the horrible events in Hungary. Mr Prime Minister, would you give us your view about the communist alliances?

JN: Well, your information is not quite correct, because I have criticized all pacts. I have expressed my opinion that, at the present juncture—I am not referring to the past, things happened under particular circumstances—military alliances, whether the Warsaw Pact or the Atlantic Pact, or the Baghdad Pact or the SEATO Pact, are all unfortunate and do not help towards the maintenance of peace or security. I am specially concerned, naturally, with two pacts which affect India, that is, the Baghdad Pact and SEATO, on either side of India. They have, instead of bringing peace, created greater tension in their areas and actually affected India. I am concerned with that, so I say so. But I am equally concerned, absolutely equally, so far as the Warsaw Pact is concerned. I have said so and I say so again. They stand on exactly the same footing as the military pacts.

You asked me something about neutrality. I do not understand this word at all. I have heard in history, in wartime, a country is either belligerent or neutral. This novel use of the word neutral in peacetime has a peculiar meaning which I have been unable to understand. Does it mean that those countries which are not neutral are belligerent?

Lifbor: Oh no, certainly not.

JN: Then what does it mean?

Lifbor: They have sympathy.



JN: Leave out sympathy, that is another matter. We may have general sympathy or specific sympathy about various matters, but you are driven to the conclusion that if you object to neutrality you want belligerency. If I know the use of the English language correctly, the opposite of neutral is belligerent. In wartime, well, there is no war yet, although there may be, if you like, cold war. But even the use of these words denotes a warlike mentality, thinking in terms of war, thinking in terms of military alliances, which I think is not a way to peace, whatever else it may be. Whether it is justified or not is another matter, but it does not lead to the peaceful solution of any problems or to the promotion of a peaceful atmosphere in the world.

And, I do not see why my country, which is a weak country—financially, militarily and all that, true—but I just do not see why my country should not follow its own path, right or wrong, and why it should allow itself to be bullied by Russia or the Eastern and the Western Powers. We are friendly to both. But why should anybody come and tell me: you must join my alliance. I don't understand. I have had enough of Western domination and I want neither Western nor Eastern domination, and if anybody tries to interfere with us, we may be terribly weak as we are, but nobody is going to succeed in spite of atom bombs, because we know what foreign domination has been and we fight to death. If we haven't got weapons, we fight with sticks. But we will not submit to it and we will not submit to being bullied by anybody to follow this line or that line because we think that is opposed to our independence. We are an independent nation, we want to be friends, we are friends with every country but when somebody tells us, join up, line up, I am not a soldier to be recruited in a regiment. I am an independent nation and I hold to my independence, my views, and I refuse to accept this theory that the world must be divided up between communist and non-communist. I do not accept that theory. There is the whole of Asia, which has other important matters to consider than your European quarrels.

President: We have got another question here. Mr Prime Minister, would you like to discuss the role of the responsibility of neutral nations in the world today. As a matter of fact, I think you have already answered it. So we go a little bit further.

JN: Yes, please.

Wikbom (Radio Sweden): As regards these matters, have you found much in common with the members of the Swedish Government you have met today and yesterday?

JN: I believe that there is much in common in the broad approach. I can't say, naturally, and it cannot be expected, in every matter, because please remember that a country's policy and thinking is governed largely by its geography. Apart from its history and traditions, geography is a very important factor. Now, if I may give you frankly an instance, here is Finland, on the borders of the Soviet Union. Well, all its policy is governed by its geography. Naturally. Here is India, somewhere else. India's policy, apart from principles and other things, is also governed by its geography. Maybe, India is more favourably situated geographically, apart from the major conflicts in the world; therefore, we can take perhaps a calmer view of the situation because we are more favourably situated. You see, if you look at the world sitting in London, the world has one perspective from London. The perspective from Paris is slightly different; the perspective from Moscow is very different; the perspective from Washington is another; the perspective from Tokyo is another. The difficulty is that people sitting in one place imagine that that is the centre of the world and imagine that other people are also looking at the world from their standpoint. It is not so, because political problems vary from the place where you are sitting, and your neighbours and your boundaries and other problems come in.

Svanstrom (*Morgonbladet*): Mr Prime Minister, how do you intend to solve the problem of the rising population, the difficulty of food production for the people and the necessity of birth control?

JN: By tackling all those problems together! For obviously what else can one do? One cannot have a massacre of the population. We try; we are one of the very, very few governments in the world which is tackling birth control officially; family limitation, birth control, family planning, etc. Naturally, this does not bring about sudden results but it does, we hope it will, bring about results. Further, it is a question of greater production, food production, other things.

I might point out to you, that while India has a very large population, the last census was 360 million—and while the increase in population is very considerable, the rate of increase is not very high. But the totality of increase is big, for India is a big country. Even, let us say, a one per cent increase per annum means ten per cent in ten years, means 36 million in ten years. It is a large increase, but the rate is not very high. I think that the present rate is a little more than 1 per cent, it is probably 1.4 per cent, which is considerable and we want to reduce it.

But India, apart from small bits of India, is not what might be called an overpopulated country. There are large areas of India which are not overpopulated, which are very sparsely populated. And there is great room for expansion in our



food production and other productions, if we adopt a little more efficient methods, which we want to do. That is, while we are anxious to limit the growth of our population, and we are trying hard to do so, the immediate problem is greater production which we are trying to tackle.

Svanstrom: How are your relations to your neighbour communist China? I have to this question a subsidiary question. You are fighting illiteracy in your country but you see, for example, in Kerala in the latest election, where I have been told there are less people who cannot read and write than in other parts of India, those people are getting communist. So if you are fighting communism and if you are trying to get the people to write and read, you are helping, promoting, some sort of communism, that is, the aims of communist China in your own country.

JN: If literacy means communism, then the whole of Europe must be communist. While Kerala voted for the Communist Party, surely it is not due to literacy but for other reasons, dissatisfaction or whatever it may be. It is curious, it is a fact worth remembering, that actually the people who voted in the Kerala elections as communists were not greater than before, perhaps they were even less, but in these elections, as you know, the total number may vote one way and yet in each constituency they might gain more seats. That has happened. It was due really to their grave dissatisfaction with the employment question and other questions. It doesn't mean, I think, that communism as such has any great hold on the Kerala people. But you said something about China, did you not?

Svanstrom: Yes, it is obvious that you try to be friends with China and speak about the admission of China to the UN but you know perfectly well that the China of Mao Tse-tung does not support your democratic ideas and ideals. How are you solving your relations with communist China?

JN: That involves the question that you can only be friends with the people who agree with you. Doesn't it? Isn't that rather opposed to the democratic approach? If that is so, one party cannot cooperate or work in the same country as an opposing party, where they have parties, say in Sweden. Because you do not agree with the other party, that party must be kicked out. And you must adopt an authoritarian system.

The whole conception of democracy is freedom of expression and peaceful existence within a country of people having different opinions; that is the conception of democracy. Why not extend that conception to the world, of peaceful existence between different countries having different viewpoints? The

alternative, of course, is conflict, which is to be avoided. That is why if you say that by being friendly with the Chinese we permit them to influence Indian development, well, the answer to that may be two-fold. One is that by being unfriendly, do we stop that influence? Secondly, what about our influence in China? If they influence us, it is possible that we may influence them in the other direction.

As you perhaps know, China and India first of all, and then many other countries in Asia and some in Europe, accepted five principles which we in India call the Panchsheel or the five foundations of international behaviour. What are those five principles? The first is recognition of the independence and integrity of a nation. The second is non-aggression. The third is non-interference with each other, which was subsequently explained as non interference, political, economic or ideological, covering every aspect of propaganda or anything else. The fourth principle is some kind of mutual respect for each other, and the fifth, as a consequence, peaceful existence.

If those principles are followed by countries, that is, recognition of each other's independence, non-aggression and non-interference, even ideological interference, that is, propaganda etc., and peaceful coexistence, then there is not likely to be much trouble between nations. You may, of course, say it is all very well to acknowledge these, but how are you sure this will be acted upon? That, of course, is true. Nobody can guarantee this thing, but by accepting certain principles and constantly placing them before the public you create world opinion, you create national opinion and if any country goes against that, it puts itself much more in the wrong; it will find it more difficult to do it. After all, there is no guarantee about the future in this world. You have to take risks, and the biggest risk we are taking today and all the time is preparing for war.

Svanstrom: China, or any country, formally accepts the principle, but on the contrary may act against it, you cannot do anything.

JN: Why can't we do anything?

Svanstrom: It is very difficult to fight China in your country...

JN: It is very easy. It may be difficult to do anything outside our country, but it is very easy to take any action we like in our own country. We are masters in our own country; neither China, nor Russia, nor America, nor England, nor any other country can do anything against our wishes. We may be a weak country politically, but please remember that without any arms or anything we fought the British Empire. And we are not afraid of any country, whatever number of atom or hydrogen bombs it possesses.



President: There are some questions concerning Hungary: Against the background of the importance India places on the word imperialistic, do you believe, Mr Prime Minister, that Russia's policy in Hungary should be branded as clearly imperialistic? The other one in that connection is: What action do you think should be taken by the UN after the report on Hungary?

JN: We are of the opinion that no country whatever it may be, communist or anti-communist, should keep its forces in another country. There are plenty of examples today of communist forces being in other countries, and non-communist, anti-communist countries keeping their forces in other countries. Both, we think, are wrong and the forces should be withdrawn. No forces can be kept in another country without interfering to some extent with the independence of that country. Therefore, we do not think it right, for the Soviet Union to keep its forces in Hungary. We have said that. But we also think it wrong for other countries to keep their forces either, whether in colonial territories or other. There are plenty of colonies still fighting for their freedom and horrible things are happening in some of them at the present moment.

You refer to the United Nations report. I have not read the report, I have read a summary of it in the newspaper. I cannot, and I do not wish to, express an opinion about it. The broad fact, I am not talking about details, but the broad fact that appears to emerge from it, and which was more or less well known before, was that in Hungary a rising took place. I believe that there was incitement to that rising from outside too, but fundamentally that rising was a nationalist rising. I have no doubt in my mind that it was a nationalist uprising in Hungary. Also, there is no doubt that that rising was suppressed.

Further, it was a terribly tragic episode, in which most people's sympathy, certainly mine, goes out to the people of Hungary. I am anxious that the people of Hungary should be able to live their life, the life of their own choice, have the structure of their own choice, governmental and other.

The question arises how this can be brought about. I do not know, I can't say, it's a very complicated question. Because unfortunately it is not an isolated question. It is intimately connected with this cold war which prevails nowadays. And every country, whether in the United Nations or outside, judges most subjects that come up before it not on the merits but from the point of view of its effect on the cold war. And sometimes countries become unfortunate pawns in that game. That is my difficulty, I cannot say what should be done, it is beyond me. They have to judge the situation, what can be done. It may be satisfying to show one's anger at something, and one shows anger occasionally, but the point is how one can help in the situation....

Philipsson (*Time* magazine): I wonder why, in the Second Five Year Plan, there is more emphasis on rail transport than road transport. Road transport is much more economical on steel per person, etc., and it is usually much faster. And there are other aspects to this about roads, that it can employ many more people building the roads and it can be greater stimulae to the villages than rail transport can be.

JN: That is an interesting internal problem for us. There are many people in India who are in favour of more road transport. All of us are. But balancing rail and road is an internal problem which has to be decided considering all these factors. I am not an expert in these matters, but I know there have been great arguments there. As a matter of fact, remember that India is a big country, and for long distance travel roads become rather difficult. Also even in regard to roads we require motor vehicles and there are not too many of them; we have to import them. But for my part I feel that road transport should certainly be encouraged in every way. We are encouraging it; it is a question of balancing.

President: Mr Prime Minister, you have stated that any disarmament agreement should provide for some form of international control or supervision so that any breach of the agreement can be detected. Does this mean that you believe that it is really possible to create an absolutely effective control of, for example, an atomic weapon ban, and in such a case how can such international control be established in the event of war with so-called conventional weapons breaking out?

JN: The problem before the world is, apart from idealistic considerations, that war which involves the use of nuclear weapons has become so terrible; it can bring no result to the so-called victor and it must be avoided. If a war involving the use of the hydrogen bomb is to be avoided, then should any country use, what are called tactical atomic weapons and not the hydrogen bomb? I do not think it is possible to do so. If you use tactical weapons, you would be inevitably driven into the next stage: to hydrogen, the bigger bomb. In the same way, you might well say, that any war with so-called conventional weapons, unless some petty affair in some corner of the world, may well lead to a bigger war, if any big Powers are involved. It is very difficult to draw the line. In fact, therefore, one should aim at the avoidance of war itself, either conventional or any other.

This cannot be done completely because of various difficulties, fears, apprehensions and all that today. The only way to do it then is to go step by step, each step lessening those fears and dangers of security. Disarmament, even a partial disarmament, would be one step. It does not rule out war but it creates a



better atmosphere in the world, a little less fear than there is. As a first step, I suppose that atomic test explosions should be suspended for a couple of years—and I believe more or less that has been suggested by the United States and Soviet Union, both, subject to other considerations—if that is done, that obviously is only a small step, but psychologically speaking, it is a big step. It turns the current of world opinion and thought in a direction towards disarmament and lessens fears. So it is a good step. Of course, it has to be followed up by other steps for the control of atomic weapons and also for the control of conventional weapons, or limitations, if you like. All that hangs together. But you cannot bring everything out suddenly; it has to go step by step because people and countries are afraid, of what might happen. So one takes it step by step.

Now, whether it is possible to detect a breach of any agreement arrived at about atomic weapons or test explosions, I am not scientist enough to give a definite answer, but I have been told that it is very, very difficult for an explosion to take place without its being detected elsewhere by competent machines and all that. In any event, that is a question which should be referred to scientists, atomic scientists, how to find out, the best way of finding out, if a breach occurs. Let them say. Either they will say there is no way, or they will say that these are the ways, adopt them.

President: Well, here's another question: You have stated that the UN should not maintain a permanent military force? Why is that?

JN: I have not exactly stated that. What I have said is that at the present moment, especially in regard to Egypt and Israel, we did not agree to that force becoming a permanent force, partly because of our own involvement. The UN, if it keeps a permanent force: take the present position, the UN excludes a part of the world, a very important and big part of the world and if it keeps a force, is it going to be used against that part? Would that not lead to world conflict? You see it is only after disarmament and all that has taken place and the atmosphere of the world is much freed from fear that the UN might have a kind of police force. It is possible. But in the present context there is great danger of that type of a force. After all, it will be comprised of, naturally, some great Powers, small Powers. It will be either a very small force, or if it is a bigger force, then the great Powers come in. Now, the great Powers themselves are in conflict; so all kinds of difficulties arise....

Svanstrom: Mr Prime Minister, would you promote the immediate retirement of the UN forces from the Sinai Peninsula?

JN: No, I would not promote it, because that might give rise to trouble there. We are involved in it—but naturally, we do not want to be there forever. We shall remain there so long as it is considered essential that we should remain there....

Representative of the UP: I should like to have the Indian view on the Israeli-Egyptian relations and on the question of free passage through the Suez Canal and whether Israel should have free passage through the Gulf of Aqaba.

JN: So far as the Suez Canal is concerned, I have expressed my opinion repeatedly that there should be the freest movement for ships, etc., that is, it should be open to every country, that there should be no restrictions. I believe the position taken up by the Egyptian Government is that they accept the 1888 Suez Canal Convention. According to them, they interpret it in one way; if some world authority like the World Court interprets it in a different way, they will accept the interpretation of that authority. So, such a question could easily be referred to the World Court or somebody else to decide it, but my interpretation is that there should be free transit for every country.

About the Gulf of Aqaba,<sup>8</sup> I do not know. I should personally imagine that there should be equally free use of that, but I don't quite know. I have studied the Suez Canal question but I really do not know much about the Gulf of Aqaba, except in geography it is there, and that the Arab countries, chiefly Saudi Arabia, have raised great objections to the use of the Gulf of Aqaba by countries which they don't like.

A correspondent: Your Excellency, could you do anything to help the search for the Swedish teacher Gunnel Gummeson who was lost in Afghanistan after working, among others, in India for welfare with the Vinoba Bhave movement?

President: That was several months ago. A young Swedish teacher. Well, as a matter of fact, if I may say a word here, I think that is a question for the usual channel...

JN: I do not know much about the case, but remember, Afghanistan is an independent country; we can't push ourselves in there to do something. If our help could be useful in any way, naturally we would be glad to help.

8. The Gulf of Aqaba extends 100 miles between the Negev and the Red Sea, the coastline on either side being uninhabited desert. The frontiers of Israel, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia converge at the head of the Gulf.



President: She was working at...

JN: I know, that something happened in Afghanistan. Now it is for the Swedish Government and the Afghan Government to deal with the matter...

President: Quite right. Well, before breaking up, Mr Prime Minister, I must say that we appreciate very much your coming here and we really thank you for the way you answered all the questions and the generosity in your way of doing so, and I think we all can give you a warm applause.

#### 4. Goodwill Among Nations<sup>1</sup>

Mr President of the Swedish-Indian Society, Mr President of the International Club, Mr Prime Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen,

First of all, I should like to thank the two organizations and their Presidents for this very welcome and exhilarating occasion where large numbers of people, eminent people representing Sweden and people from other countries too, have gathered here today. I have had occasion to meet some of you in the course of the last two or three days. I am sorry that those occasions were limited and I cannot physically find it possible to meet all of you, much as I would like to do so, because, though I am attracted to this country for a variety of reasons and I want to learn much from it and to admire and enjoy its beauty, I am more attracted to human beings because I feel I can profit by those contacts and learn much.

I have been referred to as the symbol and incarnation of India. Well, I do not quite know what that means, because a symbol is something in other people's minds and eyes to see or feel. It may be, of course, that for a variety of reasons, among them being that you have heard a great deal about me and associated me with India, therefore, to you I am a symbol of India. Well, may be that I do represent or have represented some dominant urges in India and, therefore, for the moment I symbolize them. But, after all, it does not much matter what happens

1. Speech at a dinner hosted by the Swedish-Indian Society and the International Club, Stockholm, 24 June 1957. *Nehru in Scandinavia*, Information Service of India, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 145-153.

to me, what counts is not an individual but India, and India is likely to count, I believe, in the future too and, I hope, count for the good. So far as I am concerned, it seems to me that, rather by a flux of time, people have heard of me and got to know me, whatever the virtues I possess.

Now, we have, I think and hope, a number of things in common with Sweden. One thing which has struck me is that in this changing world, a world where governments frequently change and Prime Ministers change frequently, the Swedish and the Indian Prime Ministers have continued for a long time. And it so happens that, roughly, the period is the same too, over ten years.

Well, I have come here and I have had to change some of my opinions at least about Sweden. I do not know why, but quite a number of people told me that the Swedish people were very formal, rather rigid, shy, reserved and all that. I confess that I have not found them either formal or rigid. Perhaps they may be occasionally shy or reserved, as all of us are sometimes, but I think that the description that was given to me was not correct. At any rate, they have been good enough to behave towards me in a completely different way and have overwhelmed me with their kindness and friendship and affection. And that is the greatest gift that you could have given.

It has often struck me as very strange that there is so much goodwill in the world, tremendous funds of goodwill, but in spite of that there are so many conflicts also. I have not been able to find an answer to that satisfactorily. I have travelled a fair amount, in most of the countries of Asia and most of the countries of Europe, also in America, though I have not, I regret to say, been to South America. But I have met many friends from South America also, and wherever I have gone I have seen goodwill among men and women, friendship, and an exceeding desire for peace and to live at peace with other countries. I have been to what may be called the communist world, many countries there, and I have been received again with friendship and goodwill. So I wondered, when there is so much goodwill, certainly among the common people, but I would add not only among the common people but among their leaders also, why then cannot these independent goodwills meet oftener and become a common fund of goodwill and cooperation? I do not know the exact answer to that.

It does seem to me that some kind of unfortunate twist has taken place, or barriers put up, mental barriers more than physical, which prevent the normal course of events taking place, the normal course being the meeting of the goodwill of one country and the goodwill of another country. I have often found also that even when, for some good or inadequate reasons, the people of two countries are suspicious of each other, even angry with each other, when they meet together they are quite friendly. That too is rather curious. Whether we suffer from some complexes which prevent us from getting over these barriers or whether we





WITH QUEEN JULIANA OF THE NETHERLANDS, SOESTOUK, JULY 1957  
VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT IS ON THE RIGHT



AT A CIVIC RECEPTION BY THE COLOMBO MUNICIPAL COUNCIL,  
COLOMBO, 17 MAY 1957



have got into some mental ruts of thinking, which persist and pursue us in spite of the fact that the reason for the rut may have disappeared or may be disappearing, I do not know. But I do feel that in the world as it is today, we have arrived at a moment in history when it is imperatively necessary for people to try to get out of that mental rut. And if they try to do so, I think they will succeed. In fact, sometimes I am optimistic enough to think that it is inevitable that they will succeed. When, I cannot say.

Why have we got into this rut? Of course, the causes lie in past history, past events, man's passion, fears and so on, but now we have arrived at a stage when those very fears, in a sense, compel us to get out of those ruts and try to think anew and afresh, with fresh minds. Fortunately for me, the mere fact that I have had occasion to travel and to travel to many countries and sometimes countries that are supposed to be hostile to each other, has helped me to get out, to some extent at least, of the mental ruts that I was in, that I may be in even now to some extent. I started with an advantage of course, the advantage being that while all these complexes, based on fact, not on mere fancy, were being created in various parts of the world, we in India were tremendously involved in our own job. The rest of the world, we were friendly to it, but it was rather distant. All our energies were directed to the achievement, first of all, primarily of independence and the method we had adopted was also rather unique, the method which our leader Mahatma Gandhi had laid down. And so we were passionately attached to our objective and to realizing it. And we rather forgot the problems of the rest of the world. It may be that we became lopsided because we were concentrating on one issue. No doubt, we did. But when that issue was in a sense solved for the moment, that particular complex was removed from us and there were no others to take its place immediately and we could view the world with relatively free minds. No mind is completely free. We had our sympathies, we had our feelings and urges but there was no overpowering impulse to prevent our thinking, well, if I may use the word, straight; although, even as we completed our journey to independence, we realized that our journey or our pilgrimage was not at all over. It was only one stage in the journey that we had completed, and there was going to be no resting-place for us, and the next stage of the journey was a longer and a harder one.

We had been fortunate enough, tremendously fortunate, to see the realization of our labours. It does not often come to people, it came to us. But even as it came, we saw that it was only a partial realization and a great deal remained to be done, and probably we would not even see the next stage, the next major stage, of our journey. But that did not matter very much. The point was that the call to labour and work came to us the moment we were free from one effort, great effort, and we got entangled in that. And we are entangled in that.

Nevertheless, the mere coming of independence set us larger tasks internally in India and externally also, because we came in contact with the external world much more. Before, we were so in theory; we thought of it, we had our ideas about it but now we came in touch with it and we had to deal with world problems to some extent, whether we wanted to or not. And so we have laboured and we have felt perhaps, as I said, that we were fortunately not inheriting the conflicts or the basis of conflicts which had led to so much trouble in other parts of the world. We had no animosity to any people. As you know, even the country we had been struggling against for a large number of years, when independence came in a friendly way, there was no hostility left and we were friends and we are friends. So we saw no reason why we should allow ourselves to develop those hostilities which we saw around us. That had nothing to do with our view about any matter, political or economic. It was up to us to have our views, to learn from others but to come to our own decisions. But why should a view, even though it might be entirely opposed to other views, why should we allow it to make us hostile and fill us with animosity and something like hatred, we fail to see, more especially because for the space of nearly two generations we had been taught not to do so by Mahatma Gandhi and that is why we have never been able quite to understand the temper that governs a great part of the world which is so full of this hostility. We can understand, of course, the fears and suspicions, the desire to avert possible dangers. That is understandable. But how to do that by methods of hostility was not clear to us.

Sweden has been fortunate to have peace for a century and a half nearly. That is a long period, and it is a matter of great good fortune for Sweden. But Sweden has been surrounded by conflicts of other countries and, naturally, has been affected by them and has been influenced by them, and this, to some extent, governed its policy, as was and is natural. Europe's conflicts, even though Sweden might be far from them, concern Sweden, as indeed the world's conflicts. I want you to appreciate that it does not necessarily follow that Europe's conflicts should be Asia's conflicts, sympathy apart, whatever it may be. I say this because it is presumed that a conflict in Europe should be a conflict in Asia. It may be, of course, that conflicts today become worldwide, that is another matter. I am rather thinking of mental conflicts, which lead to physical conflicts. There has been, for the last few hundred years, during a period of European domination over the rest of the world when world politics were centred in Europe, a tendency to think that what happens in Europe must necessarily concern the world. To some extent it was true, and is true, because Europe is a very important part of the world in many ways, both in terms of power, in terms of industrial growth, cultural growth, and so many things. That is true. They must affect the world. Nevertheless, the idea that this inevitably follows the rest of the world is



progressively becoming less and less true, as any student, close student, of international affairs will realize. I do not mean that Asia's conflicts or things that happen in Asia should put problems before the world. It is not a question of Europe or Asia or America. I was referring to Europe. A later phase comes when it is thought that America is the dominating country in power and wealth, resources, in many ways, a very great country which naturally we admire, but it does not quite follow that Europe or America being great, containing great nations, should necessarily, shall I say, be repositories of all wisdom also.

I speak with all humility because, honestly, I am very confused, often enough. I find the problems of the world with which we have to deal also to some extent very perplexing, very difficult to deal with, when often there is no straight answers to what one should do or what one should not do. I speak with all humility, but it does not seem to me obvious that the possession of the hydrogen bomb also means the possession of wisdom. The two need not necessarily go together. Therefore, I do not see why I should surrender such poor judgement or wisdom as I might have merely because I have not got the hydrogen bomb and somebody else has. That does not follow in my mind at all. In other words, the approach to the consideration of these questions, I submit, might be a fresher one. We might try to get out of these ruts.

Nobody obviously can ignore the hydrogen bomb. There it is, a dangerous thing, staring you in the face. Nobody can ignore reality, the reality of danger. All that is true, but it is also true that the wise men of the world, the wise statesmen of the world who no doubt consider themselves as very practical men facing realities, have not been remarkably successful in the last post-war years in solving the world's problems, and crisis has followed crisis. It is nobody's fault. All the faults are shared by everybody, by every nation, by most nations. It does little good merely to have the satisfaction of saying that somebody else is in the wrong or some one country is in the wrong. When you have to suffer for that, there is no satisfaction. We have to remove that danger or difficulty.

So while it is very difficult for me, and I do not presume, to suggest anything, I do feel rather strongly that the ways of so-called practical men which have led us to the present pass are not really practical at all. They live in ruts of thought, repeat the same phrases; sometimes those phrases become a kind of slogan without much meaning. We talk of peace. There are plenty of people chanting peace all the time in terms of war. You hear the word peace, peace, but in the most aggressive and offensive way. I do not call that peace. Plenty of people talk about democracy, and yet some people at least who talk of democracy have not an atom of democracy in their own countries.

I do not understand all this. There is some unreality, this repetition of slogans and phrases. Very good slogans and very good phrases. It means that we have

ceased thinking; we react to each other and remain in the same rut of thought. Action, reaction goes on and we try to manoeuvre so as to be in a better position to shout a louder slogan the next time, and this kind of thing goes on.

I have no claims to wisdom, far from it. But I do not want my mind to relapse into a state of non-thinking, of just repeating slogans, whether they are Communist slogans which often irritate me greatly or anti-Communist slogans which irritate me equally greatly, because they mean a lack of thinking, just words taking the place of thought. How can we solve problems when we do not really try to come to grips with it by clear thinking and allow ourselves to be pushed by just the passion of the moment or the anger of the moment.

So with all humility I put to you that we might make an effort at fresh thinking, trying to get out of the old rut and realizing that there is such a tremendous fund of goodwill in the world, in every country, among the people and even among the leaders of the people who are chiefly responsible. I do not think any of them wants trouble in the world. Some of them may like trouble in some part of the world other than their own. That is a different matter. But nobody wants real trouble in the world, and logic tells them that trouble, like some infectious disease, cannot be isolated; if it starts, it spreads to other parts of the world, overwhelms the world. Therefore, why not have an attempt at some fresh thinking, fresh approaches?

Possibly, the answer might be that any fresh approach or fresh thinking might involve us in some risk. Well, it is true that the process of thought itself is full of risk. The safest person, safest in one sense, is the person who does not think. He lives in a state of beatitude, of no thought and just repetition of something. But that is not a healthy state, obviously, and it does not lead to any solution of any problem.

I believe that we have arrived at a psychological stage in the world and, if I may say so, with all respect, it involves something more than political or economic thinking or manoeuvring. It even involves, well, something of a crisis in character. I am not for the moment talking of individual character but national character, national approaches. That takes us a little beyond the normal functions of foreign ministers and the like. Foreign Ministers do not indulge in this kind of thing. It is rather beyond their scope. But Foreign Ministers will have to, some time or other, deal with basic causes—Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers and Governments—and so I have ventured to put this before you with some hesitation and reluctance, because I have no claims to wisdom and I am a very confused person. But sometimes, even a confused person who is not pursued by the furies, as some people may be, might be able to suggest something worthwhile for others to consider. Because surely we must get out of this rut. We cannot carry on like this all the time.



So far as India is concerned, we are both very unfortunately placed and very fortunately placed. Unfortunately in the sense that we have very great problems of our own, tremendous problems, which absorb our attention and which cannot be solved by some magic phrase. Fortunate because we have not got any past record of discord pursuing us. We have petty discords here and there but there is nothing, nationally speaking, which pursues us in this way. We are fortunately placed geographically also, I think, which, rather relatively speaking, ensures our security. And the result is, there really is—you may be surprised to know—no sensation of fear in India. We talk about the hydrogen bomb, more because we do not want the world destroyed but not with any personal sensation of fear that the hydrogen bomb will come and hit India. So geography helps us. Our freedom from past conflicts and their consequences helps us and, therefore, we can occasionally try to take ourselves out of the ruts and try to think straight; whether we succeed or not, I do not know.

One of the objectives which I aim at in travelling abroad is to meet people. We have to face these very difficult problems, leaders of nations, and try to get some light from them about them. It is helpful, it has always been helpful. It does not mean that one agrees completely or not, but I have always found, in discussing these matters with people of contrary opinions, that the field of agreement is quite large. The field of disagreement is relatively small—it may be very important, of course, even a small disagreement may lead to great trouble—but the fact remains that the field of agreement is pretty large always. I imagine that perhaps advantage could be taken of it. But the difficulty is that the field of disagreement is emphasized all the time, stressed, shouted out, while the large field of agreement is covered up or toned down and seldom referred to.

I do not know if I have talked any sense to you at all. I have no idea. But I have ventured because of your kindness and friendship to talk what I had in my mind. I shall be going away tomorrow afternoon from Sweden, carrying indelible and imperishable impressions from here of all your kindness and hospitality and the beauty of this country and the city of Stockholm. Thank you.

(vi) UK

## 1. To Lord Mountbatten<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 3, 1957

My dear Dickie,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 30th May,<sup>3</sup> which has just reached me. I am greatly looking forward to meeting you and Edwina and the rest of the family. It appears that I shall be seeing you very soon after my arrival on the 25th June.

We have had a very heavy time here and our difficulties continue and seem to press upon us from all sides. Normally I should not have liked to leave India at this stage, as one does not like to go away from a difficult situation. But, I must confess that I am greatly looking forward to my visit to the Scandinavian countries and later to England.

I have given up the idea of attending the meeting organized by the Anti-Colonial League for Nkrumah. I did not at first know the nature of this meeting and I was reluctant to attend it. When I found out what it was, I decided to keep away from it and have informed Nan<sup>4</sup> accordingly.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Louis Mountbatten, First Sea Lord, UK.

3. Mountbatten strongly urged Nehru against attending a meeting in London of the Anti-Colonial League with Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana. He felt that "if you have anything to do with an organization with a name such as that it gives a gratuitous and most unfair handle to those people who will not have got over the Indians standing with the USA over Suez." Mountbatten said it would be far wiser if Nehru did not to identify himself "with an organization which appears to be against our government."

4. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Indian High Commissioner in London.



## 2. The Future of the Commonwealth<sup>1</sup>

James Cameron:<sup>2</sup> Mr Nehru, by the end of this year there will be five so-called Afro-Asian members, with the inclusion of Malaya, in the set-up of the Commonwealth. What sort of new influences might be brought to bear, you think, on the balanced voices in the council of the Commonwealth by these circumstances.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, Mr Cameron, it is rather difficult to say, but I have no doubt that the viewpoint of Asia and Africa—if that is considered one viewpoint, which it is not will have greater place there—and will, therefore, perhaps affect other peoples' thinking more. After all the Commonwealth does not decide matters by votes. It has discussions which influence each person's thinking, each country's thinking. And, I imagine, that thinking will be affected a little more by more representatives from Asia or Africa. You think that is an adequate answer?

Cameron: Yes, indeed. The whole atmosphere of the Commonwealth Conferences, there is never any division, lobby. Well, to go on further, we have to be more and more realistic about the Commonwealth now and there have been times when that link has been seriously strained as I remember only too well about six months ago there was a combination of the Suez affair and the Security Council resolution on Kashmir which produced considerable stresses. Now, you yourself at the time emerged the most eloquent advocate of retaining the Commonwealth link. Do you find it now greater or less difficult in projecting the value of the Commonwealth to the people of India?

JN: What are the values of the Commonwealth? Well, many, I suppose, political, economic, but I imagine that the most important, for those who think about

1. Interview to James Cameron in a Delhi-London radio link-up, 8 June 1957. AIR tapes, NMML. This was broadcast over the BBC from London on 25 June 1957.
2. James (Mark) Cameron (1911-1985); British journalist; known as a roving reporter on war, poverty and injustice; wrote and presented many television programmes, including *Cameron Country*.

them, are rather imponderable values. Some commonness in thinking or ideals, whether it is democratic working, or many ideas which India has derived from English literature, and all that. Now, that affects more or less the people in India, who have been influenced by those ideas. You can hardly say that it affects the common man in India. The common man, if something happens which he does not like, he resents that. So a great deal depends on the common man's thinking as to what happens. You mentioned certain incidents which powerfully affected the common man. Now, those who thought a little deeper and further and thought of those common ideals, which, I believe, attract India to the Commonwealth or to England, were not swept away by those gusts of passion. May I say that if you talk about the future of the Commonwealth, it really cannot be isolated from the future of the world, of which the Commonwealth is such an important part. So developments in the world and the reactions of the Commonwealth countries and the other developments naturally affect the internal thinking and working of the Commonwealth nations.

Cameron: Yes, Sir, thank you very much. Now, you brought up this point that you cannot separate the future of the Commonwealth from the future of the world. To extend that argument a little bit, India is by no means an ordinary member of the Commonwealth.... Do you find any problem in reconciling India's representative state in the Commonwealth with her extremely special position in the councils of the world. That is, do you find the Commonwealth occasionally committed to a view that you, as the Indian Prime Minister, cannot always accept?

JN: Well, I would say that I find sometimes some countries of the Commonwealth committed to views or policies which are not agreeable to us. I would not say that the Commonwealth was committed to them. If the Commonwealth was committed as a whole then, of course, we find it exceedingly difficult. So, I separate the Commonwealth being committed as a whole from individual member countries of the Commonwealth being committed. Now, difficulties arise. We have survived rather difficult situations. No one can say when a situation may arise when the strain is so great that public opinion in the countries concerned pushes governments in a particular direction. But so long as one believes that the basic objectives in view are in the balance served then we survive all these difficulties and tensions. If that belief goes, then of course a new situation is created.

Cameron: There exists a very great difference of opinion between your Government and the present Government of the UK over the question of the



nuclear tests and that division is equally reflected here. Has not that brought about some very sincere demands from this association?

JN: Yes, there have been demands from quite well known people in India. But as with situations that have arisen which created tension, the demands, well, have not gone too far to affect most people who control policy and, I believe, even the public because there is the hope that we might be able to help in solving this problem in cooperation with other countries of the Commonwealth and the other countries of the world. And so, we must not be too impatient, too angry with the things we do not like. And we should carry on trying to convince others. And also because we feel that many people in the United Kingdom and elsewhere are also thinking in that direction.

Cameron: Do you find any distinction between the relations of India and Britain and India and the Commonwealth? I know it is an involved sort of question, but it is all bound up in this business of removing the word British from Commonwealth. The Indian relationship with Britain had a special value or lack of value in history. Now India finds herself related to the Commonwealth, that is to say, equally related, say, with Ghana or with New Zealand as with Britain. The Commonwealth thus becomes an entity. Won't you agree with that fair definition, Mr Nehru?

JN: I am not quite sure if I have understood your question.

Cameron: No, it was very very badly phrased indeed, but since we have now ceased calling the Commonwealth, the British Commonwealth, the implication, then, is that each of its members has a relationship to the unity, rather than to Britain as the sovereign head of it.

JN: Quite so, quite so. Yes.

Cameron: Would you agree that is obviously complicated by the inclusion in the Commonwealth of factors like South Africa?

JN: Yes, well, England, historically and for other reasons, necessarily has played a leading part in the Commonwealth. But, if I may mention, another country, Canada, has been playing a very leading part also a progressively more important part, depending not so much on bigness or physical strength, but other reasons. So, therefore, I think more and more various countries of the Commonwealth will play an important part, possibly in regard to their own region, or in regard

to certain ideas, that is, there will be more dispersion. You disperse the ideas. They do not emerge from one place and cover the rest of the Commonwealth. Now, I suppose that is a natural development.

Cameron: What sort of things, in India particularly, might worry the common man in the future regarding India's association with the Commonwealth?

JN: The common man in India is naturally and primarily concerned with his economic progress and with peaceful conditions in the world, so that he may progress. His two dominating impulses are: peace in the world and economic progress in his own country. They are connected in his mind. Now, anything that imperils his peace, disturbs him, anything that imperils his future, economic progress also, alarms him. Now, you can apply that test to anything and that is one reason why in India there is a very widespread and general feeling against armaments, against military pacts, against the approach to cold war, all of which are not only rather against our tradition and bringing-up and conditioning during Gandhiji's time and otherwise, but also affect us about our future. We are afraid of developments which might lead to war and, if I may say so in all humility, an approach to questions which develop hatred and violent attitudes in people. Now, I do not presume to say that we are in any sense better than others. It is only that our conditioning has been that during thirty years of Gandhiji's time as well as previously. And so, if I may say so, while on the question of peace we feel strongly, world peace, and we are intimately tied up, in all our thinking at present almost, in regard to our economic problems, Five Year Plans and the rest.

Cameron: Do you see in this connection of ultimate world peace a differentiation of hope perhaps between the Commonwealth and the United Nations? And to say that again a bit better, you, India as a Government is more articulate in the United Nations than perhaps it might seem to be in the Commonwealth? Is there a form of integration that you see that offers any greater hope in the present method of binding things?

JN: You mean integration of the Commonwealth with the United Nations?

Cameron: Well, the integration between two.

JN: Well, there have been occasions in the past when the opinion of the Commonwealth, taken as a whole, has influenced United Nations decisions. But in the United Nations, India as every other country functions on the public



stage and you hear about it. In the Commonwealth, we function privately and naturally there is nothing in public except communicate which do not say much. So that, the real difference is, in one place you functioned in public and in the other, in private, which is quite right, of course, and which helps the frank talk and a frank understanding of each other's viewpoints.

Cameron: The last occasion when this functioning in public happened, with some publicity, was of course the difference of opinion between two members of the Commonwealth.

JN: Yes, you mean Pakistan and India?

Cameron: I mean on Kashmir.

JN: Yes, Kashmir, that is true.

Cameron: This question is of language. Do you see, Panditji, in the national policy for the establishment of Hindi as a national language, something which might be an act of an insulating factor, something which would probably separate India from the other members of the Commonwealth?

JN: It is rather difficult for me to look into the future, but I imagine that the knowledge and teaching of English will continue in India in a big way. Because more and more we are conscious of our contacts with the rest of the world, we want foreign languages. Inevitably, English is the language not only best known by us of the foreign languages but the most widespread in the world and is most important. Therefore there will always be a desire to learn English, and our Government wants to encourage that. But it may well happen that the quality of our knowledge of English may suffer. We may not be able to maintain that quality which we derived in the past.

Cameron: Mr Nehru, Sir, I thank you very much indeed and please forgive us some of the inexactitude and exclusiveness of the questions, rather difficult at this distance. Thank you very, very much indeed, and we are most grateful to you, and now that is about all, I think.

JN: Thank you, Mr Cameron.

### 3. The Soviet Union<sup>1</sup>

... Mr Nehru recalled that at the meeting last year<sup>2</sup> he had given his colleagues his impressions of the visit which he had recently paid to the Soviet Union. Though much had happened since then, those general impressions still held good today; and he regarded them as confirmed by the analysis which Mr Selwyn Lloyd<sup>3</sup> had given them at their meeting that morning.

The purpose of the present discussion was to try to understand the world situation so that we could fashion our own policies to meet it. The policies of the Soviet Union and the United States, being the two most powerful countries in the world, naturally had the greatest effect on world events. It was now forty years since the great upheaval of the Russian Revolution. Since then the pressures generated by that revolution had been gradually subsiding. At the same time great social changes had been taking place in Asia and Africa, where feudal systems of life were disappearing and demands for higher living standards were being made; and a major technological revolution was taking place very rapidly throughout the whole world.

Soviet material progress was continuing, and the Soviet people undoubtedly enjoyed higher living standards today than ever before. Most of the Russian people had been born in the post-revolutionary era and could hardly conceive of any other world. Their outlook was changing rapidly under the influence of their technical progress. They were technically minded and eager to develop new process. They were increasingly widely read. He did not think there was much desire for a change in the basic political system; the Soviet people had never experienced the democratic political systems of the West. Nevertheless there was a strong desire for greater individual freedom, both of the person and of expression, and for a larger share of the good things of life. In the course of the last year the tragedy in Hungary had checked the more liberal forces in the Soviet Union and also, to some extent, in the East European countries. These forces, however, still existed; they were too broadly based to permit any permanent reversion to a thoroughgoing Stalinism. Preoccupation with the political doctrine of communism obscured the fact that much of Soviet policy could be explained as deriving from the expansionist tendency of a great Power.

1. Minutes of the second meeting of the eighth Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, 26 June 1957. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.
2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, pp. 243-245.
3. UK Foreign Secretary.



Communism was a means to expansion, and its original crusading element was less important than in earlier years.

The process of liberalization was historically bound to continue. The force of every revolution must inevitably subside because of the desire of the people to return to a more normal life. He believed that the only thing standing in the way of further liberalization in the Soviet Union was the fear of war. Soviet policies, both internally and in the satellite countries, were based not so much on preserving the communist political system as on the fear that, if Soviet control was loosened, these countries might become hostile. The more the Soviet fear of war could be removed, the more rapidly would the process of liberalization advance, both in the Soviet Union and in the East European countries. He had found in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe one dominating fear, that of a rearmed Germany. The Russians had already fought the Germans in two world wars and had no illusions about their military efficiency. The Soviet Union were undoubtedly determined to hold their military positions in Eastern Europe so long as Western troops remained in Germany.

When he had received the Soviet leaders in India, Mr Khrushchev<sup>4</sup> had emphasized the desire of his country to establish better relations with other countries, in particular with the United Kingdom. Mr Khrushchev had later made some remarks in Burma which were rather offensive towards the United Kingdom. When challenged about these, he had said that it must be remembered that the Soviet Union had been in a state of siege for forty years and felt surrounded by people who wished to overwhelm them; when it seemed that their suspicions were being realized; it was in their nature to react aggressively. This had been an illuminating example of the working of the Soviet mind.

The problem was how to reduce the tension between the Soviet Union and the free world. It had been suggested that the Soviet Union, while not wanting war, wanted to eliminate colonialism. But many other countries, not least the United Kingdom, would also agree with this aim. If the Soviet objective was to spread communism by peaceful means, it was true that some success had been achieved in those countries when communism had succeeded in allying itself with nationalist movements. But wherever communism had come into conflict with the forces of nationalism, it had failed to capture the minds of the people. In many countries there was at present a gulf between the rulers and the peoples. Military aid alone would not win those peoples for the free world; and economic aid, if linked with military aid, lost much of the grace of giving.

4. N.S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

If we accepted the assumption that the Soviet Union did not want war, policy which maintained an atmosphere of preparation for war would operate against the forces of liberalism in the Soviet Union. Some different approach must be found. India had now had considerable contacts with the Soviet Union. Visits had been exchanged, both officially and unofficially. Indian students were under instruction in the Soviet Union, and Soviet engineers were assisting in development projects in India. It had been noticeable that the visitors from Russia did not attempt to indulge in ideological propaganda. Indeed, they had been scrupulous to avoid doing so; and their presence had acted as a certain check on internal communism. Much had been made of the remark that, since the Soviet Union was not neutral, no anti-communist country could be neutral. But the military alignment of the whole world into two opposing groups could not produce a state of mind conducive to peace.

Summing up, Mr Nehru said that the great countries of the world undoubtedly desired a relaxation of tension; but if there was to be peace in the world, a new approach was needed. Disarmament was one way in which to achieve a lessening of fear. Another was to adopt a friendly peaceful approach. He believed that such an approach could be made without endangering our own security and that peaceful coexistence would in time bring about the improvement which we all desired. We had now passed the stage when any change in the communist system could be achieved by force.

#### 4. The Situation in West Asia<sup>1</sup>

Mr Nehru said that he had followed the discussion with great interest but could not agree with some of the points which had been made. The recent history of the Middle East had begun after the break up of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War. For a long time thereafter conditions in the Middle East had been fluid, and States and Governments had been established in a rather arbitrary fashion. Even now, a considerable degree of instability prevailed. It was clear, however, that, in the Middle East as elsewhere, the dominant factor was the desire for political independence, which was one aspect of the growth

1. Minutes of the third meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, 27 June 1957. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.



of the spirit of nationalism. This desire still persisted; and there was an underlying fear throughout the Middle East lest independence should be lost as a result of external intervention. In addition, the Middle East under the Ottoman Empire had been extremely backward, politically, economically and culturally. The new States had therefore found it difficult to produce effective leaders, and for a considerable period they had been independent only in name. More recently, the growth of nationalism had been accompanied by the emergence of a deep-rooted desire for economic and social progress, particularly in respect of agrarian reform. Few areas of the world were more remote from communism in terms of social organization, than the essentially feudal countries of the Middle East. The objective of the economically backward classes in those countries was land reform and the destruction of the feudal society. If communism came into the Middle East, it would come under the guise of an agrarian reform primarily directed to the overthrow of an outdated social system. It would not come openly or as a political creed.

The problem in the Middle East, as in the greater part of Asia and Africa also, was the problem of an attempt to carry out simultaneously major revolutions in political and economic conditions. In Western Europe political revolutions leading to the creation of national states and democratic governments had taken place only when the economic revolutions had been largely achieved. In the new democracies of Asia, on the other hand, the introduction of adult suffrage had itself generated pressure for economic reforms which were not by any means easily accomplished. But unless the insistent demand for economic and social advance was suppressed by undemocratic means, the only alternative was to proceed with reform as rapidly as possible. In the Middle East the only real basis for stability would be provided by a gradual fulfilment of the popular desire for agrarian reform. It was disturbing, therefore, that in some countries in the Middle East there was a gulf between rulers and people on this issue. It was true that considerable economic assistance was being given to the Middle East. But that assistance was not sufficiently used for the benefit of the people. Standards of administrative and financial integrity were not always high, and economic aid was not always directed to the most desirable ends. He had recently mentioned this problem to President Eisenhower, who had admitted its existence but saw no immediate solution. One of the reasons for the apparent lack of gratitude for economic aid was the fact that it was not allowed to filter down to the level of the common people.

It was these factors which lay at the root of the continuing instability in the Middle East and could be exploited, by the Soviet Union or by any other country, for political purposes.

Among the Middle Eastern countries Egypt had recently undergone the

greatest social change. The Egyptian regime before the expulsion of King Farouk<sup>2</sup> had been rotten and reactionary. The revolution effected by a group of military officers had been the natural consequence. The new Government, lacking political experience, had no doubt been too ambitious and had made a number of mistakes. But it had at least sought to provide an honest administration and to improve the lot of the common people. Egypt was the only country in the Middle East which had made a serious effort to undertake the essential reform of agrarian conditions, and to this extent it was now the most socially progressive country in the region. This factor, together with its traditional position as a cultural centre of the Arab world, did much to explain the present extent of Egyptian influence.

In the past, the policies of countries with interests in the Middle East had been influenced too much by the views and reactions of the local ruling groups. The significance of developments such as the support obtained by Dr Mossadeq<sup>3</sup> had been underrated. While he had doubtless made many errors, he had given expression to the widespread desire for honest government and social reform. It was this desire, rather than the interests of the ruling classes, which should determine our policies in the Middle East if we were to bring stability and peace to the area.

Arab nationalism, in itself, might be a vague and insubstantial concept, appearing in different forms at different times. But the nationalism of each individual country in the Middle East was a real and effective force, with which we must be prepared to deal on the basis that the problems of the area could only be solved through gradual reform and by peaceful means. It was true that relations between Israel and the Arab States were so strained that there appeared little prospect of an early peaceful settlement. Nevertheless we should seek to take all possible steps to reduce the tension. From this point of view any advance towards the resettlement of the Arab refugees would be valuable, although this problem would not be easily solved. The Gulf of Aqaba should present no real difficulty; the strongest opposition to the passage of Israeli ships had been voiced by King Saud,<sup>4</sup> but the ships were nevertheless using the Gulf unhindered. The passage of Israeli ships through the Suez Canal was a more difficult question; but he agreed that the problem should be regarded as one of the correct interpretation of the Convention of 1888.

He could not agree that the Baghdad Pact was of value to the Middle East. No doubt it had been created for defensive purposes; but the reactions of others, who might fear that it represented a threat to their interests, had also to be taken

2. King of Egypt from 1936 to 1952.

3. Muhammed Mossadeq, Prime Minister of Iran, 1951-53.

4. Saud ibn Abdul Aziz, King of Saudi Arabia, 1953-64.



into account. Even in Czarist days Russia and the United Kingdom had confronted each other in the Middle East; and it was not surprising that Russia continued to react to changes on the borders of her territory. The Soviet sale of arms to Egypt might well be to some extent a result of the Baghdad Pact. A Middle Eastern settlement which ignored the Soviet Union was no more feasible than a Far Eastern settlement which ignored China; and in both cases such a settlement must be based on the social and economic aspirations of the people no less than on the political factors involved.

## 5. Egypt's Declaration on Suez<sup>1</sup>

Mr Nehru asked whether the United Kingdom Government, while not fully satisfied with the Egyptian Declaration,<sup>2</sup> considered that, so far as it went, it embodied the safeguards which they sought. Was the main outstanding fear of the United Kingdom that Egypt might unilaterally withdraw the Declaration?...

Mr Nehru said that the major outstanding point, apart from the risk of unilateral action by Egypt, appeared to be the absence of provision for consultation with the users of the Canal. The real point at issue was, therefore, the degree of confidence which particular countries were ready to place in the present Egyptian Government. Even so, the Egyptian Declaration might be regarded as having a higher status than a unilateral statement of policy, in as much as it had been registered with the United Nations.

1. Minutes of the fourth meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, 27 June 1957. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.
2. This was made on 24 April 1957 and related to the future administration of the Suez Canal. The declaration rejected the idea of international control of the canal, but set limits to the amount of canal tolls which would go to the Egyptian Government and provided for arbitration on any increase in the tolls.

## 6. China, Tibet and South-East Asia<sup>1</sup>

The meeting held a general discussion on the situation in the Far East and South-East Asia under the following main headings:

### **China: Admission to the United Nations**

Mr Nehru said that the dominant fact in the Far East was the existence of the People's Government of China. To attempt to ignore it was to render impossible a solution of the problems of the area. But if recognition was not accorded to this Government, both in the United Nations and generally, the result would be less harmful to China than to the United Nations and the rest of the world. Formosa was not China: and the Government in Formosa, which still purported to represent China in the United Nations, did not in fact control a single acre of Chinese territory. Meanwhile, the real China, because she was refused recognition by the United Nations, was under no obligation to that organization and owed it no allegiance. This was a dangerous situation. In the case of disarmament, for example, no effective agreement could be established which did not take account of China; and if other countries continued to refuse to recognize China, any disarmament plan would be bound to be incomplete.

The recent action of the United Kingdom in relaxing controls on trade with China was a welcome contribution to the easing of tension in this area. But so long as the problem of Formosa remained unsolved, fresh trouble might break out at any moment.

The People's Government were the independent masters of their own policies. So far from being subordinate to the Soviet Union, they were in a sense its potential rival. The fact that they suffered from certain internal strains and stresses should not obscure the rapid progress which they were making in industrialization and the increasing liberalization of opinion which they were permitting. China was in process of becoming a major industrial power; and her territory was so vast that even nuclear attack could not destroy organized life in the country. These were basic facts with which the world must reckon....

Mr Nehru replied that, although China's admission would probably be interpreted as a certain setback to the anti-communist interests in the area, the reaction of the countries of South-East Asia to China was determined basically

1. Minutes of the fifth meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, 28 June 1957. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.



by their recognition of the fact of her vast size and growing power. It would, of course, be only natural that China, if admitted to the United Nations, should use her membership to advance Communist policies in general....

## Korea

Mr Nehru referred to the recent statement by the United Nations Command that the forces in South Korea would be re-equipped with modern arms.<sup>2</sup> This was a unilateral repudiation of the terms of the armistice; and he had recently been informed by the Swedish Government, who provided the Supervisory Commission in the area, that they regarded this decision with the greater concern in that they were unaware of any recent developments in North Korea which could be advanced on its justification. Moreover, if "modern weapons" included tactical nuclear weapons,<sup>3</sup> these would provide the forces of South Korea with an aggressive power far greater than that of conventional arms. To entrust this power to the irresponsible Government of South Korea was tantamount to provoking a new outbreak of hostilities and was wholly inconsistent with the disarmament discussions which were at present proceeding.

## Indo-China

Mr Nehru recalled that the Geneva Armistice Agreement had constituted three Commissions to supervise its implementation in the countries concerned. The task had proved least difficult in Cambodia. In Laos, however, after the Commission had succeeded in securing an agreement<sup>4</sup> between the Prime Minister of the Laotian Government and the leader of the Pathet Lao providing that two members of the Pathet Lao should be made members of the Cabinet and that the Northern Provinces should be reintegrated in the Laotian State, the United States had exerted economic pressure on the Laotian Government to abstain from ratifying this agreement. In December 1956, he had personally emphasized, both in Washington and in Ottawa, the danger of this course and the risk that Laos would be forced to look to China for assistance.<sup>5</sup> Both the United States and Canada appeared to have accepted this advice. Last April, however, the United Kingdom had sent a note to the Laotian Government condemning the Pathet Lao and had published this note at the very moment

2. The UN Command had also accused North Korea of violating the armistice.

3. North Korea had charged the United Nations with "attempting to make South Korea an atomic base and preparing for a new war."

4. On 28 December 1956.

5. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, p. 539.

when agreement between the Government and the Pathet Lao seemed to have been reached. As a result, the Laotian Prime Minister, who had negotiated the agreement, had been compelled to resign, and the efforts of two years were in danger of being frustrated within sight of their goal.

In Vietnam, the Government of South Vietnam had refused to implement the Geneva Agreement or to hold the discussions with North Vietnam which the Agreement had prescribed for June 1956. How could the Supervisory Commission function if one of the parties involved did not even recognize the Geneva Convention which was the basis of the Commission's existence? The Government of North Vietnam had now asked the two co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, to persuade South Vietnam to begin the discussions envisaged by the Agreement. The United Kingdom could claim a larger share of credit for the Geneva Agreement than any other country; and it should now act promptly to save the Agreement from collapse and to forestall a fresh outbreak of hostilities in which South Vietnam would almost certainly be defeated.

In such circumstances, it would not be unreasonable to regard the task of the Commissions as hopeless. Nevertheless, he did not believe that they should be withdrawn from Indo-China any more than from Korea. They exercised a restraining influence which it would be dangerous to dispense with....

### **Tibet**

Mr Nehru said that in the last six months the Chinese had relaxed their control over Tibet. Many Chinese civil officers had been withdrawn; Chinese schools had been closed; and although Chinese military forces remained in effective occupation of the country, they were now more unobtrusively disposed than before.

All Chinese Governments had regarded Tibet as a part of China; but the present rulers of China were prepared to regard it as autonomous, provided that no other Power intervened in its affairs. Indeed, the Chinese Foreign Minister had assured him that there was no question of China attempting to introduce communism into Tibet, where the internal conditions were not likely to be appropriate for a long time to come....

### **General**

Mr Nehru said that all the individual problems which the meeting had discussed were facets of one dominant problem—was there to be peace or war in South-East Asia? The answer would depend largely on China; and history showed that China was capable of vast efforts of constructive expansion. She was now



becoming a great industrial power with a rapidly increasing population. The existing regime might become more liberal in time, and the tendencies in this direction might already be stronger in China than in the Soviet Union. But the present Government was strong enough to remain firmly in power. Other countries must therefore adopt one of two policies towards China. They could deliberately seek to contain, or even to destroy her; or they could endeavour to develop closer relations of all kinds with her and thereby to encourage the Chinese Government to pursue a liberal and progressive policy. The former course could only end in suicidal world war. The Chinese people were tough and wise; they were patient and enduring; they had great traditions and a historical memory which reached far back. To oppose this formidable combination of qualities was dangerous and would exacerbate, instead of easing, the tensions in South-East Asia. It was their friendship rather than their enmity which we should seek to win, without in any way compromising with Chinese policies where they were false or mistaken.

It was unfortunately true that many of the countries neighbouring on China were unstable; and it was perhaps significant that even in a communist country such as North Vietnam the existence of a large Chinese population was regarded by the Government as an embarrassment rather than a blessing. But the most powerful force in these countries was nationalism; and Chinese influence could be exercised, through expatriate Chinese populations, only where communism could ally itself with the forces of nationalism.

The Geneva Armistice Agreement had provided the foundation for peace in South-East Asia. It was vital to preserve the integrity of the arrangements laid down in that Agreement; if they broke down the effect might be disastrous for the whole area. He was dismayed to think that the democratic countries might acquiesce in a progressive abandonment of the Agreement.

He could understand the difficulties in the way of an early reconciliation between the United States and communist China, and he welcomed certain indications that the practical instincts of the American people were gradually leading them towards a recognition of facts of the situation. But the longer this process of recognition was delayed the more difficult it might become.

He could not agree that SEATO represented a bulwark of defence for the democratic countries in the area. Its effect was completely the opposite. Its military value was relatively slight; but psychologically it constituted a continuous irritant which inhibited the growth of friendly relations. It was the more unfortunate that SEATO had been created shortly after the conclusion of the Geneva Agreement; for it had provoked the inevitable reaction at the very moment when the tensions in South-East Asia were beginning to ease for the first time. It was their failure to understand the irritant effects of this alliance which

prevented the democracies from influencing the policies of the Chinese Government and promoted a personal accord between China and the Soviet Union. In the last analysis the course of history was determined by the common people as much as by Governments. In South-East Asia, as elsewhere, social factors were no less important than political factors; and the elimination of poverty, by industrial development and social reform, was the key to the problems of the area.

## 7. The Question of Disarmament<sup>1</sup>

Mr Nehru said that he agreed that the question of disarmament should be approached on practical lines; but moral considerations were not irrelevant to practical decisions, especially in the context of issues about which public opinion throughout the world was so deeply exercised. If, as had been suggested, nuclear disarmament was unacceptable without conventional disarmament, and if conventional disarmament proved to be as difficult and protracted as some of his colleagues seemed to fear, the argument lapsed into a vicious circle and the prospects of genuine disarmament of any kind receded into an indefinite future. Everybody would prefer a comprehensive solution; but it was often wiser to tackle an intricate problem by a piecemeal approach. To defer action until the conditions were propitious for the ideal comprehensive solution would not merely leave the situation as it was. It would allow it to deteriorate, as an increasing number of countries became able to manufacture nuclear weapons; and to that extent it would both postpone and complicate still further the final agreement. On the other hand, to deal with one aspect of the problem at a time was an essentially practical approach.

India had made certain proposals to this end in July 1956 based on the cessation or suspension of nuclear tests as a preliminary to a more general disarmament agreement. The mere registration and limitation of tests would be of less value, in that it would appear to accept such tests as legitimate acts of policy, provided that they were limited in scope. Moreover, limitation implied control; and if an

1. Minutes of the sixth meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, 1 July 1957. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.



apparatus of control could be created to supervise the limitation of tests it could be no less effective in enforcing their complete cessation.

It must never be forgotten that other countries might soon develop a nuclear weapons potential. China, in particular, while not yet capable of manufacturing such weapons, was nevertheless developing rapidly as an industrial power and must eventually be brought within the scope of the disarmament discussions. This essential objective was incompatible with a continued refusal to recognize the People's Government.

References to "tactical" nuclear weapons and to the so-called "clean" bomb could be very misleading. "Tactical" weapons appeared to be similar to the bomb used against Hiroshima. Even though they would be smaller, they would still be far more destructive than any ordinary explosive weapon used hitherto. It was terrible that such devices should come to be accepted as the conventional weapons of the modern world. Similarly, a "clean" bomb appeared to mean a bomb which would not produce a great quantity of radioactive fallout. But every explosion of a nuclear weapon, however "cleanly" confined to the upper atmosphere, must add to the amount of radioactive material in the air and, therefore, increase the ultimate danger from fallout. Moreover, it was erroneous to assess the extent of this danger in the case of the underdeveloped countries of the world by arguing from the reaction of the people of the United States to nuclear tests in that country. Conditions in the United States were very different from those in India. The people were better fed, and their diet contained a higher proportion of calcium. The effects of Strontium 90 would, therefore, be proportionately less. But the danger point would be reached sooner among the physiologically more vulnerable populations of such countries as India. The world should not wait until this danger point had been reached. A solution should be found without delay.

Disarmament had been a problem long before the advent of nuclear weapons; but the need for an agreement had now become more urgent. Public opinion was becoming increasingly exercised about the cumulative effects of nuclear tests, and, while it was important not to neglect any opportunity to promote a comprehensive agreement on disarmament, it was not unrealistic to adopt a cessation of nuclear tests as a first step towards a wider agreement. It had been suggested that these tests should be initially suspended for ten months. This was not a very long period; the intervals between successive series of tests were often longer for technical reasons. The period should be at least two years, in order to provide time for the details of a more comprehensive agreement to be worked out....

Mr Nehru said that, in the light of the rapid advances of science and technology, the problem could not be considered from a static viewpoint. The

progressive development of nuclear weapons did not provide a source of security. On the contrary, it created a source of fear. It was arguable that, for the moment, the possession of nuclear weapons by a limited number of powers acted as deterrent to the outbreak of war. But if the present pace of scientific and technological development continued and if the production of nuclear weapons became practicable for a rapidly increasing number of countries, the threat to world peace would grow rather than diminish. While he recognized the existence of fears that nuclear disarmament might endanger security, he felt strongly that it was the absence of such disarmament that in fact represented a danger to peace. All possible steps should, therefore, be taken to reduce these dangers; and if the opportunity provided by the present discussions in the Disarmament Sub-Committee was allowed to pass, an even more dangerous situation might soon emerge. The argument that control over the use of nuclear weapons could be envisaged only as part of a comprehensive settlement of the whole problem of disarmament was not likely to lead to practical results; and it was on this ground that he regarded himself as more of a realist than those who advocated the comprehensive approach.

## 8. Improving the Effectiveness of the UN<sup>1</sup>

Mr Nehru said that there would be general agreement that there must be some kind of world organization like the United Nations. It was easy to criticize the omissions and failures of the existing organization, but credit should also be given for its achievements. Political differences in the United Nations received great publicity, but there were many constructive activities undertaken both by it and by its specialized agencies which did not attract the same public notice. A balanced view of the organization should take account of these achievements.

The United Nations must reflect the actual state of affairs in the world. The veto was a realistic reflection of the responsibilities of the great powers on the Security Council. But since the United Nations was formed, experience had been gained in working a world organization and there had been many changes in the world situation. New countries had come into existence and had been

1. Minutes of the seventh meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, 2 July 1957. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.



accepted into membership. There had also been certain shifts in the balance of world power which had not perhaps been fully reflected in the United Nations. The absence of China, for example, implied some lack of reality in the organization.

It was the hope of mankind to achieve a new world order; but the time for this was still far distant and, meanwhile, all countries should do their best to improve the effectiveness of the United Nations as the instrument for bringing about an ever greater measure of cooperation between nations. The United Nations should work for the interests of mankind as a whole and of the world at large rather than for the sectional interests of a particular nation or people. The question of revising the Charter had been raised recently<sup>2</sup> in the General Assembly, and it had then been resolved that it was not desirable in the present state of world affairs to take this question up for some years. He thought this a wise decision. An attempt to revise the Charter would necessarily reflect the conflict and tensions which affected the world today. Fortunately, when the Charter had been framed at the end of the last war, a different spirit had been abroad in the world. Some of the hopes which had been embodied in it had not been fulfilled, but these hopes remained. We could not expect to make the United Nations much better than the world in which it operated; but, if we could reduce the conflicts and tensions between nations, this, in turn, would make for improvement in the working of the United Nations.

The various groupings in the United Nations were but another reflection of the tensions in the world. It would be a mistake to make too much of these groups. The countries forming them might agree on some issues, but on others they might show great differences of opinion. Nevertheless, he considered that they were an important element in world politics at the present time.

He agreed that there was some unreality about the proceedings in the United Nations when large numbers of nations who did not have to carry much responsibility for the consequences voted on various issues without thorough consideration of the principles at stake. But, unless the United Nations sometimes reflected the major urges of mankind, it would divorce itself from reality. The movements now taking place in Africa and Asia should be recognized and handled constructively so that the aspirations of these emergent peoples could be satisfied without creating crises. Though the United Nations was supposed to reflect the

2. In 1955, the UN General Assembly had decided to appoint a committee of all member States to consider the question of arrangements for a general conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter. This committee, which met on 3 June 1957, felt that a review conference should take place but the fixing of a time and place for it should be deferred, for not more than two years.

world situation, he thought that the representation of Europe and of the Americas was greater than that of Asia and Africa. He recognized that the great powers must inevitably play a major part in the work of the organization; but the fact remained that the representation of Asia and Africa was at present very limited and any revision of the Charter should face this basic fact. The conventions governing the allocation of seats on the Security Council also needed to be reviewed. India, for example, though she might with reason claim to be a relatively large and important country, might qualify, as a member of the Commonwealth, for a seat on the Council at intervals of sixteen to twenty years; if regarded as an Asian country she would qualify at intervals of twenty-eight years. As the membership of the Commonwealth increased, the first of these periods would grow longer. Asia had less influence in the United Nations than Latin America or Western Europe, and he felt that the present constitution of the Security Council did not reflect the true world situation. The same was true of the officers and staff of the organization: in the main they were drawn from a small number of countries.

How could we deal with these imperfections of the organization? This was hardly a propitious time for changes, but the fact remained that the organization did not adequately reflect the real conditions in the world. The developing national movements in Asia and Africa might well become disruptive if means were not found of enabling their voice to be heard. These urges of nationalist sentiment should be recognized and helped to develop constructively without upsetting the world order; and for this purpose the United Nations must become more representative of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

Finally, Nehru said that he agreed with Mr Menzies<sup>3</sup> and Mr Diefenbaker<sup>4</sup> that there must be no withdrawal from the United Nations. Any withdrawal of the great powers would be most unfortunate. However much the nations might regret the failure to achieve the original hopes of the Charter and criticize the machinery of the organization, they should realize that this reflected their own failures and not those of the Charter. The Charter embodied in noble language high principles and aspirations: it was the nations themselves who had failed to live up to its original concept. The faults of the world were reflected in the United Nations, as the faults of electorates were reflected in Parliaments. This must be accepted as the product of democracy in action.

3. R.G. Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia.

4. John George Diefenbaker (1895-1979); Canadian statesman; leader of the Progressive Conservatives, 1956; Prime Minister of Canada, 1957-63.



## 9. Interview to CBS<sup>1</sup>

Howard K. Smith<sup>2</sup>: It has been said that this generation of Westerners has one other problem at least as important as facing the challenge of communism. That is, to find a new understanding relationship with the so-called emergent peoples of Asia and Africa.

No other leader from that part of the world carries the same prestige as does the Prime Minister who has been put into power by what is certainly the biggest electorate in the world, Prime Minister Nehru of India, who is here to face the nation.

Can we have the first question, Mr Kendrick?<sup>3</sup>

Alexander Kendrick: Mr Prime Minister, since there seems to be some misunderstanding concerning your views on the events in Hungary, now that the UN has issued its report on Soviet intervention there, would not this be a good time to clarify your position?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, Mr Kendrick, our views in regard to Hungary have been fairly clear right from the beginning, or soon after, when we got to know all the facts. We stated in the UN even then that, first of all, foreign troops should be withdrawn from Hungary. Secondly, and as a part, as a consequence, the Hungarian people should decide their own future. They have been our fixed views, and we regretted very greatly this great tragedy and the repression in Hungary.

1. London, 3 July 1957. JN Collection. This interview was broadcast by the Columbia Broadcasting System, on the radio and television, on 7 July 1957, in "Face the Nation" programme.
2. Howard Kingsbury Smith (b.1914); American print and broadcast journalist; reported for *New Orleans Item*, 1936-39; in United Press, London, then Berlin, 1939-41; Columbia Broadcasting System, Berlin and Berne, Chief European Correspondent in London, 1941-57; CBS Washington correspondent, 1957-61; Chief Correspondent and General Manager, 1961-62; news commentator, American Broadcasting Company, Washington, 1962-; author of, *Last Train from Berlin*, 1942, *The State of Europe*, 1949, and *Washington D.C.*, 1967.
3. Alexander Kendrick (1911-1991); print and broadcast journalist and author; joined CBS as a radio and television correspondent after the Second World War; Chief of Bureau, CBS, London, till 1965; retired from CBS, 1975.

The question then arose about how best to serve the Hungarian people. And there was a great fear of war developing—big war, I mean—that made us very anxious to avoid that, because in that war, whatever the merits, the Hungarian people would have suffered most, ultimately. And I still hold to that opinion.

Smith: Mr Handleman?<sup>4</sup>

Howard Handleman: Well, Mr Prime Minister, there is one part of the UN report<sup>5</sup> which says there is no evidence that the Budapest Government requested Soviet intervention.

As I recall it, you made some comment about that in the very early days, I believe, and I wondered what you think of it at this time?

JN: I have not read that full report yet. I have seen summaries of it, but I cannot say. It is a question of evidence. I am in no position to say what exactly happened. There is one thing about this report: That although very eminent people were in it, to some extent they were not in a position to get evidence from various sides. It is possible, of course, that fresh light might have been thrown on this question. Anyhow, I cannot answer it; I do not know...

Kendrick: But sir, the Hungarian Government itself, the present Hungarian Government, refused to allow them to come into Hungary.

JN: I quite appreciate that. The difficulty is, if I may say so, that at that time in Hungary it was very difficult to say what was the government and what was not.

Handleman: Well, Mr Nehru, one of the Hungarian refugee leaders, Mr Ferenc Nagy, who used to be Prime Minister, suggested that you intervene with the Soviet Government to get them to ease their policy just as the United States Government intervened with Britain and France on the question of Suez. Do you think that you could play such a role?

JN: Well, if you want to know it, at that time, even before we knew all the facts, we were greatly worried and we were in frequent touch with the Soviet Government and even with the changing Hungarian governments, making suggestions to them. Naturally, in such circumstances great countries are not ordered about.

4. Chief European Correspondent, International News Service.

5. The UN Special Committee on Hungary, in its 268 page report, presented to the General Assembly in June 1957, documented the course of the uprising and Soviet intervention, and concluded that the Kadar Government and Soviet occupation were in violation of the human rights of the Hungarian people.



Smith: Mr Nehru, do you think there is any form of action that might be taken now, moral or material, to indicate sympathy with the Hungarians?

JN: The expression of sympathy, of course, can easily be made and has been made and will no doubt be made.

The only question is, how best to bring about the result that one desires, and not merely satisfy some urge by getting angry. And I think that Hungary, like many other problems, has become so much a part of the bigger conflicts and problems that it is difficult to separate it. If there is a general improvement, as I hope there will be, then inevitably it affects Hungary, too.

Smith: Mr Nehru, I would like to turn to another question of foreign affairs. One of the great unresolved and dangerous conflicts in the world is that in the Middle East between the Arabs and the Israelis. Do you believe you could bring your moral force to bear to help towards those two sitting down to a table to reach a settlement?

JN: Mr Smith, you are right; that is one of the big unresolved questions of the day. You will find that all these questions ultimately, somehow, are either tied up or affected by the major conflicts in the world. It is very difficult to separate them; one affects the other.

After the deplorable events of last year in the Middle East, in Egypt, etc., we have come out of them now and the situation is certainly better than it was some months back. It is improving.

As for the inherent conflict between the Arab nations and Israel, it has to be settled, obviously. And I think that it may be settled, though not very soon. We have to go rather cautiously because passions are involved.

Now, even the Hungarian question, unfortunately, was very much affected by developments in the Middle East at the time. They were simultaneous, one affecting the other. It is possible that the situation in Hungary might have been better if it had not synchronized in other developments in the Middle East. They get mixed up, these things.

Handleman: Mr Nehru, there was a meeting of the Afro-Asian nations in Bandung some time ago. There has only been one. Do you think that a new meeting of the Bandung group would help at this time to solve these questions?

JN: A new meeting might well take place in the future, not immediately; it would take some time even to organize it. And it might perhaps prove helpful.

But to say that any meeting is going to solve the world's problems is being far too optimistic. After all, the problems are due not so much to the badness or

goodness of people, but certain new circumstances that have arisen in the world, certain revolutionary developments. You referred, Mr Smith, to various developments in regard to the emergent nations. That is an important factor. Other developments, say, the hydrogen bomb is another important factor, and so on, and they all get tied up. It is a dynamic situation covering the whole world; you can not separate any part. And an improvement in regard to any one matter improves the others to some extent.

Kendrick: Mr Prime Minister, still on the Middle East, now, you get around the world a lot, this one-world you have been talking about. What did you get out of your last trip to Washington? Is your view on the Middle East affected in any way by your conversations with President Eisenhower? Do you for instance favour the Eisenhower Doctrine?

JN: My visit to Washington,<sup>6</sup> first of all, helped me to understand the President's approach and viewpoint. More particularly I was convinced, and am convinced, of the President's very earnest desire for peace, and further, his desire to help the underdeveloped countries to go ahead. That was something that I valued, these contacts that I had with the President.

But so far as the Eisenhower Doctrine is concerned, my broad approach to all these problems is that a military approach will not settle them. Economic help will. So the economic help part of the Eisenhower Doctrine I think is good. But being tied up with the military approach, it rather, if I may say so with all respect, takes away from the grace of the other help and does not create that favourable reaction among peoples as one would hope it would.

Kendrick: Does that apply to the specific case of Pakistan? Do you consider that American aid to Pakistan is an anti-Indian action on the part of the United States?

JN: No, I do not consider the United States intended it to be an anti-Indian action, certainly not. But in effect it becomes that; not their intention, there certainly...

Kendrick: Well, Sir, do you really think that Pakistan would attack India?

JN: How am I to say? Logically thinking, I think it would be very foolish for

6. From 16 to 20 December 1956. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, pp. 471-543.



Pakistan or India to misbehave in that way. But sometimes logic fails in an emergent situation. One does not know what might happen. And a person, say, placed in my position, has to avoid any possible risk which might affect his country.

Smith: Mr Nehru, you spoke of American policy. Are there any other critical assessments you might make of American policy? I know many Indians are critical of the United States.

JN: Mr Smith, it is not very becoming for me—and I speak in all honesty—to go about judging other countries and other policies. The United States is a very great country in every way, not only in military power or financial strength, but otherwise, and is undoubtedly going to play a tremendous part in the world.

We in India are struggling, after independence, to make good in our own way in our own country. We stumble, we pick up ourselves again and go ahead, and so we try to march forward.

We are convinced that we can only serve any cause in the country or outside by holding to certain policies which appear to us to be right. Now, in regard to those policies, the most important thing is not the policy but rather the approach to the policy. What I mean is a friendly approach to countries, even our opponents, so as to try to win them over. I do not mean to say that any country should or can reduce its, well, its arrangements for security or defence. That goes without saying. No country can take that risk. But if the approach is friendly, the response is more than likely to be friendly. And I am thinking more of not so much of governments at present, but of peoples.

I have been all over the world, or rather, large parts of it, whether the communist world or the non-communist world, and I have found the people extraordinarily friendly; not to me only, but generally. And I found that the friendly approach produces an immediate reaction of friendliness on their part. I feel that we have to break through these various ice barriers or iron barriers or whatever they have by this friendly approach especially now when I feel that the psychological moment has come in the world's history when that approach would pay results, pay dividends.

Smith: Can you suggest any specific actions that might be taken along these lines?

JN: An approach, of course, applies to everything. But apart from the approach, I would say at the present moment the most important thing that might help change the situation is a progress on the lines of disarmament.

Handleman: Well, in that regard, Sir, the Russians have again suggested that you sit in on the disarmament talks here in London. Do you think that an expansion of the group of nations talking about disarmament here now would help or hinder the progress that seems to be under way?

JN: I did not know that the Russians had suggested that particular thing.

Handleman: They did it last night, Sir.

JN: Did they? Well, I am not aware of that. I think that it is far better for the present talks to yield results than for others to be added on at this stage and bring in a new element—may be of help, but it may also be of confusion.

After all, disarmament is a concern of the few major powers. Others' opinions may be valuable and valid, but it is the major powers that have to come to an agreement.

Handleman: Well, Sir, do you think that progress is being made in London toward an agreement on disarmament?

JN: I do not know the details of these talks, but judging from what comes out and judging from the general atmosphere, you might say, in all these countries, governmental approaches, one would say that an approach is being made.

Smith: Mr Nehru, you were talking about the need for friendly contact between peoples. Now, Bulganin and Khrushchev visited India and got an enthusiastic reception. Do you think that it would be wise for American leaders to visit India?

JN: Indeed they would be very welcome.

But I can assure you that while we may criticize some policies of America or of England or Russia, as we do, that makes very little difference in our feelings of friendship, this broad feeling of friendship for the American people and for America as a great nation. We may criticize something, some policy which we think may not bring in good results.

Handleman: Well, Sir, friendship could be called 'peaceful coexistence', and there are a lot of people in Asia who think that it was either you or Mr Chou En-lai of China who coined that phrase. Could you tell us whether that is true and which one of you did it?



JN: I do not think anybody coined the phrase. Anyhow, Mr Chou En-lai could not have coined a phrase in English; he would have coined it in Chinese.

Handleman: He has good translators.

Kendrick: Speaking of Chinese and China, I would like to get on to that very big subject, China. Hungary and Russia and even the United States are far away from India, but China, just like Pakistan, is right next door. Now you undoubtedly have been following the recent polemics in the communist world revolving about Mao Tse-tung's thesis which is different from the Moscow thesis about the divergences between the people and the rulers in a communist state.

How do you see this debate influencing the development of communism in Asia? For instance, does Mao's blurring of the line between communism and democracy make your own problem in India harder with respect to domestic communism?

JN: I do not think it affects it in that way much. It seems to me what is happening in China and, I would say, what is happening in the Soviet Union in a slightly different way, is a very natural development. You see, after every revolution, at first there is a rigid crusading spirit. It tones down gradually. The surprising thing is it has not toned down—it has taken such a long time to tone down in the Soviet Union. But then there were two wars and a civil war.

And the feeling, as I was told by a Russian leader once, when I complained to him about their rigid actions—and he said, "Please remember that we have lived in a state of siege for the last forty years or so, and we react quickly, we are suspicious." Well, that may be right or wrong, but it was perhaps a description of a psychological state.

But anyhow, what is happening seems to be a natural and desirable happening, that is, a toning down, first of all, of that type of rather aggressive and crusading spirit.

The second is, its effect on the internal situation and the revolution, keeping much and yet changing its content and its approach to other problems. In fact, getting more normal.

Smith: Mr Nehru, it is said that there is not enough room in Asia for a big democratic nation like yours and a big dictatorship like Red China. Do you agree with that?

JN: No, I don't. I don't at all agree with that. Asia has a very big continent. I

don't agree with this theory that there must necessarily be conflict between two countries adopting different ideologies or different political or economic systems.

I think that is an out-of-date theory. After all, looking at it from the narrowest viewpoint, a country will only indulge in adventures if it thinks it will profit by it. The time has come when no such adventure is going to profit any nation, big or small. It will involve itself in big...Yes?

Handleman: Well, in that regard, sir, we all know the background of the emergence of nations of Asia and Africa from colonialism. Do you believe that your country today faces a threat of colonialism and if so, from what source?

JN: No, I do not think our country faces any such threat, that is, certainly not a military threat. It is not a threat. It may have to face difficult situations created by other countries; but it is not a threat of colonialism. It is a threat of bringing pressure for us to change a certain policy. It is a different type of thing, of course.

Kendrick: Well, is any progress being made by anybody in any attempt to change your line of policy? Do you still believe in what you do not really subscribe to, or say you don't subscribe to, and that is neutralism; or do you think that in a period like this when the tensions of the cold war have lessened a bit that the neutral just has no place at all to go?

JN: Not at all. When the tensions of the cold war lessen, that is all the more reason why people should take a more friendly view of the situation of other countries. And although I don't like the word 'neutral', of course, I don't think it applies; what it means, really, is not aligned, not committed.

One is committed to one's own policies, of course; but if one is committed to a group policy against another group, my point is one should not be committed against any country; one may be committed against a policy.

Smith: Mr Nehru, I have seen it said, critically, that you believe in self-determination of the peoples everywhere except in Kashmir. What is your answer to that criticism?

JN: Well, if I may say so, the statement that self-determination should take place everywhere is too broad a statement for anyone to agree to. I would say if somebody said, "A State of the United States should have self-determination to walk out of it," you would presumably disagree. There are limits to that theory.



But broadly speaking, national entities should have self-determination.

Now, Kashmir—it is a long story. Kashmir has been in the past—politically, culturally—and is in the present a part of the Union of India. Now it may get out of it, we may agree to its getting out, does not even matter. But it is a part, completely, of the Union of India; it is a State of India, an autonomous State of India. So normally the question of self-determination of a State of India does not arise.

But in view of the special circumstances of the Kashmir case, we did, nine years ago, agree to a resolution passed by the UN Commission, which laid down various things. It was a long resolution. The first part of it said that Pakistan's troops coming into Kashmir had created a new situation—that is, in effect, aggression. And they had to go out, that there should be no addition to military potential, that there should be no war propaganda. Then was another step, then various steps, and when all of these have been done, then they said that the people of Kashmir should be given an opportunity to express their opinion, and India and Pakistan can confer as to how best to do it.

Now, nine years have passed and even the initial thing that the UN said, that Pakistan should vacate its aggression—they did not use the word 'aggression'—withdraw their troops from there, directly or indirectly. And then other things happened; it has not been done. The question has not arisen.

We stand by our commitment to the UN.

Kendrick: Well, Sir, do you hold now that the question of Kashmir has not yet been settled or do you think that it has been settled, let us say, *de facto*?

JN: Well, if you ask me legally, well, legally it was settled nine years ago when it acceded to India. *De facto*, obviously the Kashmir question is a troublesome question; as people discuss it, it is talked about, trouble occurs, so in that sense it is not.

Kendrick: Have you made any progress at this Prime Ministers' Conference toward a settlement of the Kashmir question?

JN: Oh, no. It was not even mentioned.

Kendrick: I thought perhaps in private talks with the Pakistani Prime Minister.<sup>7</sup>

7. H.S. Suhrawardy.

JN: No, these things....

Handleman: Mr Prime Minister, now, in regard to the Commonwealth Ministers meeting, it is quite well known that you have differed with the United Kingdom many times on foreign policy, but you still remain in the Commonwealth. Could you tell us, Sir, why you remain in the Commonwealth?

JN: Well, we remain in the Commonwealth because we believe in every opportunity of close contact and cooperation with other countries without becoming committed to any other policy. Now, the Commonwealth association, we think, is a far better way of countries being associated—because there is no commitment to any alliance or policy; the commitment is a friendly approach, discussion, and then deciding what one does. That, I think, is a very happy way of associating with any country.

Smith: Well, Prime Minister Nehru, we have talked almost entirely about foreign affairs, and I know the Indian people are ninety-nine per cent interested in domestic affairs. Tell me, you are about to celebrate your tenth anniversary of independence. What in these ten years, aside from gaining independence itself, has given you the greatest pride and pleasure?

JN: Mr Smith, for the greater part of my life I worked for India's independence. We had dreams of India being free and so on, and we worked. And the greatest thing, first of all, that came to us was the realization of our dream insofar as that was concerned; that was a tremendous event.

Immediately we saw that it is only a very small part of the journey, and we have to go a long way, really, to give the content of independence and freedom and economic progress to our people. So we started on that journey. And here we are. It is a tremendously exciting task, troublesome, very troublesome, gives us many headaches; but nevertheless exhilarating and exciting.

What exactly has given me the greatest satisfaction, it is a little difficult to say. There are many things that have given me satisfaction and many things have had the reverse effect on me. But broadly speaking, this march of hundreds of millions of people in India towards higher standards, a democratic way of living, is an enormously satisfying experience in spite of all the difficulties.

I think that one of the biggest things that is happening in India today is really what we call the community development scheme which affects rural India. That means 300 million people, apart from the towns. And these schemes have already spread to about forty-five per cent of all of India—that is a big chunk,



about 245,000 villages out of over 500,000. Villages, of course, are very small, sometimes. And although we help them, in effect they help themselves too. There is a revolutionary development in those villages.

Kendrick: Well, Prime Minister Nehru, do you feel that the democracy that has so far shown itself so sound in India is safe, is not in danger in the future with all the problems you face?

JN: I think it is safe, and I think it safe basically because in a sense the Indian people have had the democratic tradition for a long time—not in this big way; in their village way and their small way they have had that tradition and it helps them.

Handleman: Well, Sir, do the village people of India feel the same excitement and exhilaration which you said you feel in the development of this?

JN: I should answer that many of them do. It depends, of course; I can't answer for millions of people. But wherever we have worked these schemes there has been a response and there has been a demand for more and more.

Smith: Well, I am sorry I have to interrupt at this point. I am afraid time has caught up with us. Thank you very much, Prime Minister Nehru, for coming here to face the nation...

## 10. India's Development Plans<sup>1</sup>

Mr Nehru said that in the last ten years India had been pressing on with development, concentrating primarily on agriculture. During their First Five Year Plan, they had achieved most of the objectives which they had set themselves; and they had been very moderate in the demands which they had made on the sterling balances. The Second Five Year Plan was more ambitious

1. Minutes of the eighth meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, 3 July 1957. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.

and comprehensive, and India would have no choice but to run down her balances rather more rapidly.

To earn more, India would need to invest more, particularly in agriculture, where investment should help to deliver her from her recurrent apprehension about the inadequacy of food supplies. In addition, the Plan comprised industrial projects in the form of steel plants, coal mines and an improved transport system. In the course of time all these projects would yield a return which would help to relieve India's balance of payments. In the meantime, however, they could not avoid making additional demands on the balance of payments, particularly on the sterling balances, in so far as additional supplies of raw materials and capital goods would be required in the early and most expensive stages of the Second Plan. If, however, India's rate of withdrawal of her sterling balances was averaged over the whole period of the successive plans, it would be seen to be quite moderate.

India was maintaining a very strict control over her internal economy, and all inessential imports had been eliminated. As a result, her sterling balances, which stood at £334 millions on 7th June, had risen by 28th June to £348 millions. This was perhaps sufficient to show that, although the process of withdrawal would need to continue, it was being kept under proper control.

India would welcome foreign capital, but only if it was made available without undesirable conditions. She would be prepared to afford it the same treatment as was afforded to Indian capital; but she would not allow it to acquire control over the development of the country. The experience of Canada<sup>2</sup> was a clear warning, and India would be prepared to accept foreign capital only if it could be accommodated within a development plan which would remain under the supervision of the Government. As this Plan made progress, the strains which were now being imposed on the economy would be eased, and in due course the present programmes of investment would begin to yield returns which would be of benefit not only to India but also to the rest of the Commonwealth....

Mr Nehru said that Mr Suhrawardy<sup>3</sup> appeared to regard India as seeking to establish for herself a position of preferential treatment as regards the release of sterling balances. But India was not asking for money which belonged to other countries. Her sterling balances were her own property, representing credits against goods which India had supplied. This did not imply that there was no need for cooperation throughout the Commonwealth to strengthen the position of sterling. In this respect India had cooperated to the full. In the course of her First Five Year Plan she had withdrawn only fifty per cent of the

2. See *post*, p. 635.

3. Prime Minister of Pakistan.



sterling balances which she had originally estimated that she would need. The acceleration of the rate of withdrawal during the Second Five Year Plan would do no more than compensate the restraint which India had shown during the first five years.

India was aiming to achieve a progressive and comprehensive programme of development which would consistently preserve an appropriate balance between the various interests affected. As a result, the internal economy had to be kept under strict control. Indeed, India had maintained more stringent restrictions in this respect than any other country in the Commonwealth. It had to be recognized, however, that whereas in the United Kingdom the economic revolution had preceded the political revolution and the country had therefore become economically capable of absorbing the social pressures which were subsequently generated by political enfranchisement, the process had been abbreviated in India. There an economic revolution had been superimposed on a simultaneous political revolution; and the political demands for social progress had coincided with the economic upheaval caused by great programmes of agricultural and industrial development. In such circumstances it was impossible to make no provision for improvements in the social services, and the objective of the Government must be to maintain a balance between investment for productive purposes and incentives to the workers to produce. The only solution to this problem was to maintain a rapid pace of advance; and this was the purpose of the Indian Five Year Plans. There was no doubt that the physical resources were available in India. Oil, for example, had been discovered on a scale which might treble the present output. The problem was the development of these resources. India welcomed all the help and cooperation which were offered; but she recognized that she must continue to carry herself the great bulk of the burden. Her withdrawals of sterling balances were rather higher than she had originally expected. But this was inevitable for the time being if her development programmes were not to be interrupted and contracts already placed were not to be broken, sometimes to the disadvantage of other members of the Commonwealth.

## 11. Implications of the Emerging European Associations<sup>1</sup>

Mr Nehru said that it would be for consideration whether the new functions envisaged for the Commonwealth Economic Committee could be linked in some way with the Colombo Plan. As regards nuclear energy there was already close cooperation between India and the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority. India wished to express her gratitude to the United Kingdom for her assistance, and to Canada<sup>2</sup> for the reactor which was now being erected in India. By agreement with the Canadian Government this reactor would be made available for the training of students from other countries. It was perhaps of interest that India was already beginning to plan the erection of nuclear power stations within a few years' time....

Mr Nehru said that he would not wish to seek to influence the judgment of the United Kingdom about their economic interests in relation to the development of the Customs Union and the Free Trade Area.<sup>3</sup> Certainly he would not wish to see the United Kingdom's economic and political position in Western Europe diminished. India was, however, concerned to ensure that the implications of the Customs Union were fully considered in the GATT<sup>4</sup>—a matter which would, no doubt, be considered subsequently by officials.

Mr Nehru added that, quite apart from the economic implications of the association of overseas territories with the Customs Union, the political aspects were of great importance. The concept of Euroafrica<sup>5</sup> might imply the economic exploitation of these territories for the benefit of European countries. It might also represent an obstacle to their achievement of political independence. There

1. Minutes of the ninth meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, 3 July 1957. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.

2. This was the CIRUS reactor.

3. The European Economic Community (EEC), which became effective from 1958, arose from the treaties of Rome (25 March 1957) signed by Belgium, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. It aimed at securing increased productivity, free mobility of labour, control of restrictive practices, and coordinated transport and commercial policies in member countries.

4. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, an international treaty signed in 1947 with the object of abolishing quotas, lowering tariff duties and expanding world trade.

5. The treaties of Rome provided for the association of the EEC with the overseas territories under France's administration, along with those under Belgian, Dutch and Italian control. The term "Euroafrica" denoted this multilateral relationship as most of the dependencies were in Africa. While negotiating for the creation of the EEC, France insisted that her overseas territories be linked with the Community.



were already serious troubles in North Africa; and if the action of the Messina countries<sup>6</sup> resulted in the effects which he feared, these troubles would be exacerbated. He had raised these questions with the German Foreign Minister when the latter recently visited India;<sup>7</sup> but no clear answers had been forthcoming. No doubt the great possibilities of economic development in the Sahara had played a major part in influencing the decision of the Messina powers; and no doubt French readiness to share the benefits of this development with her Messina partners stemmed from her own inability to provide the necessary capital. Perhaps also the French attitude had been influenced by the unfortunate conflict in Algeria. The implications of this particular provision of the Treaty of Rome should, therefore, receive the most careful examination in the GATT; and he suggested that it would be desirable to frame a common approach by all Commonwealth countries towards the GATT discussions of this issue.

6. The drafts of the treaties of Rome, which established the EEC and the European Atomic Energy Community, were prepared by an inter-governmental committee set up in June 1955 at Messina, the port city of Sicily. Hence the term Messina powers.
7. Heinrich von Brentano, visited New Delhi in the last week of March 1957.

## 12. Hungary and the Suez<sup>1</sup>

... (c) Mr Nehru said that his Government had not yet had an opportunity to study the report which had been presented to the United Nations General Assembly by its Special Committee on Hungary. He did not consider, therefore, that the communique should include any form of words which might be interpreted as purporting to instruct the General Assembly to consider this report as rapidly as possible....

(e) Mr Nehru said that, in calling attention to the need to secure a relaxation of tension in the Middle East, the communique should avoid any suggestion that the Egyptian Declaration about the Suez Canal was unsatisfactory. In discussion, however, it was suggested that the wording used must not imply that this Declaration was in fact acceptable to all the interests concerned.

1. Minutes of the eleventh meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, 4 July 1957. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.

### 13. To T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

London  
4th July, 1957

My dear T.T.,

Soon I shall be leaving London and a little later England. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference ends tomorrow. It has not been a very bright affair. I have spoken both publicly and privately on many occasions about our need for credits. I mentioned this to the Prime Minister<sup>2</sup> here and to several other Ministers. With Thorneycroft<sup>3</sup> I did not have any long talk, as I just could not find the time. But I had two or three brief talks with him and spoke about this. I told him that H.M. Patel<sup>4</sup> was here and he might see him. He said he would do so. He enquired if B.K. Nehru<sup>5</sup> was coming here. I told him that he was in Washington and I did not know when he was likely to come here. He also asked when you will be coming.

It is difficult for me to say what the net result is going to be in regard to the UK giving us any credits. All that happened so far is that everybody has rather gone out of his way to be friendly and to assure us of their desire to help India in various ways. I suppose they will be forthcoming, to what extent I cannot say.

Suhrawardy has consistently behaved badly in keeping with his evil nature. Even in the talk about sterling balances in the Conference, he tried to pitch into India.<sup>6</sup> I gave a suitable reply<sup>7</sup> which neither pleased nor amused him.

1. JN Collection.

2. Harold Macmillan.

3. George Edward Peter Thorneycroft (b. 1909); British lawyer and politician; called to the Bar in 1935; became a Conservative MP, 1938; President, Board of Trade, 1951-57; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1957-58; Minister of Aviation, 1960-62; Minister and then Secretary of State for Defence, 1962-64; created a life peer, 1967; Chairman of the Conservative Party, 1975-81.

4. Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Government of India.

5. Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Government of India.

6. Suhrawardy told the Conference on 3 July that Pakistan had "cut her coat according to the cloth" and "sacrificed" many development projects in the larger interests of the Sterling area as a whole, while India was going in a contrary direction. If this trend was allowed to continue, he asked, why Pakistan too should not be given the "green light" to step up the tempo of development by "exhausting" Sterling balances, without regard to the effect on the Sterling area.

7. See *ante*, pp. 630-631.



Suhrawardy is, of course, a very clever man and he created a considerable impression here to begin with among various circles. He came here some days before I did and he spent all his time in maligning India. He rather overdid this and the reaction later was not at all favourable to him. Apart from this, he has behaved badly in public, drinking too much and being boisterous. Even his friends here have therefore turned away to some extent in disgust. Some of the UK Ministers expressed privately their opinion that he was a bit of a bounder.

Diefenbaker, the Canadian Prime Minister, who was a newcomer and rather modest and shy, created something of a sensation in the Prime Ministers' Conference by his statement about American domination of the economic life of Canada. He said that the Americans had got a firm grip on the economy of Canada and a great private corporation sitting in New York practically directed what should happen in Canada. The Government appeared to be powerless. In fact, he said that Canada was rapidly becoming the 49th State of the Union.

Speaking a little later, I pointed out that if a great, rich and powerful country like Canada could be brought under the economic domination of another country, our desire to prevent this kind of thing happening in India could be easily understood. We welcomed foreign capital, but not so as to come in the way of our own planning or our control of our economy.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 14. Press Conference<sup>1</sup>

Question: What are your views about the latest developments in the Soviet Union,<sup>2</sup> and what effect they are likely to have on East-West relations?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, the brief answer to this is that I am not prepared to give my views on this. What I mean is this: you do not expect and should not expect a foreign minister of a country to go about expressing opinions in press conferences about developments in other countries. It is an embarrassing subject,

1. India House, London, 4 July 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.

2. See *post*, p. 650.

more specially when the developments have just taken place. But I would say this that this indicates probably a process which has been going on in the Soviet Union for some time past, that is, for some years past, two years, three years, four years. Every country which has gone through a major revolution, gradually goes back to what may be called normality. Well, revolution obviously is not normal, it is an abnormal thing. The surprising thing about the Soviet Union has been that it has taken a longer period to go back to relative normalcy. Of course, there is no absolute normality in the world anywhere. One has to remember that the Soviet Union has had to deal with two major wars, the civil war and all kinds of internal happenings and that perhaps somewhat delayed a gradual return to normality. When I say normality I do not mean some change in their internal economic or political structure, but just not living at high pitch of revolution. No community or country can live at that high pitch for long; it is an abnormal thing, whether you take the French Revolution or any revolution, and you will therefore see a progressive return to normality in these countries which, if I may say so with all respect, and without really expressing any particular opinion about recent changes in the Soviet Union, is a move in a healthy direction. Because the more normalcy we have, the more relations also tend to become normal.

Q: [This question related to Adlai Stevenson's<sup>3</sup> remarks that colonialism had been much misrepresented.]

JN: All these words, colonialism, capitalism, communism, socialism, imperialism they are all flung about and their emphasized meaning may be a limited meaning; in various contexts you use them. Suppose you use capitalism; now everybody knows that capitalism today is something very, very different from the 19th century capitalism. I would say, you talk about communism a great deal; even communism, in spite of its using the same slogan and phrases, has undergone a considerable change whether it is China or elsewhere. So colonialism also. You can not deal with this word in terms of black and white; none of these words which I have used can be used in terms of black and white. When you talk about colonialism being bad it means that the domination of one country over another is bad. It may be that some good comes to the country that is dominated over through the colonial authority and it may be that the very fact of domination rouses forces there against the colonial authority. But ultimately the good of a country depends not so much on some external development, a factory or other things you may set up, but on the quality of the human beings that live in that

3. US Democrat politician, who stood for President against Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956.



country. Broadly speaking, the quality of the human beings suffers under domination of another. It is frustrating, the creative ability is crushed, therefore it is bad but a colonial authority may well do some good in an area for a while. It depends on circumstances—you cannot lay down a broad rule for every case.

Q: Do you think that Russian colonialism against Hungary is a good or bad thing?

JN: Now, I do not think it is correct to say, to use the word colonialism in that context. Colonialism has a particular meaning, dictionary meaning; it does not apply there. But leaving out the dictionary meaning; I have stated quite clearly that in Hungary or elsewhere any kind of foreign domination is not good and the people should have a chance to grow and develop themselves as they choose.

Q (by a Pakistani correspondent): Sir, you have stated that Pakistan has been guilty of aggression in Kashmir. In the light of this statement how do you characterize India's own action in Junagarh and in Hyderabad, and is there any hope at all of the people of Kashmir getting back their right of self-determination and plebiscite that was promised to them?

JN: I am surprised that the gentleman who has put me the question did not bring in the geography of the moon also. This question is beyond my comprehension because what have Junagadh and Hyderabad got to do with Kashmir? Both of them are very happy and progressive units of the Indian Union; they have been so for the last eight or nine years or ten years.

About Kashmir, he said quite rightly that I referred to Pakistan having committed aggression in Kashmir. Now, that is a fact, which might be considered an established and admitted fact. Whatever right or wrong India may have in regard to Kashmir and I have no doubt in my mind that it has right on its side, legal, constitutional and other and yet I fail to understand what conceivable justification there is even in the slightest degree for Pakistan Army to be sitting in nearly half of Kashmir. It is an extraordinary thing and it is a patent fact. We say that Kashmir is a part of India, it acceded to India by every legal and constitutional process. If you like, you may argue that and I justify my stand. But nobody has ever said that Kashmir acceded to Pakistan or tried to do so. Now, therefore, by no approach whatever can Pakistan's keeping a large army in nearly half of the State of Jammu and Kashmir be justified; that is a patent fact whatever else may be right or may be wrong. It means not only that Pakistan committed an aggression in sending its armies there nine years ago but that that aggression has continued till today and I would say that they are completely out of scope to discuss this matter till they vacate their aggression.

Then they talk about the plebiscite. This is another matter I should like you to be perfectly clear about because there appears to have been a good deal of misunderstanding on this issue, about India not carrying out its commitment to the United Nations. I deny that. The one commitment we have made to the United Nations, and Pakistan also agreed to that, is a resolution of the United Nations Commission passed in August 1948 and subsequently added to in January 1949, and I should like you gentlemen to look at that resolution, analyse it. In that resolution the first thing that is said is that a new situation has been created by Pakistan sending its army into Kashmir. They say this because Pakistan has denied this. Although they say they were not there, they were found there. Now, this is an important way of saying that Pakistan has committed aggression there and therefore the very first thing they have suggested is that Pakistan should withdraw its army, regular and irregular. There are three parts of that resolution: Ceasefire, truce and then the third part for the future. The ceasefire part is about a physical military ceasefire, plus two other things. One is that there should be no increase of military potential on the part of Pakistan and, secondly, there should not be any attempt at proper war or otherwise any attempt to increase tension. Then came the truce resolution and the first thing was that Pakistan was to withdraw completely its regular and irregular forces. Then India was to withdraw the bulk of her forces, keeping its army there in order to maintain, to preserve the security of Kashmir, because the whole basis of the resolution was that it is India's responsibility to protect Kashmir from further aggression or invasion. Then there are many other things. Then there is a third part, which says that when this has been done, when the UN Commission has certified that the previous things, in part one and part two, have been done, then India and Pakistan will meet together to find out ways and means for determining or how to determine the wishes of the Kashmir people. This was added to later, six months later, and details were given about the ways and means of the terms.

Now, the very first thing was, as I said, military potential should not be increased. There should be no propaganda which adds to tension, war propaganda, and there should be withdrawal of Pakistani forces. It is nine years now and the Pakistani Army is still sitting there. Military potential has been increased tremendously, not only internally but by the fact of large aid that Pakistan has got from abroad, military aid, and there is ceaseless propaganda for war, holy war. Now, the question of going to the second part or the third part of the resolution has never arisen in this context and does not arise. When it arises we will deal with it. So all this talk of a plebiscite is very much in the air, with no foundation or basis today.

Meanwhile, and as far as we can, we have had the people of Kashmir elect the Government they want. Remember that Jammu and Kashmir Government is an



autonomous government like other autonomous States of India; they decide many things. They, first of all, pushed out their Maharaja, they have introduced very large-scale land reforms and many other changes have occurred. They have had two general elections based on adult franchise in the course of the last three or four years. The main thing is, here is a state which, constitutionally and legally, became a part of the Union of India. Now it is open to the Union of India or the Kashmir State, by agreement, by constitutional processes, if you like, to do something but that can only happen if it is once accepted that it is a part of the Union of India and all this business of war and threats are stopped. Further the UN resolution remains unfulfilled on Pakistan's part; well, they have not withdrawn their army; this is the very first step that they should do.

Q: It was proposed that there should be an arbitration on whether or not the UN resolution really remained unfulfilled. Why did India reject this suggestion?

JN: It is for the Security Council to determine whether its directions have been fulfilled or not. It is a very simple matter. We do not want an arbitrator to find out if the Pakistan Army is sitting in Kashmir; it is a fact. Nor do you want an arbitrator to find out if military potential has risen, nor is an arbitrator necessary to find out if constant propaganda of hatred and war is carried on. It is for the Security Council to see the facts and decide. Do not appoint arbitrators for these obvious facts. We rejected that because we do not wish arbitration. The Security Council can decide on the facts, it is obvious. But bringing up the issue of arbitration merely again pushes aside the main issue into the background and uses a principle in a matter of State sovereignty which is not normally conceded by any country.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, could I ask about your Government refusing permission for journalists to visit Kashmir?

JN: I do not think that is a correct statement because large numbers of foreign journalists have gone there. It may be that some particular paper's correspondents at some particular time after some period in Kashmir has been asked to depart, presumably because Kashmir Government thought that they were misbehaving.

Q: Now I think you would wish to put your views before the United Nations subcommittee, in London. Can you say something about that?

JN: About disarmament, it is not quite correct to say that I wanted to place my views before the Disarmament Committee in London. Some months back our Government had informed the Disarmament Committee that we were prepared

to explain our memorandum to them more fully by sending a representative to them, explaining and elucidating our memorandum.<sup>4</sup> That we did some months ago; we have done nothing else since then, nor asked to go there. As for my views on disarmament it is very difficult for me to go into this rather complicated question. First of all, I attach the greatest importance to disarmament. I do not think it is feasible, suddenly, to have an overall scheme for everything, more or less complete disarmament; in the nature of things, that is difficult much as we would like it. Therefore, I would welcome any progress in an attempt, which prepares the ground for the next step. After all, the real objections to disarmament are lack of faith in each other, suspicion that the other party might take advantage of the step. So, if you go step by step, that tension and lack of faith becomes less, there is more confidence and gradually you have a major degree of disarmament.

Now, disarmament has been considered from the point of view of atomic thermonuclear weapons and what I call conventional arms. I have no doubt that both have to be considered, simply because of people's fears. In regard to one thing, however, I do feel strongly, that while it can be considered among other matters but it can be considered separately also and should be considered and given effect to, that is, the question of atomic test explosions. And stopping of the test does not really endanger anybody. It creates a better atmosphere for the consideration of other problems and also there will be a measure of hope and confidence in the world that some steps have been taken. There can be no doubt that public opinion all over world, I would say in every country, is vastly exercised over these atomic explosions. Our proposal some four years back was that atomic explosions should be suspended, pending their final abandonment, suspended so that the matter might be considered, and that question of suspension of these is not only being considered but apparently many governments appear to be in favour of it. I only suggest that suspension for a few months is not likely to bring the right result, or two years or whatever the period may be. The period will be too small. Anyhow, suspension is desirable and it does not affect your balance of power for the moment. It merely gives you time to consider the whole question in a larger framework and I would, of course, want progress to be made immediately, if possible, in regard to the reduction of the production of fissionable material, and in regard to the reduction of conventional armies, etc. How far one can go, it is not a question somewhat of a theoretical approach. Now the approach may go far. I am not personally concerned in it. It becomes a practical approach of how far the great powers are prepared to go. It is they who have finally to decide.

4. See *post*, p. 765.



One thing I may say about these atomic explosions that there is a great deal of talk of what is called a clean bomb, thereby meaning, I think that the fallout is very limited, much less than previously. But my information, from our own scientists, is that while it is true that when a bomb is exploded very high up in the air, the immediate fallout is less, far less, because the fallout used to consist of the impact of the bomb on the air and the particles themselves going up in the air, then coming down and then of course dissolving completely, but if it goes into the stratosphere and thereby spreads all round the earth, thereby increasing the degree of this radioactivity in the stratosphere, that is increasing a certain permanent danger. The increase goes on—it does not fall down immediately, that is true. It may come down in the course of the next ten years, twenty years, gradually, but gradually you are getting a higher degree of radioactivity which is a bad thing and every subsequent addition to it makes it a little worse though the effects may not be immediate.

Q: May I know whether you discussed the Kashmir issue with the British Prime Minister, Mr Harold Macmillan.

JN: Yes, I had a talk with Mr Macmillan. It was rather a personal talk in which this question was referred to.

Q: ...Would India have stood as much from Pakistan as Israel has stood from Egypt without doing something about it?

JN: The first part of the question raises a moral issue so complicated but the last part, I may mention, we have stood much more from Pakistan than Israel or Egypt stood from each other.

Q: [This question related to Nehru's reported comments on the USSR suggestion that India should join the Disarmament Committee.]

JN: I did not say that exactly. Your question is, I am reported to have said that there is no point in going to Disarmament Commission now.<sup>5</sup> Well, I did not say anything quite like that. I was told yesterday morning, I had not myself seen the newspapers by then, that a suggestion has been made on the part of the Soviet Union that India should join the Disarmament Committee, or something like that. In answer, I said that at this stage it is better perhaps for the great powers

5. The question was based on press reports of Nehru's interview with the CBS on 3 July 1957. See *ante*, p. 624.

concerned to come to an agreement, and we would like to help in such ways as we can. I did not quite precisely know what the proposals were, even now I do not know, but what I said was that we are always prepared to help; we do not want to push ourselves in anywhere. The great powers will have to come to an agreement; they apparently are going that way. I do not wish anything to happen which might delay this process.

Q: [This question related to Arab-Israeli relations.]

JN: I take it, you mean any talk about Egypt. You are referring to all the Arab countries. Are you not? Well, I think Egypt's attitude is probably more helpful than the attitude of the other Arab countries in this matter. In fact I am sure of it. It is true that there are tremendous passions between the Arab countries on the one side and Israel on the other side. And I would say that by and large, if there is anything to choose, Egypt's attitude has been somewhat more helpful in the past few years than the attitude of some other Arab countries.

Q: [This question related to India's economic position.]

JN: Yes, in regard to foreign exchange for the next year or two, whatever period might be, we in common with many other countries, will have to face the difficulties which are inherent in a growing, expanding economy. Some unusual features came into it. First, the bad harvest which made us import large quantity of foodgrains, which we did not intend doing, and then the closure of the Suez Canal, etc., rise in prices. Then there are inflationary tendency in other countries—we buy machinery from them. Please remember that all our imports now—and imports creates foreign exchange difficulty—are almost entirely confined to machinery, apart from food and other things, that is, the money is not being thrown away, the money represented by solid investments in machines and in plants which are going to produce foreign exchange soon. As to how soon, I mean, as soon as they start functioning. They are very sound investment for anybody. Certainly, if any country wants to push ahead, it has to invest in whatever it may be, agriculture, industry, etc., to the best of its ability. We are stretching ourselves backward. We are taxing our country probably at a higher rate than almost any country in the world. I am not sure about England which is fairly heavily taxed too and I think we compare very favourably, or unfavourably as you like, as the taxation in these two countries is more or less the same, maybe ours is a little higher. Anyhow, you realize that we have to carry this burden of our development. But every country has had in the past some development, and fairly large-scale investments from abroad helped it to develop.



We have welcomed foreign capital or foreign assistance in the shape of credit in the past and we welcome them in the future. I believe I have not personally discussed this matter with the people here, but on our official level it has been discussed. We should like these credits to help us tide over this period for a year or two.

Q: What sort of sum is the Government of India seeking from Britain by way of credits?

JN: Sum, what can I mention as a sum? But I think about a couple of hundred million pounds would be helpful.

Q: [The question related to the communist Government in Kerala.]

JN: I do not think there is any difference except in so far as the foreign countries are concerned. We deal with their governments; we are not concerned with the policies that they follow and we do not expect foreign governments to interfere with our policies.

In India communism, so far as peaceful propaganda is concerned, is not checked by us just like every other policy, good or bad, has free play in a democratic country. What we check is the association of violence, attempts at violence. Now, as communist groups have indulged in violence in the past, we have to check that and stop it. Naturally our own structure of government is a democratic structure, political and economic, and we do not have to agree to the communist approach, political and economic. As I say, what we check in India is any attempt at violence as any State does and as communist groups have sometimes been associated with this, we have to check them.

Q: Sir, is there any progress in the liberation of Goa?

JN: I am very sorry the Portuguese Government is still sitting there.

Q: [This question related to reports that Britain would shortly establish a military base in Kenya, where, apparently the Indian population outnumbered the British.]

JN: I do not know that the two factors have any interrelation. For our part, we rather regret the setting up of military bases in various parts of the world. I do not even know, I have no recollection, in fact, that there is a proposal as you have mentioned about Kenya. I think the fewer military bases there are the better.

Q: In view of the strained relations between India and Pakistan arising out of various issues, what do you visualize in the future of the Indo-Pakistan relations?

JN: The only reasonable future, in fact the only possible future, can be one of friendship and cooperation, both historically, geographically, socially, call it what you like, and it has been a great sorrow to us that these relations have been bedevilled in this way. We agreed to the partition of India in the hope and in the belief that we would put an end to the inner conflicts that we were having and then we would live in a friendly way as two independent neighbour countries with very much in common. Unfortunately, that has thus far proved wrong. My own analysis of the situation is that, bad as some of our conflicts might be, they will be resolved, they are bound to be resolved some time or other, the real thing at the back, there is something else which comes in the way at the back which produces these conflicts. What I mean is that the unfortunate relations are not due to these conflicts but the present conflicts are due to the relations, put it in that way. That is, it is rather difficult for me to go into this shortly.

I wanted to point out to you something, which I consider rather basic—something that bedevilled our relations in the united India, has pursued us even after partition. We are sorry. And we have to meet that root cause and remove it and live in a friendly way, which is obviously to the advantage of both. I can tell you that any idea which any people may have that we want to put an end to Pakistan, create difficulties for Pakistan, is absolutely and completely without foundation. I am not referring to any ideological reasons but very strict practical purposes. Here we are terribly busy with our Five Year Plans and other enormous difficulties. Now, how are we to do all that? By inviting or encouraging conflicts with our neighbour? It would be the ruin of all our thinking and planning for the future. We want good relations but good relations cannot come under threat or pressure. We have had a very difficult time in regard to food because of floods and drought and other things, specially in regard to rice, and yet because conditions in East Pakistan were bad in regard to food, famine conditions, we made a gift of a fairly substantial quantity of rice to East Pakistan. We are not taking a great credit for that, except that we sent a few thousands tons of rice. That does not make any difference. But it was a gesture of friendship – in spite of our difficulties in the food situation we helped them and we wanted to be friendly with them. Those of you who have not been to India or Pakistan can hardly realize that, politics apart, these political differences apart, how much we have in common with each other. We meet as fairly with common memories, common friends. I am, in my life, in my language, in my way of living and everything, coming from northern India, more in touch and more akin to the



people of Pakistan side than to many of my fellow countrymen in South India whose language I cannot speak.

Q: [This question related to the future of the Kerala Government.]

JN: How can I tell you the future of the Kerala Government? It is one of our State Governments. All I can say is that the Kerala Government, which as you might know is a communist controlled government, has repeatedly stated that they will work fully in terms of the Indian Constitution, and in cooperation with the Central Government and so far as I know they have kept up to their promise.

Q: [This question related to a rumour that Nehru was contemplating retirement.]

JN: The news appears to have originated in some newspaper offices in London, which have secret information, which is not available to me.

Q: [This question related to Soviet aid to India.]

JN: For credits? No. We approached the Soviet Government in regard to plant, etc.,—if they can supply a plant on reasonable terms and a good plant, we take it on credit. We did not, we have not yet ever applied for credit from them, that is, money credit.... I am sorry, they did give certain credit to us, of 500 million roubles, about 50 million pounds for machinery to be supplied by them to us. That takes effect, I think, two years from now. That means you buy machinery on credit and pay to them, pay the price of it. So that does not help us at all, any credit from Russia, to pay for some goods bought from America or other countries. It is an independent thing; you may buy something from them on credit but it does not help us to meet the foreign exchange situation created and our having to pay for the plant and machinery which we are getting from Canada, America, England or other places. It is a different thing.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, do you have any new proposals to make for settlement of France's war in Algeria?

JN: I am afraid you have touched a very difficult subject. What is the good of our making proposals in the air? I remember, last year when I came to England for the Commonwealth Conference, and on my way back I stopped in Paris and I had the privilege of discussing this matter with the then Premier and the Foreign

Minister of France.<sup>6</sup> And I got the impression then that gradually we were moving towards the solution of this problem. Unfortunately, other events took place, which completely upset this and the situation there is very, very bad. It is a tragedy and I have no new proposal. It is not a question of even making a proposal. If at any time we could be helpful, we are prepared to do so; we do not wish, in this or other matters, just to push ourselves forward. That is the impression and sometimes the criticism is made that we go about doling advice or proposals to other countries. Well, I do not think that is correct. Really we have got too many problems of our own to get entangled in other problems. But circumstances are such that sometimes we are entangled. We were entangled in sending some forces to Korea, as you might remember. But the Commissions of Indo-China, they are still there. They are a burden to us, not only a financial burden but otherwise too. We have got some forces on the Israel-Egyptian border. They have all gone for peaceful purposes. They are all a burden to us. We are not a big country – we are big in size – but I mean not financially, industrially, or otherwise, and to carry all these things is not easy for us. But when it becomes a case of, if you don't do it, difficulties will come – then we have to agree.

Q: [This question related to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.]

JN: It would obviously not be proper for me to talk about the Prime Ministers' Conference. In the course of a few days you will no doubt get an illuminating communique from them. But you must remember the nature of these conferences, where in our discussions we cover a wide field and express our opinion in a friendly way, even though we differ, and thereby perhaps affect each other's thinking and subsequent action perhaps. From that point of view, I am sure; this Conference has served a useful and helpful purpose.

As for the new Prime Minister of Canada,<sup>7</sup> surely it will be presumptuous of me to discuss personalities at the Conference. He is a very gracious, and fine man and we have met in a friendly way, discussed matters frankly. As for the proposal to hold an official conference in Ottawa,<sup>8</sup> I can only express my own opinion that I would welcome it.

Q: [This question related to Arab-Israeli relations.]

JN: You put me such difficult questions. The most difficult thing is that passions

6. Nehru met Guy Mollet and Christian Pineau on 17 July 1956. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, pp. 408-410.

7. John Diefenbaker.

8. See *post*, p. 669.



have been enhanced because of developments in the last few months or so; at the same time, I believe that lately, very recently perhaps, the high passions are a little less but still they are there. And I suppose it would be better to wait for them to cool down a little more before any positive step can be taken. It has to be taken in the interest of the Arab countries and in the interest of Israel. We can't have a perpetual state of warfare; it is good for nobody.

Q: [This question related to the outcome of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and the policies of each Government.]

JN: Primarily the communique will tell you about it. The Members, if I can repeat, cover a wide range of important questions of policy. Each Government has a certain policy. Each Government is a democratic Government responsible to its own Parliament. And it has to function, therefore, within the ambit of its broad policy. And for the Prime Ministers who meet here, well, they cannot go outside their declared policies, which are basic, of course. But much can be done within that, and I think you misunderstand the purposes of this Conference, if you think that we meet together to declare some grave change of policy. Naturally the larger the measure of agreement the better. But, in the main, it is really meant to help each other to understand the problem and various point of view, thereby inevitably affecting policy somewhat in each country.

Q: [This question related to the continued participation of Indian troops in the United Nations Emergency Force in Egypt.]

JN: We cannot obviously commit ourselves or agree to keep our contingent indefinitely there. But we have no intention of suddenly withdrawing it; that depends on circumstances. We do not want to create a situation thereby of withdrawing our forces, which might be of disadvantage to peaceful conditions.

Q: Do you think there should be a permanent Commonwealth Secretariat?

JN: I do not think it is desirable. Of course, all these Commonwealth countries are constantly in communication with each other. They send information to each other, they consult each other often enough not always, but they meet. But what will the Secretariat do? It will just become a weak channel and delay matters. The direct contact would be cut off by some intervening organization.

Q: Has any guarantee been given to increase India's imports from Britain?

JN: No question of guarantee being given. No guarantee was thought of, asked for or given, about increasing imports from Britain. Just at the present moment, we have practically stopped all imports from all countries to India to save foreign exchange. That of course is a temporary phase; it will last 18 months, two years possibly. We have taken almost every conceivable measure to save foreign exchange, something that we have done, which is not to our liking, but there it is. We have to face a difficult situation in regard to foreign exchange reserve. Only those imports, which are considered inescapable and urgent, are allowed to come in apart from those for which commitments were made previously. In fact, our difficulty, at the present, is commitments made two years ago, eighteen months ago suddenly altogether appearing on the scene now. We have practically stopped all imports, except, as I said, as are necessary for our planning purposes. That means chiefly, machinery and the like. Everything in the nature of luxury articles or of secondary importance have been cut down. I hope that this period will soon be over, and we should resume import of goods from England and other countries. In fact, the whole purpose of our planning is to raise living standards in India. If you just put before yourself a picture of an India of 300 or 400 million people, with somewhat higher living standards, higher purchasing power, you have an enormous market, one of the biggest in the world. We know our industrial capacity naturally. The more we grow the more we will import. People do not realize that the more we grow in our producing goods for ourselves, the more we raise standards of India, and the more we will import from outside to fulfil those standards.

Q: [This question related to changes in the Soviet Union.]

JN: It is very difficult for me to analyse these changes in the Soviet Union in terms of individuals. I do not know the individuals very well. What I said was not so much connected with these present changes but rather the forces that have been at work in the Soviet Union, so far as I have been able to observe them during the past three or four years. Broadly speaking, since the death of Stalin, of course the changes were working there before too, but they did not appear suddenly. Afterward they started appearing. Also, please remember that it is not so much changes at all but the real thing about the Soviet Union is the new generation which is a very different generation from past generations, practically everybody in the Soviet Union, say, under 55, and that means practically every working person has been either born or brought up after the revolution. They have been conditioned by the revolution, the whole of population, excepting some oldish people and, secondly, they have been trained, they have been made into technicians. Soviet people are technically-minded



people today more than any people excepting the Americans.

In fact there are so many comparisons between the American and the Soviet people. And it is astonishing how this trait is repeated when one goes to Russia. They are both very hospitable, very friendly—I am talking about the people generally—very hospitable, very friendly, wanting to make friends, almost, if I may say so, going out of their way in their desire to make friends but generally very, very friendly and, if I may say so, somewhat emotional. And because they are somewhat emotional they react quickly to a good gesture or a bad gesture. A friendly gesture immediately rouses them; a gesture for the opposite has the opposite effect.

The main point is that they have become a technically-minded people and they have become a people who read tremendously, books, periodicals. May be that they have not got every book that you may read available there, but they have quite enough, in the shape of old classics, others, even some modern books and I should say the people of Russia read more than any country and mostly read what are called serious books, old plays. Shakespeare is very widely read in the Soviet Union. So all these are basic changes that have taken place there and of course there is a desire among the people very much, a very strong desire, for peace and, connected with that, for normalcy. They have lived at a high pitch, in fact, at a revolutionary pitch and they want to settle down and live a quite life. It is quite natural and therefore the strong desire for peace and, also it is normal thing, a desire for greater individual freedom. I do not think you will find any person in Russia, hardly any, who thinks in terms of a change in the basic system. They accept the system, they are used to it, they have grown up in it, but certainly there is desire for greater individual freedom.

## 15. Changes in the Soviet Union<sup>1</sup>

(a) Mr Nehru said that, in its reference to recent events in Hungary, the communique should confine itself to stating that the forthcoming consideration by the General Assembly of the report presented by its Special Committee would

1. Minutes of the twelfth meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London, 5 July 1957. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.

provide the occasion for the United Nations to record its views. This suggestion was accepted....

(c) Mr Nehru said that it would be preferable to omit any reference to the recent offer by the United States of assistance to the Middle East. This suggestion was accepted....

Mr Nehru said that it was obvious that, since the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party, internal tension had been increasing in the Soviet Union as a result of the opposition of the so-called Old Guard, consisting primarily of Mr Molotov<sup>2</sup> and Mr Kaganovich,<sup>3</sup> to the trend towards greater liberalization which had been shown by that Congress. Recently this tension had been reflected in the vacillations of Soviet policy as one group or the other attained ascendancy for the moment. The developments in Hungary could be explained to some extent on this basis. It was inevitable that, sooner or later, one of the two groups would prevail.

In the normal way no change could be made in the leadership of Russia except by the authority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The recent meeting of this Committee had obviously been the occasion for a trial of strength between the two groups, in which Mr Molotov and Mr Kaganovich received little support from the several hundred members of the Committee. They had accordingly failed to secure re-election to the Presidium. Mr Shepilov<sup>4</sup> had probably been rejected because he tended to support the policies of the Old Guard.

Although these changes undoubtedly implied the end of collective government in the sense of government by compromise between the Stalinist and anti-Stalinist groups, they did not imply the end of collective government in the sense that one group now possessed so much power that it could establish a new dictatorship. Although Mr Khrushchev had emerged as the strongest personality in the Soviet Government, his real strength lay in the fact that he represented the policies which were favoured by the common people. The recent developments were mainly the result of the upsurge of pressure from below; and the changes in the leadership would therefore be popular with public opinion in the Soviet Union,

2. V.M. Molotov, Foreign Minister of the USSR, 1953-56.

3. Lazar Kaganovich, Soviet political leader who, as head of the Moscow party organization (1930-35), brought it firmly under Stalin's control and with Molotov formed the core of Stalin's post-purge Politburo. Until 1953 he was largely responsible for heavy industry in the Soviet Union. Subsequently he held administrative posts, but he opposed de-Stalinization and joined the unsuccessful attempt to depose Khrushchev in 1957, as a result of which he lost all his offices.

4. D.T. Shepilov, Soviet Foreign Minister, June 1956-February 1957.



which regarded Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev as typifying the forces of progress. This interpretation had been confirmed by the Indian Ambassador in Moscow<sup>5</sup>; and the changes should therefore be welcomed as indicating the removal of interests which had been obstructing social development in the Soviet Union....

5. K.P.S. Menon.

## 16. The Adventure of India's Development<sup>1</sup>

I have been coming here practically every year but I am usually so tied up with the Prime Ministers' Conference that it becomes difficult to do many of the things that I would want to do. I would like to spend more time with you people, perhaps visit your hostel even. I want to go to Birmingham and other places where lots of Indian students are studying. But somehow I get stuck with so many things that I am not able to go anywhere.

Anyhow, I have much to talk to you about. But, first of all, I would like to tell you what is happening in India because it is very important that you should understand what the atmosphere there is like, how India is changing, not only India but all the countries in Asia are changing in their own way, some countries of Africa too. Perhaps when the history of the world is written it would be said that the most important thing that happened in this period was the revolutionary changes that took place in Asia. The people of Asia have awakened after centuries. Some of them act rightly and some wrongly, but at least they have awakened. They had been supine and inert for a long time. Though the people of these countries went about their daily business, basically these countries were in a static, stagnant condition. Now that is over and people who had been suppressed for centuries are trying to raise their heads in India and all over Asia. We in India follow a particular path. China follows another path. The Arab countries follow their own path. But the broad fact is that the countries of Asia which had been frozen and static are now galvanized into action.

1. Address to Indian students at India House, London, 5 July 1957. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

Anyhow, let us leave Asia aside for the moment, though you must bear in mind that whatever is happening in India is happening all over Asia too. If you look at it another way, the First World War took place between 1914 and 1918, that is, before you were born. Soon after the War, a new wave swept India from 1919. Gandhiji arrived on the scene and gradually he started a great movement which has now acquired many names—civil disobedience, satyagraha, passive resistance, etc. He infused a new life into the Indian National Congress and made it a great organization.

Now, when all this was happening in India, there was great ferment in other countries too, all over the Middle East, in the Arab world, in Turkey and revolutionary changes were taking place all over Asia. What was happening in India was also having an impact on all those countries. Anyhow, we kept fighting for our freedom and others were doing it in their own ways and ultimately we won freedom. I want you to understand the picture in its entirety, not the problems of one country alone but the world as it is today because rarely has the world undergone such a great revolutionary ferment.

The other symbol of this revolutionary ferment is atomic energy. I am not referring to the bomb—that is only one of its many applications and a very dangerous one. But it is a discovery of great magnitude because it will undoubtedly transform the world, as it happened in the wake of the Industrial Revolution which began in England and then spread to Europe and America and which is now spreading in Asia. The world has been transformed by the Industrial Revolution. There is no comparison between the world we live in today and the world as it was before the Industrial Revolution. There has been total transformation. Similarly now atomic energy is going to usher in great changes if the world is not blown up in the meanwhile.

So we are living in times of great changes. On the one hand we have the emergence of Asia and Africa and, on the other hand, the discovery of atomic energy and the revolutionary changes being wrought by that. So you must understand what kind of a world we live in. This is not a world frozen and static; it is a world in a flux with great potential for progress and for prosperity for the peoples of the world and, at the same time, for bringing the world to the brink of ruin also. Nobody can predict ultimately which way the scales will tip, towards ruin or progress. But one thing is certain, it cannot stay static. That has now become impossible.

In such a revolutionary age, only those countries which are vigilant and strong can go ahead. Only those countries and those people who are fearless and have the capacity to work together can progress because ultimately a nation does not progress by wheeling and dealing or winning points in a debate. A nation needs to be strong. The greatest thing that Gandhiji did, apart from freeing India from



colonial shackles, was to infuse new life and strength into the downtrodden people of India. You belong to a new generation. You cannot imagine how fearful and downtrodden the country was before Gandhiji arrived on the scene. I agree that there were a number of other stalwarts too but the common people were oppressed and full of fear, and it is Gandhiji who breathed new life and strength into them by rooting out fear from their hearts and teaching them to work in unity and cooperation and with discipline. You can compare India with the other countries of Asia and Africa—I am not making any invidious comparisons—but Gandhiji taught us an invaluable lesson and we learnt to take decisions which has helped us to resolve great problems besetting our country whereas other countries in Asia and Africa are still struggling. Today India is a stable democracy in the eyes of the world. We have general elections on a massive scale peacefully. I want you to keep in your mind this broad picture of the world and of India, where your work lies.

Now I have pointed out the positive aspects. There are many negative factors too, our weaknesses, the tendency towards divisiveness and disunity. We tend to fight in the name of religion, by bringing religion into politics. Last year we had the reorganization of states in India. There may be differences of opinion over how the boundaries are to be redrawn. But to riot and break one another's heads over such a matter is not a sign of strength. That there should be riots over languages is not the sign of a disciplined nation but of childishness. We have given an equal status to all the languages of India and called them official languages. All of them are national languages. There is no country in the world where the different languages are given an equal status.

So we see, on the one hand, India's strength, and on the other, its several weaknesses and the various ways in which we dissipate our energies. It is obvious that if we wish to do big things in India, as we wish to do, then it is possible only in one way and that is by not dissipating our energies in wrangling over petty issues. A nation's energy is not unlimited and if it is wasted by taking the wrong path, then there will be that much less available for doing the right things. What are the major tasks ahead of us? One chapter in our history has come to an end and India has got freedom. Immediately another chapter has opened up, the task of uplifting 35-36 crores of human beings. That is a mammoth task. Their economic condition needs amelioration. It is obvious that that can be done only in one way—through their own hard work and effort. We cannot do it with the help of America, Russia, China or Japan. Of course, some aid at the right time can help a great deal and we accept it with gratefulness. But ultimately a nation has to shoulder its own burdens. Others cannot do it for us and if they do, we shall remain a handicapped nation. We shall not gain the strength to uplift ourselves. Are we going to walk on our own feet or are we going to depend on

others' support forever? No nation can progress in this way. We gladly accept any aid that comes our way, as others have done and there is nothing strange about that. Today the USA is an extremely wealthy country but I do not know whether you are aware that about fifty years ago Europe invested a great deal in America which is how the latter grew and became extremely wealthy. If you were to ask how Europe developed, it is through its hard work and the capital which flowed in from India and elsewhere.

Therefore there is no objection to aid from outside. But it would be wrong to think that aid alone can help us develop. The problem is how to raise a poor country from the mire of poverty. What is wealth? It does not consist of gold or silver which may be used to make ornaments. The real wealth of a nation is the goods that it produces. Goods are of thousands of varieties. The most essential of course are food, clothes, houses to live in—these are all absolutely essential for the survival of human beings. Then other things follow like education and health care.

In short, the goods that a nation produces is its wealth. America is extremely wealthy because it produces a vast amount of wealth, through its own capability, its machines and factories. There must be a great deal of gold and silver too in the US, but that is not its real wealth. If the people of America were to stop working even for a few days or a month, all their old wealth would be a waste. Real wealth is produced out of the day-to-day toil and labour. Therefore, we too must produce large quantities of food and essential goods in India. But we require machines in order to produce those things. We could certainly buy machines from other countries, from Germany or Japan and America. But if we do that, we shall become dependent on others for spare parts and other things. We shall not then be completely free. Therefore, we have to set up factories to produce those machines.

Ultimately a country's income is generated from what it produces through its own efforts. And we spend only out of that income. If we spend everything that we earn then there will be nothing left for further growth. If our expenditure is in excess of what we earn, we become bankrupt. Therefore we must have savings so that we have something left over to invest for future development. We can then utilize that surplus to build factories, roads, schools, and hospitals. But how is a poor country to have any surplus? How do you tell a poor man to save when he does not have enough to make both ends meet? It would be absurd to tell him to put his money in the bank. Similarly, it seems strange to think that a poor country could have savings when it does not have the wherewithal to provide for the daily necessities. This is an extremely complex problem which the underdeveloped nations face. There is no alternative. There must be savings otherwise there can be no development. We must tighten our belts and carry a



great burden in order to ensure that we have a better future. Or we shall remain where we were.

These are the problems which every country faces, whether it is India or China, and whether it follows communism, capitalism or socialism. Every country has to face the fundamental question, which is to increase production so that that can be reinvested for further progress. We have to produce enough to have a surplus for future investments in order to have new avenues for the nation's development. Many other issues arise out of this. For instance, it is not enough merely to put up a factory. We must have the ability to produce machines which means that we must have the scientific and technological know-how because machines are the offsprings of science and technology. It is not that we are merely copying other nations, we have the potential to go ahead. We must promote science and technology for that runs today's world. These are the important issues today.

Now, we want to do many things simultaneously and yet we have limited resources. Therefore we have to generate more resources somehow or the other, from within the country, by levying taxes, or borrowing from the public or getting loans from other countries, so that we can go ahead. This matter often engages our attention. Since we do not have unlimited resources, we are constantly concerned that whatever we have should be utilized for the right purpose. For instance, if we have fifty crores to spend on the country's development and if we end up spending that amount on non-essential things then there will be nothing left for the real needs. Those fifty crores can be spent on items of luxury—I have no great objection to a life of luxury—but the question of luxury arises only when everybody's basic needs have been fulfilled. Luxury becomes a crime if it is sought when there is stark poverty on the other side. Therefore we have to conserve the country's resources and use them in the right way.

The United States is such a rich country that no matter how much money it may squander, it still has plenty of it because its production is enormous. If we do not produce enough, so we cannot afford to waste. That is why planning is essential. We have to have priorities as to what needs to be done first, second and then third. We want to do many things but the question is what should be our first priority? We do not have the resources to take up all of it together. People wonder why we do not take up this, that or the other. They may be right. But they must understand that we have to first take up something that is more essential. We have to postpone certain things and this is what planning is all about. We took up the First Five Year Plan and now the Second Five Year Plan has been under way for the last year and a half. When we succeeded with the First Plan, our confidence grew and we got the courage to make a bigger plan. We have started taking up some big industries like steel plants, etc. But you

must remember that the first and foremost priority before India—and that will be so even during the next ten years—is agriculture. We may go in for industrialization in a big way, and certainly we are doing that, but it will have to be done on the foundations of good agriculture because if we are to get a surplus in India it can mainly be through agriculture. Therefore the question before us is what kind of wealth we produce from land.

Then the second thing is industry and we are laying the foundations by setting up huge steel plants and machine-making industries, all of which cause a very heavy burden. You often hear about the problem of shortages of foreign exchange; that is because even though we do not import luxury goods we have to buy machines from outside for which we have to pay in foreign exchange. So it does create shortages. How do we earn foreign exchange? We sell our goods abroad and in return earn foreign exchange. It is when the imports exceed the exports that a problem arises. But these are questions which will confront any country which wants to progress at a fast pace.

In order to progress we need to import more machinery and at the same time the difficulty has been that we have to import foodgrains also. This is quite normal and the same problems are being faced by China also. Though China is a communist country and ours is a democratic one, the problem is the same. This problem can be dealt with in only one way ultimately and that is by sheer hard work and labour and by increasing our productivity. We must economize and conserve our resources and work for the development of the country.

You have all come here to study different courses and many of you may be here to study technology, engineering, etc. That is good because we need such expertise in India. I would like to tell you about one other important thing in India and that is known as the Community Development Scheme which is aimed at India's villages. There are about five and a quarter lakh villages in India or more, some big and some very small, and about thirty crores of people live in them. They are extremely backward and no matter how developed our cities become, India cannot become developed until its villages develop and our peasants become better off. No doubt we should establish factories and cottage industries in the villages. But even more important is to infuse new life into the peasants who are bogged down in a mire of poverty. We have to instil a sense of confidence in them because it is only through the uplift of the peasantry that we can grow.

So we started this Community Development Scheme, about five years ago or less. They have now spread during this time to about two and a half lakh villages which is a pretty rapid pace and it is my belief that within the next four years we will be able to cover all the five and a quarter lakh villages. This does not mean that every one of them will show the same results, it may differ from place to



place, but I think that at the moment the most revolutionary thing in India is the spread of the Community Development Scheme in the rural areas because we are aiming to uplift the poor downtrodden villagers and inspiring them to work hard for their own amelioration. It is obvious that we have to do a great deal but it is happening and you should know about it.

It is obvious that you would be interested in all this because many of you may get jobs here and there but what you need to have within yourselves is the ability to understand that you are also a cog in the huge factory of India's development. You need to become a partner in that process along with crores of human beings and therefore you have to understand that the foremost question before us is how to make the people of India advance. If every human being forgets the country and thinks selfishly about one's own good, or one's own group or caste or religion—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian—then India cannot go very far. A great deal of damage has been done to India due to communalism and caste politics. Each individual in India is completely free to follow his own religion. But I want you to remember that ultimately a nation's progress depends on the number of people who are educated and skilled. A nation does not grow because of sheer numbers. That applies in the case of cattle. There are censuses of human beings also but numbers do not mean strength. A nation's real strength depends on how many people in the country are highly qualified, whatever the discipline, whether it is in science or engineering or medicine or agriculture.

Now, I talked about the Community Development Scheme. It is easy to plan that it should spread to all the villages but for that we need to train people. We train boys and girls from the rural areas for a year or so and then send them back to the villages. This is at the lowest level; they are called village level workers. Above that you have other categories. At the moment we are training forty-fifty thousand boys and girls in our various training institutes for the community schemes alone.

You have come to a foreign land because you have got the opportunity. You should take full advantage of this opportunity to train yourselves, not merely to get some job or the other, but to be able to shoulder responsibilities, no matter what the problems or challenges may be. You should not sit mourning that you are jobless. You should think about all this. There is another difficulty in people coming out to foreign countries, either to England or even more so to the United States, because their habits are spoiled. What I mean is that when they go back to India they have a thousand complaints: they turn up their noses about the way things are in India, that they do not get this or that which they were used to in the other countries. There is another kind of complaint that being fully trained engineers from the United States they have become accustomed to working with highly sophisticated machinery. They expect the same kind of machinery

in India which is not available there. We have to make do with small and medium machinery because India is not a mechanized nation. I do not know what will happen in the future, but at the moment India only has an abundance of human beings. Therefore we have to utilize the human beings and their effort. For one thing, we do not have the machines and, secondly, we deliberately do not wish to bring in the machines because one machine will render a hundred or a thousand human beings jobless. I know that machines will come one day and we are not against that. But we have to keep in mind that no social harm must result out of that.

Well, anyhow, the other thing that you have to think about is that if you are engaged in the huge task of uplifting India you cannot constantly keep complain that your status is so high and yet you are not being respected enough. You have every right to think of your rights but this is no time for relaxation. Every human being has the right to lead a comfortable life. But the fact is that all of us must constantly think about how the common man lives in India today. We have to uplift them and only then can we also grow and advance. As far as possible we should not put up any barriers of status and class though no doubt there are huge differences in society. Those differences cannot be removed by passing a resolution. However, as far as possible we must try to bring about changes in our lifestyle so that there is not a huge gap in the status of various classes.

I want you to think about all this and prepare yourself in body and mind, and always remember that you cannot have a better opportunity than this to take part in this great adventure of India's development. Obviously there will be many occasions when there is despair, frustration and hurt. Some things are intolerable, we get hurt, stumble and fall and yet we have to get up and go on. The struggle for India's independence has now become history. There were many ups and downs in the struggle that the Congress waged under Gandhiji. Lakhs of people went to jail and very often we were driven to despair and felt weak and tired but the nation as a whole and ultimately reached its goal. Recently, I think it was at the Capitol Hall or Central Hall, where I read out a couplet and I would like to read it again: "In this way have we travelled towards our goal, we fell and got up, and having got up went on". In short, we should not be afraid of falling—obviously nobody falls deliberately but if people are scared of falling it means that they would be scared even to walk, lest they should stumble and fall; running, of course, is out of the question. So they sit idle, and if they are more fearful they would probably prefer to keep lying down. But no nation can progress in this manner. We have to face thousands of challenges, take risks—I do not mean foolish risks—but we have to take risks after considering everything. We are living in a dangerous world, which is full of risks for every nation and every human being but one has to take risks after considering the pros and cons.



We have to rectify any mistakes that we may make and pick ourselves up even if we stumble and fall. We should not lose heart no matter what the frustration is. This is how we have to work towards the uplift of India. *Jai Hind!*

## 17. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

9, Kensington Palace Gardens  
London  
5th July, 1957

My dear Krishna,

As I have told you, Macmillan<sup>2</sup> was very anxious that some step forward should be taken in regard to the canal waters issue. He wanted the Kashmir issue to be put in cold storage more or less as it is. He said this several times this afternoon<sup>3</sup> and the other party present<sup>4</sup> appeared to give a grudging assent.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML
2. Harold Macmillan, the UK Prime Minister.
3. The British Prime Minister had invited Nehru and Suhrawardy to lunch on 5 July.
4. The reference is to H.S. Suhrawardy, Prime Minister of Pakistan.

## 18. To G.B. Pant<sup>1</sup>

[London]

6th July, 1957

My dear Pantji,

I have just received your letter of the 1st July. My stay in London is coming to an end. I am soon going to the country for Sunday and on Monday morning I go to Holland. From there to Cairo, Khartoum and New Delhi.

I have spoken to the Prime Minister here, the Chancellor and other Ministers about the question of a credit for us. H.M. Patel is talking about it on the official level. I fear, however, that we cannot expect much at this end. There is no lack of expression of friendship and I do not think they are artificial. There is a definite desire to be on good terms with India. But they point out their own difficulties and the tremendous demands upon them. However, talks are continuing.

Suhrawardy has been misbehaving here to an extent which is surprising. Among the top people here he has created a bad impression by his personal behaviour. Indeed, the general impression among them is that he is a bit of a bounder.

I have no doubt that economies are possible in India House here and indeed in many other establishments in Delhi or elsewhere. I feel, however, that our general approach to this question itself is not a good one, i.e., we think along the old lines and remain in the old ruts. We try hard to reduce an odd officer or clerk here and there. Here and in America they have instituted what is called "work study" groups which are effecting very considerable economies by some improved methods of work. This really started in big business and has now touched governments. We have, of course, O&M Division, but I fear that Division also thinks only along the old lines.

I have discussed with Vijayalakshmi the question of economies in India House and asked her to look into each department separately with her principal advisers. I do not think it will do any good for an officer or two to come from India and spend a few days here. That might be done at a later stage.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.



## (vii) The Netherlands

1. The Dynamism of Asia<sup>1</sup>

Mr Prime Minister,<sup>2</sup> Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, You, Sir, have spoken about me in gracious language and I am somewhat embarrassed by what you have said, at any rate in so far as it applies to me. I am deeply grateful to you and to your Government for their welcome and hospitality and I deem it a peculiar privilege that you should have honoured me by our meeting here in this Hall<sup>3</sup> tonight which is so full of historic memories.

It is appropriate perhaps that in this Hall, on which are inscribed words of peace, we should meet when all the world hankers for peace. You said rightly that in some matters we may differ but in many matters and in our broad objectives there is no difference. I take it not only that that is true but that when we strive for peace it naturally follows that the methods of striving for peace should be peaceful, because any other approach would seem to come in the way of the very objectives that we have. Anyhow, I have no doubt that there is this tremendous and passionate desire for peace in the world and that perhaps we have arrived at a psychological moment in the world's history when that desire may find shape in decisions and agreements of the statesmen who control so much the destinies of the world. Let us hope so.

We in Asia are naturally interested with others in this great objective but in addition to that general interest there is perhaps also a special interest because we are terribly absorbed in building our countries anew, not only retaining many of the old foundations but also founding new ones, and we do not want anything to come in our way.

1. Speech at a dinner hosted by the Dutch Prime Minister, Treveszaal Hall, The Hague, 8 July 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Willem Drees (b. 1886); Dutch politician; Chairman, The Hague Federation of the SDAP (Social Democratic Workers Party), 1911-31; member, Provincial States of Zuid, Holland, 1919; and of Second Chamber in 1933; Minister, Social Affairs, June 1945-48; Prime Minister, August 1948-58.
3. The Treveszaal or Armistice Hall received its definite form in 1697 and has ever since become a symbol of the struggle for freedom and the longing for peace.

You know, Mr Prime Minister, that our recent generation has seen many changes in Asia. It is natural that those changes should occur, and by and large most of those changes have occurred, peacefully, which was a good thing. And now that this tremendous continent of Asia is in a new kind of ferment and turmoil, trying to find the way to a better and happier life, full of a certain dynamism which sometimes goes wrong, sometimes goes right, but certainly it is moving, it has ceased to live in the ruts and therefore it deserves the sympathy of others because it is making that great effort. I do not speak for Asia. Who am I to speak for a great continent? I can only speak in some small measure for my own country. But I imagine that some of our feelings in India are to be found in other countries of Asia also.

You referred, Mr Prime Minister, to this little country of Holland, The Netherlands, and you compared it to India in size.<sup>4</sup> But you know very well indeed that a country's greatness does not lie in its size or in the number of its people but rather in some inner quality which that country possesses. If that quality is lacking then it does not matter how big that country is or how many people inhabit it. If that quality is there then it is well for that country and it will make itself felt in whatever it does. Your country has made itself felt for hundreds of years, first of all, as you yourself said, by its labour, by its intelligence, by its ingenuity, building up this very country out of the swamps of the sea. Few countries exhibit so much of this—man's labour—as Holland does. Of course, every country is what man has made it. The world is what man has made it. Somewhere the task has been more difficult, sometimes a little less difficult. Here from the very beginning difficulties had to be faced and they were overcome. And so it is that while in size your country may be among the small countries, it is well known what an important part in many activities it has played in the past centuries. I have no doubt that it will play an important part in the future. This future, what it is going to be, I do not know.

There used to be, and there is still, a great deal of talk of Asia and Europe and America and there is no doubt that there are differences among countries and among continents—historical, geographical, cultural and the like. There is also no doubt that the world looks rather different from different viewpoints. I have no doubt that if some persons settled down in the North Pole the world will look different to them from what it looks to us. So also it looks different perhaps

4. Willem Drees stated, "In geographical surface, the Netherlands are just a handkerchief in comparison with India's enormous and intricately woven carpet. Though we feel crowded enough with our eleven million inhabitants, our economic and social problems look insignificant when we realize the gigantic task India is confronted with in trying to build up a free and prosperous society."



from London or Washington or Moscow or Delhi because the perspective is different, things are different. The facts may be the same but we look at the same thing from a different angle, or from a different geographical angle, or a different historical angle. Yet the thing may be the same, more or less. Anyhow, while these differences remain—and I think should remain because nothing appears to me so dreadful to contemplate as a dead uniformity in this world, therefore these differences should remain. But at the same time we know now how all manner of forces in the world are working to bring out a measure of uniformity. Communications alone have changed the nature of the world. People rush about and every country, however far it may be, is practically the neighbour of the other country. So in such a world there is not much room left for differences unless they are tolerated in a friendly way, unless they are recognized and no attempt is made to make the world, well, like unto ourselves. The world does grow far too rapidly. So, with all these various growths due to technology and science, we have come so near to each other, and yet, unfortunately, our minds have not perhaps grown as fast as our technology and sometimes we think and act as if we lived in some past age and not the age when we can meet across the world in a few hours practically, meet each other, destroy each other or help each other.

How to bring up our thinking and our minds to the modern age is the big problem of today. The modern age might be described in many ways. It may be described as a threshold to the atomic age. We all know about it, we all rather dread it, we all hope for good things too from this new access to power to humanity and yet strangely enough we live under its shadow in fear and trepidation, not knowing what to do. We seek security, as every individual and certainly every nation must. No nation can risk its security and yet somehow we go round and round the same path without succeeding in getting rid of this fear that consumes the world and which, at any rate, is not desirable at any time, is completely out of place in the world today because it does not help us in solving any problem; it only adds to their difficulties.

I do believe that perhaps we are on the eve of progress being made towards some solution of these problems that bedevil our existence and that prevent us from taking full advantage of the great progress that has been made by science and technology and whatever they have produced. In such matters it is not a question of a country that is two thousand miles long or two hundred miles, making much difference. Perhaps, possibly, in war it might make a difference. In the arts of peace, even more than in the arts of war, it is the quality of the human being that tells, and if we seek that quality and seek friendship with others, then perhaps we might get over the hurdles that prevent us from advancing and from the world living at peace with each other.

I am very grateful to you, Mr Prime Minister, for your kindness and graciousness and I am particularly grateful to you for having reminded me of what I wrote nearly a quarter of a century ago.<sup>5</sup> I remember very well the writing of that book and, what is more, the reading that preceded that book. I do not know if you know that that book was written entirely, big as it is, in the solitudes of prison and it was really solitude because for long periods I met nobody there, I had no one to talk to except to bid good morning to the jail or some other jail official. And so when I read and wrote there I forgot the world that surrounded me and I lived in the past age, whatever I was writing about. If I was writing about, reading about the past history of this country, I almost transported myself to that age for days or weeks and lived practically. And I was powerfully influenced, and doing this it became something much more than a superficial reading of the book because it became, to a slight extent, trying to experience what happened in the past age, and therefore it influenced one much more than a mere reading might do. And I was greatly influenced by the great struggle for freedom of this country and its people during those days and derived much inspiration from it. Thank you, Mr Prime Minister.

May I ask you to drink to the health of the Prime Minister and to the people of the Netherlands?

5. Acknowledging that Nehru had been deeply interested in the history of the Netherlands, Drees said, "In one of your writings (*Glimpses of World History*), dealing with the Netherlands' fight for freedom, you remarked that you hardly knew of a novel that is more gripping than the moving account Motley (1814-1877) has given in his *Rise of the Dutch Republic*". He also referred to Nehru having credited the people of the Netherlands, in their struggle for freedom, for giving a lead to Europe. Drees pointed out that one of the portraits on the walls of the Treveszaal Hall was that of "William the Silent (1533-1584) for whom you expressed great admiration in your writings."



## 2. Honouring Creative Dutch Children<sup>1</sup>

May I say that I am very happy to give these prizes to the three boys and one girl.

Some five or six years ago, an enterprising editor<sup>2</sup> of a weekly magazine in Delhi called the *Shankar's Weekly* organized a children's art competition. This was amazingly successful not only in India but outside largely, I must say, because of the help given to him by all the embassies in Delhi. All the foreign missions in Delhi helped him and so he got in touch with other countries, and he had been receiving these paintings, sketches, writings, essays from children from, about fifty to fifty-five countries. It is a wonderful collection every year and then exhibitions are held in this connection, because I remember last year he received about thirty thousand to forty thousand contributions, that is, mostly, children's paintings, sketches and sometimes little essays. Then they are arranged according to the age of the participants, from any age to sixteen. So it is arranged, upto five, and then five to six, six to seven, so that you can compare children of five to six, let us say, of all countries in one room or two rooms. It is very interesting to compare children of a certain age in different countries, what they think of, what they paint, what they say. It is a fascinating thing. This exhibition goes round all over India. In fact we have been asked to send it to other countries too. And every year this happens. So in this exhibition a large number of prizes are given to the children. There are judges for these prizes. And among these prizes, four prizes have been given to these three Dutch boys and one Dutch girl. So I am very happy to present them.

I might add that this same person who has organized this has organized a museum of dolls too, and so this girl has given me this for the museum of dolls.

1. Speech after distributing prizes to the Dutch winners of an international children's competition organized by *Shankar's Weekly*, The Hague, 8 July 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. K. Shankar Pillai.

### 3. Press Conference<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Ladies and Gentlemen, I am happy to meet you. As we have not got too much time at our disposal I would much rather that you put me questions than that I should take up much time by saying something myself. All I need to say is that I am happy to have had the opportunity of coming here. I have been wanting to do so for a considerable time. I am sorry if my visit is a short one. Apart from the pleasure of the visit I want to learn something and I think we have much to learn here. What has interested me most of all are the agricultural cooperatives and the general development of agriculture and the organizations of the small farmers because India is a country not only of small farmers but very small farmers, and while we are trying to make progress in industry the basic problems of India are agricultural still, more intensive agriculture, more production, and we ourselves are trying to build these farmers up in cooperatives because we feel that that is the only way to increase our production and for the betterment of the farmers. And when I say cooperatives I do not mean some kind of superficial thing but that the farmers themselves should be vital partners amongst each other, and that is what I find has been happening here. So we can learn much. I have been greatly interested also in the tremendous development of the Port of Rotterdam. It is most impressive how it has developed in the last few years. There are many other things that I should like to have seen here but I am afraid there has not been too much time, but I am glad of the opportunity of meeting many of the statesmen of this country and to have some talks with them.

Now, I hope you will put me questions, which are not very embarrassing.

Question: We hear that you have been touring many of Holland's water engineering projects. Would you think they are of specific relevance to India and her irrigation needs?

JN: Of course, the problems of India are usually the reverse of those of Holland, I mean to say, in regard to water. But in some places they are the same. That is to say, we are considering some land reclamation from the sea in Western India, North-Western India and Saurashtra and some of your experts in this matter have been consulted by us. But our normal problems are irrigation, river valley schemes, canals and to produce hydroelectric energy.

1. The Hague, 9 July 1957. AIR tapes, NMML. Extracts.



Q: Could you tell us your view of the recent changes in the Russian Government and, secondly, whether you think it will lead to....

JN: It is not an easy thing for a practising Prime Minister to discuss conditions in another country. But similar questions have been asked of me in London also. To answer your last question, I think that these changes should certainly lead to two things: one is better relations with other countries, that is what you call East-West relations, and, secondly, perhaps more relaxation and what is called liberalization internally within the Soviet Union, a process that started in the Soviet Union some two or three years back, that is, it came into evidence then. It had started much earlier and, of course, is going to continue. It had been checked somewhat by events in Hungary although it had not stopped even then, because I think that process of liberalization was not merely somebody's decision at the top but it represented a real change coming from the people up. That was somewhat checked by events in Hungary but it continued. I think it will continue perhaps a little more even now. That is to say, both internally and externally there will be relaxation.

Q: Mr John F. Kennedy,<sup>2</sup> the United States Senator, recently said that the United States Government have abandoned its support of France and worked actively for Algeria. Subsequently, Secretary Dulles said that this was an internal question. I was wondering, Sir, if you could give us the benefit of your thought.

JN: Well, since you have asked me I shall say something about the Algerian question. But I do not think it is proper for me to discuss what Mr Kennedy said or the State Department said. You know that our views are, generally, that colonies governed or dominated over by other countries should become free. That is, the old colonial era should end. It is ending, I admit. Many countries have come out. But some still remain. We should like this process to take place peacefully and, as far as possible, cooperatively, as it was done in some cases, like in India. We should like this question of Algeria to be settled, therefore, peacefully as between the people of Algeria and France and I hope ultimately it will be settled that way. It has given us great pain to see these conflicts there going on, which cannot possibly do any good to either party.

2. John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1917-1963); Democrat Member, US House of Representatives, 1947-53, and of the Senate, 1953-60; President, USA, 20 January 1961 to 22 November 1963.

Q: According to the London *Observer*, you will be conveying some of the attitudes of the British Government to President Nasser in Egypt. What do you think of the chances of a rapprochement between Britain and Egypt generally?

JN: I have nothing to convey, I have no message to convey to President Nasser. But naturally I shall be meeting him in a day or two and we shall be discussing common problems as well as other problems of the Middle East and of Egypt. I should like very much to help in what you call these rapprochements. We have helped in the past to some extent. If you have seen a television interview that President Nasser gave about five or six days ago, that itself indicated a very friendly approach, more specially to England. So I should say that it should not be difficult for such problems as remain between them to be solved if they come together and discuss them.

Q: Do you think what said in the context of Algeria applies to New Guinea also? Did you make any proposal about New Guinea to the Dutch statesmen during your visit?

JN: Well, with some changes, the principle governing that answer would, in my opinion, apply to New Guinea<sup>3</sup> also. That is to say, this process of the Western Powers having colonies is out of date today, whatever good it may have done in the past, and whether it takes a little less time or a little more time, that process has to go on everywhere, and naturally, our views in India, therefore, are in favour of the freedom of all these territories, again, I would repeat, by friendly cooperation.

It is not quite proper for me to make suggestions; nevertheless I would venture, with all respect, to suggest that perhaps the Government of the Netherlands and the Government of Indonesia might discuss, not only this matter but various matters between them.

Q: Your views in regard to Mr Deifenbaker's Finance Plan which he made in the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference...

3. Since 1818, the western half of New Guinea, a large island separated from Australia by the Torres Straits, formed the Dutch East Indies while the eastern half was divided between Britain and Germany in 1884. After 1920, the two eastern territories became a League of Nation's Mandate of Australia. The western half of the island joined Indonesia as West Irian in 1963; the eastern half gained independence as Papua New Guinea in 1975.



JN: Well, I cannot discuss Mr Deifenbaker's economic plans. As a matter of fact his plan was not discussed there at all in the Conference. Mr Deifenbaker has invited Commonwealth Finance Ministers to come to Ottawa after the Washington Bank meeting, next September or thereabouts, and we will gladly go there and talk. So I do not know the details of his plan at all and certainly I do not know how it will affect India. For instance, take something different. Take this Common Market which is gradually taking shape. There is a plan. No one—certainly India cannot object to countries in Europe coming nearer to each other in their economic or other matters. It may almost be called a natural development. We would be concerned with it in two or three respects. One, how far it affects our bilateral agreements, how far it affects our own exports and imports, trade, with the interests, how far it affects the GATT Agreement, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Secondly, we are very much interested in the possible effect of this European Market development on colonies of the countries involved in this. That is, will it become more difficult for them to become free or less difficult? Would this powerful European group of nations make it more difficult for them to progress or less? These are the two main things that interest us in it. No doubt, Mr Deifenbaker and others are interested in their agricultural produce having a market. It has a market and they hope it will not be affected by any developments elsewhere.

Q: Is it your idea that New Guinea should eventually be absolutely free, Sir, free even before it is able to govern itself? According to you the Dutch Government should hand it over to Indonesia. This I would like to know.

JN: I do not know about the internal conditions of New Guinea. All I know is that the Indonesian Government raised this question of New Guinea almost immediately after they gained independence and, in the normal course, people of Asia sympathize with them. And the question is today principally between the Government of the Netherlands and the Government of Indonesia. It is not for me to say what form an agreement might take but, as I said, broadly, because of our anti-colonial attitude we sympathize with Indonesia's case. But it is a matter which, I hope, will be considered by the two Governments. That is, what intermediate states may be, it is for them to determine peacefully and cooperatively because it is obvious that such colonial domination is always an irritant and it does not even do much good to the country concerned, I mean the governing country concerned. Things are changing now and these problems should be settled peacefully and cooperatively.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, it is sometimes said that the Western world is trying to

press the Government of India, because India is trying to achieve, along democratic ways, certain raising of standards of living which China is also trying but that India should succeed quicker than China. So, we might say, there is a race going on between India and China. Has this any weight and if so, what is the score?

JN: The score in the race? You have expressed what columnists in newspapers often write about. They are entitled to their views and to their peeps into the future. But we do not look upon this matter as any kind of a race with China or any other country. We are interested in the development of our country as rapidly as possible. We started thinking about our First Five Year Plan before the Communist Revolution succeeded in China. We are now in the middle of our Second Five Year Plan. So there is no question of competition so far as we are concerned.

It is true also that our methods are, both politically and economically, democratic and therefore our approach is different from that of China. But also, as it happens, both India and China being vast agricultural countries, we have many problems, similar problems. It is quite astonishing how many problems are the same type of problems. In the past two or three years we have sent many delegations to study their problems and they have sent quite a number of delegations to see how we were doing things, and I take it we have learnt something from each other without changing our basic structures. There are all kinds of problems. Take flood control. We are interested in how they do it and they are interested in how we try to do it. We have got big agrarian community development schemes. They have sent their delegations to study what we are doing in our villages, although their system is different. So we try to learn from each other, each pursuing its own path. And what the future will do I cannot say. We consider the way we do things is suited to us. I am not out to advise others on how they should do it. It is suited to us, I think, even though it might take a little longer time because, I believe, it is the sounder way of doing things. It helps in releasing an individual's creative talent and energy, and therefore we want to follow that path.

Any measure of competition? Well, India and China happen to be neighbours. It is not anything new that we happen to be near each other. If you look at past history, India and China both functioned in South-East Asia, from about the fifth century to about the fifteenth century or sixteenth century, all over South-East Asia we functioned; functioned in the sense of not governing; Chinese influence and Indian influence went there and all over South-East Asia you find evidences of India and evidences of China. So far as I know history, we never came into conflict with them in those thousand years, any major conflict, and I



hope there will be no conflict in future. I do not see why there should be.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, sometime ago it was reported by a news agency of Indonesia that your Government did not think that the time is fit for calling a conference of African and Asian countries. Have you an idea about the time that would be fit for holding a conference of Asian and African countries?

JN: We were consulted about this last year or beginning of this year. At that time we said that, in fact, not only we but some of the other countries concerned said that such a conference should be held but we did not fix any date, that is some time later. I have no idea what the suitable date would be. It is a matter which has to be decided in consultation with other countries. Anyhow, there is no immediate proposal to hold it in the near future.

Q: Would you tell us something about calling for any talks at the initiative from your side or any other side on the problems of New Guinea or Algeria. Second thing, in the London Disarmament Conference, there is a big problem about the stopping of nuclear tests. Whether this agreement on stopping nuclear tests should be made independent from other questions or whether they should be combined with such other questions? Could you tell us something more about your feelings on this problem. Thirdly, I would like to ask you whether you preview some growth in trade between this country and your country?

JN: Our friend has taken advantage of putting three; in the shape of one question, he put three big questions.

Well, the first question: No. There is no question of any proposal being put forward by me to anybody or indeed what I would call any formal talks. We discussed informally various matters. Chiefly our talks had been really about what I saw here, that is, agrarian cooperatives, etc., and things that interested me here from the point of view of India. Certainly, in the course of the talks a broad reference was made to world problems. Some reference was made to New Guinea also but they were references only rather than any kind of serious discussion.

The second question was about atomic tests. You know that in these Conferences, as the one that was held in London, no resolutions are passed, no decisions are made, because we do not wish to treat the Conference as a kind of superstate. They are independent countries meeting. And if, of course, there is complete agreement about something we say so. If not, we do not. We do not vote about it, and say this should be that. We each express our opinion frankly,

and thus help each other to consider various aspects of problems. We leave it at that. If you want to know what my opinion is about nuclear tests: I detest these nuclear tests and these nuclear explosions. I think it is a bad thing and the sooner it is stopped the better. I think the proposal that they should be suspended for a period is a good proposal, good in the sense that it really does not affect the major problem. Some countries are afraid that if they take that step their security might be endangered. It does not endanger anybody's security to stop the tests for some time. Of course, I would welcome a wider agreement on disarmament, that is, not only nuclear tests or nuclear explosions, but conventional arms and all that; we would welcome that. But if a suspension of nuclear tests is brought about by itself, I would welcome that too because I think that would create an atmosphere which will enable the wider agreement to come off. In fact I would welcome any advance on the plane of disarmament wherever it begins, however small it is, because that advance itself will prepare the ground for a further advance later.

Another question was trade. I naturally welcome trade but I am not expert enough in that subject to say much. At the present moment, as a matter of fact in India we have temporarily put a stop to almost every import except something that is considered absolutely essential. To save our foreign exchange we have done that. That, of course, is a temporary thing. We do not imagine that imports will be stopped in future, but for the present we did want to put a check on all imports except capital goods and essential things that we must have.

Q: I should like to ask if the International Court of Justice should decide all international questions? As you know this is the seat of International Court. And secondly, whether it should be upto the International Court to decide whether particular questions are the internal questions or not?

JN: These are rather questions of principle. Whatever has to be laid down in this respect has obviously to be accepted by all or, if not all, by most countries. It is very difficult for odd countries to agree to such a proposition when others do not. As things are, the International Court does not decide many questions which are purely of political importance because they are not justiciable, and normally speaking therefore, things that are not justiciable do not go to the International Court. As for what you said as to who should decide whether a matter is, that is really very difficult for me to answer because there may be matters in which the Court itself should decide. Obviously there may be matters, which are not justiciable at all. It is a complicated question which requires careful legal drafting for an answer.



Q: [The question related to hides and skins].

JN: The development of hides and skins? Well, I have not exactly discussed it with them but the Minister of Agriculture<sup>4</sup> did mention the matter to me and has given me a paper on it. I could not discuss it because it pertains to one of our State governments. I know nothing about it, and since he has given a paper, I shall certainly send it to the Uttar Pradesh Government and find out what they are doing about it.

Q: Have you had an opportunity during the Commonwealth Conference to discuss with your counterparts from Pakistan the question of Kashmir and could you tell us something about the prospect of a solution being found?

JN: Well, I have just told you that in the Commonwealth Conference we do not discuss such matters. You will realize that there are many questions as between Commonwealth countries. I mention one, South Africa's treatment of many Commonwealth citizens, apart from others, which has been brought up on many occasions before the United Nations. Two resolutions have been passed and the South African Union Government has ignored those resolutions. But we do not discuss that matter in the Commonwealth Conference. We discuss it in the United Nations or elsewhere. So we do not discuss the Kashmir issue and any like issue in the Commonwealth Conference. But if you want to know my opinion about the Kashmir issue I shall give it very briefly.

Naturally, I cannot compress nine years' history in a few sentences. But very briefly it is this, that Kashmir has been in the past an integral part of India, historically and culturally and in many other ways. It is a very long history. After partition, Kashmir acceded to the Indian Union in the same way as a few hundreds of the Indian States. Legally and constitutionally it became part of the Indian Union, completely. Of course, even after becoming a part of it the Indian Union may come to some agreement constitutionally about it. That is a different matter. But in any case it is a part of the Indian Union. These are basic facts. Thirdly, that Pakistan committed aggression in Kashmir State, invaded it and after nine years it still continues to sit there with its Army over nearly half the State. Fourthly, that when this matter was considered by the United Nations Commission, appointed about eight or nine years ago, they passed a resolution, or two resolutions, in 1948 and 1949, which we accepted and which ultimately Pakistan also accepted. That is the only commitment to the United Nations.

4. Sicco Leendert Mansholt, Minister of Agriculture, Government of the Netherlands, 1956-1958.

In those resolutions the Commission said that a new situation has been created by the Pakistan Army entering Kashmir. That was their way, mild way, of saying that aggression has been committed. Then they said and laid down some steps to be taken. The first step was that the Pakistan Army, regulars and irregulars, should withdraw from Kashmir. Another thing was that there should be no addition to the military potential of Pakistan. The third was that no step should be taken to add to the tension, preaching war, etc. Then there were other things: Pakistan withdrawing all its forces, India was asked upon to withdraw some of her forces leaving others to look after the security of Kashmir because that was supposed to be India's obligation. That was eight or nine years ago, is it? Nine years ago, and Pakistan has not withdrawn her forces yet. It is continuing aggression. Our position has been that that aggression must be vacated before any other step can be taken, and that was more or less the United Nations decision eight or nine years ago.

After that, the question arose in that resolution of the people of Kashmir being consulted by plebiscite or otherwise. But that was after the United Nations Commission had given a certificate that the withdrawal of Pakistan's forces, etc., had been completed and other things, and there is no war propaganda and the military potential had not been increased and other things. Then they would have given a certificate. Then the question came of considering the question of plebiscite. We waited for eight or nine years and they have not withdrawn yet. And far from withdrawing, their military potential has increased tremendously, apart from in other ways, by a very great deal of military aid given to them by the United States Government. And if you read Pakistan newspapers they are full of references to holy war against India. It is rather difficult to deal with the question when you are threatened with holy war all the time. So, there it is. And the first step to be taken in this matter is for Pakistan to vacate the aggression. Then we are perfectly prepared to consider it with them or with others.

Q: [This question was on the status of Tibet.]

JN: In the last—I cannot speak for thousands of years—in the last four or five hundred or six hundred years it has been considered to be always under the suzerainty of the Chinese State, an autonomous state under the suzerainty of China. At no time did any country, any foreign country, acknowledge the independence of Tibet. But it is true that Tibet was autonomous for a number of years—China was in a state of disorder for many years—but not independent. And I tell you this is the case not only of the present communist Government of China but of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's Government also. They say Tibet is part of China. I got into trouble with Chiang Kai-shek, before the communist



Government came in, at a conference in Delhi held in early 1947. It was called the Asian Relations Conference and we had invited all kinds of people, Tibetans, Chinese, and others from all over Asia. There was a big map put up in the hall, and in the drawing of the map we had put some dots to indicate that Tibet was separate from China. The Chinese delegation, Chiang Kai-shek's delegation withdrew from the hall because we had shown Tibet was separate from China. This has been China's attitude for hundreds of years. Occasionally, China has been weak and Tibet has functioned separately. However, in view of this history the only position we could take up was that Chinese suzerainty—and mind you, all the agreements of the British Government previously in regard to Tibet, always acknowledged Chinese suzerainty—and Tibetan autonomy—suzerainty was there. So, that is the only position. We being the inheritors of those agreements, the only position we could take up was Chinese suzerainty and Tibetan autonomy. And what the Chinese may do to Tibet or have done is a different matter. But anyhow, they proclaimed that they acknowledge Tibetan autonomy. They have said that, and I think in the treaty they made with Tibet they have said that Tibet is a part of the family of China, an autonomous part of the family of the Chinese State. So far as I know the Chinese have not thus far interfered with the religious customs or economic structure or anything of Tibet. What they will do in the future I cannot say.

Q: [This question was on the Indo-China situation.]

JN: Who am I to go about planning to do these things, I do not understand really. We are a country full of our own problems, difficulties. We certainly have some views, and in spite of ourselves, we get entangled. We got entangled in Indo-China, India as Chairman of the three Commissions. It is a headache all the time. We did not want to go there but a position arises when, if you do not go, you are charged with trying to escape responsibility. So we get caught and we try to help. But all I said<sup>5</sup> was that for a variety of reasons it seems to me that we have arrived at a psychological state in the world today when moves towards peace or relaxation of tension would undoubtedly be welcomed by everybody in the world. It was a more favourable moment, I said, than there has been in the past few years. I still think so. Whether advantage will be taken of that moment or not is really for the Great Powers to decide, not for me.

5. See *ante*, p. 661.

## (viii) Review of Foreign Visit

### 1. Summation of Visit<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister briefly mentioned some of the matters discussed at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and the impressions he formed of some of the Prime Ministers and other personalities he met during his recent foreign tour. In particular, he referred to the Pakistani Prime Minister's insinuations against India with regard to the fall in her sterling balances and the reply he gave to these insinuations.<sup>2</sup> Another matter of interest was the brief meeting he had with Shri Suhrawardy at the instance and in the presence of the British Prime Minister. The latter was of opinion that the Kashmir problem might well be put in cold storage for some time and attention should be especially paid to the solution of the Canal Waters dispute.<sup>3</sup> The meeting ended inconclusively.

1. Minutes of Cabinet meeting, New Delhi, 18 July 1957. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 630-631.

3. See *ante*, p. 659.

### 2. Sharing Impressions with Party MPs<sup>1</sup>

....You know that during the last eight or nine years, I have gone abroad several times to Europe and specially to the United Kingdom and sometimes to other countries, the United States of America, China, the Soviet Union and Western Asia, Eastern Asia also. Going abroad and looking at other countries and seeing them, year after year, helps one very greatly in two ways. One is to find what

1. Meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, New Delhi, 19 July 1957. AICC tapes. Extracts.



changes are taking place in other countries, what progress or lack of progress is being made there and also to see one's own country from a distance in some perspective. Because living in one's own country and dealing with all our day-to-day problems, one is apt to lose perspective. Further that the things which we are accustomed to here in the country, because we are accustomed to them, we rather bypass them or ignore them. Even when it is an evil, well, we put up with it, as it has always been there. Looking at it from the point of view of outside it seems to be more important or worse. So also our virtues. Both our virtues and our failings stand out more from a distance, otherwise we are accustomed to both. That naturally happens.

Now, it is eleven or twelve years since the last big war ended after tremendous destruction in parts of Europe and parts of Asia, Japan, China, Russia and Western Europe. Germany and England, specially suffered terribly by destruction. Most of all I should imagine in Europe, Germany and Russia parts of Scandinavia. The first big impression I get in visiting all these countries, whether communist or non-communist, is the way the tremendous damage caused by the war has been wiped off: cities that had been ruined and destroyed have been built anew, new and better factories put up, and generally the machine of production is working rapidly and well. Many countries have gone back not only to the pre-War standard but gone ahead of it, that is to say, in production, because remember all progress, whether it is living standards, wages, salaries, amenities all depend ultimately on the production of a country. If these countries have made good it is because their production has gone up tremendously and they worked hard for it. Apart from this, they had the trained personnel and even though many of their machines were broken down by bombing they had the industrial background to rebuild them. In other words, a country which was industrialized and, which had not only the machines but the technical personnel to work it easily survived the War. Well, not easily; they had to work hard; but more or less rapidly. The thing that is important is not what hoarded wealth you may have in a country but the productive capacity of a country, whether agricultural or industrial. If you have that productive capacity then you make good rapidly, whatever happens. Otherwise you take a long time. One of the reasons for Europe making good rapidly, has been the technical advance that Europe has made, industrial, technological advance, trained human beings—engineers and the rest. The importance of a country having higher techniques, higher technology, trained personnel and the background of industry becomes even greater, when one looks at it in this way: to raise the standards, to repair any damage done, ultimately the important thing is the trained human being. The trained human being in Europe who counts more and more is the scientist and the engineer; the administrator is important naturally in every organization but the persons who really count are

the technicians, the scientists, the engineers—the men who build things. And now the progress of every country is judged by the number of engineers and technicians that it is producing. There is a feeling in the United States of America that they are lagging behind. Why? Because they only produce about 50,000 engineers a year and the Soviet Union produces 70,000 a year. Of course, much depends on the quality.

Now, India is roughly in the middle stage, that is, the stage of an underdeveloped country which is emerging into a better developed country. I believe, in India, we have at present about 29,000 engineers of all grades, not all high scale engineers, big and small, in all. You imagine, how the whole shift in thinking has gone over from the old style of administrative apparatus to this new type of technical, engineering, scientific manpower. I stress this because, perhaps, most of us do not realize this basic change that is happening in the world, that is, the world is conforming itself more and more to a technical civilisation, and cannot escape it. You cannot really raise your standards in India or in any country without using the latest technique. I have no doubt about it. How to do so, is another matter. And technique need not necessarily mean the very big machine all over the place; it may mean the small machine, it may include the cottage industry. But you must use the latest technique and the latest productive apparatus, adapting it to your country's needs. Otherwise you cannot really increase your production much, whether it is agriculture or, more so, industry.

In regard to our agriculture, the World Bank said, a year ago or more, that India's agricultural production should be increased three or four fold, that is, 300 or 400 per cent. They said it should be easy to do that, meaning that it will take a little time but that the capacity is there to increase it three fold or four fold. We talk about fifteen per cent increase or twenty or twenty-five per cent; they said it should be easy to increase it 300 or 400 per cent, though it may take a few years. That is, if the land is capable of it; what is required is the trained human being with the necessary implements. Now, you can very well imagine that if our agricultural production, leave out 300 per cent, even doubles itself, what a tremendous gain it would be for India, for the individual farmer, for the whole of the community and for the nation. Immediately our wealth is doubled; we cannot do that suddenly, but the capacity is there.

In the same way, all the betterment in agriculture that you can do, it will be very, very helpful no doubt, but there is a certain limit beyond which you cannot go unless industry also develops. In fact industry feeds agriculture, just as agriculture feeds industry. It is obvious that you cannot develop industry in India very much unless you produce the machine, which is required by industry. If you rely on outside sources for the machines you cannot go very far. Therefore,



we come back to the machine building industry, to the iron and steel industry, because without iron and steel you cannot build machines. The question therefore becomes of how to do these things as rapidly as possible in a balanced way so as not to upset the economy of the country. If you only had heavy industry, it is very useful, very good, but heavy industry does not feed people. Heavy industry for five to seven years does not produce anything. It is just building itself; the country will starve. So apart from agriculture, which is essential anyhow, you have to have other goods which are of daily requirement in the country. You cannot wait till the heavy industry produces the machines which will produce the other goods. You can buy these from abroad, which is bad and expensive, or you can produce them in other ways more rapidly by small or cottage industry. I am sorry, I have rather drifted into a consideration of our broad economic position.

The main problems in any country today, apart from political problems, are problems of balancing, of finding equilibrium, between agriculture and industry, between heavy industry and light industry, between light industry and cottage industry. These are all balancing factors, the whole of planning, between all this and the resources of the country. Nobody says this is bad, it is absurd. All things are good, but how to balance them and produce a certain equilibrium between a dynamic, growing economy in all sectors and at the same time giving some benefit of the growing economy to the people because they cannot wait for ever, for the next generation. Therefore, the problems of advanced countries are related to arguments about the balancing of agriculture with industry, industry with light industry, heavy industry with cottage industry and so on. It is a backward country which is always arguing purely political problems, and it is a still more backward country which is losing its time and energy in the arguments and conflicts such as you see in the language controversy in the Punjab, a sign of extreme backwardness. They have no conception of the modern world, apart from the merits of the controversies. In Europe, as you know, there are many great conflicts which have led to war and which may again lead to war but Europe, having passed through the Industrial Revolution, has got the capacity to build itself anew with great rapidity. Even after destruction it built itself again. It has got that capacity. We are slowly developing it. The moment we get that capacity then we can face problems with greater ease, face even destruction, if unhappily it comes. Therefore, it becomes important to build up that capacity as rapidly as possible. Again, in building it up you cannot ignore the human element. Obviously, you have to see that the people who are building are also looked after properly, though you cannot give them all the benefits. If you gave them all the benefits, well, you do not build; that again is a problem of how to balance. Therefore, I have this impression, in Europe, of this rapid recovery after the

War. I am not referring to their basic economies, for instance, of the United Kingdom. Obviously, it makes a tremendous difference to the United Kingdom that India has gone out; that Pakistan, Ceylon and other countries have gone out, that its imperial resources are much less than they were, makes a great difference. Nevertheless, the fact remains that England is a manufacturing country and can build itself rapidly, and because it is scientifically and industrially one of the leading countries of the world it will make good, unless it gets tied up with imperial adventures; that is a different matter.

Take other countries where I went to recently, the Scandinavian countries. Sweden is one of the very fortunate countries, which has not had a war for 150 years; in fact since the time of Napoleon. Therefore it has had no destruction. It has slowly built itself up. Sweden is, I imagine, the most prosperous country in Europe. It is very democratic, it is governed by a social democratic party – or is it a coalition, I am not sure – but anyhow the social democrats have an important place. It is a welfare state, very much so, that is to say, they have no poor there, everyone is looked after, in a sense, from birth up to death, from the cradle he is looked after. There will be nurseries, etc., and some allowances too for the child. Suppose there is an illegitimate child – or a child of an unmarried mother – which is a better way of calling it, they make no distinction. The child of an unmarried mother gets an allowance from the State for his education and upkeep. The State subsequently tries to recover it from the father if they can find the father. Anyhow, they will not allow the child to suffer. A child is the wealth of the State and the State will, if necessary, give an allowance for it, I forget how much, but it is a very good allowance. Then they have old age pension at the other end. Till a person dies he gets a good pension after he has finished his working life. Working life lasts much longer there. I think the age of retirement there, of government servants; there are two ages 65 and 67 years; much more than here. They are tougher, healthier and athletic people, and, so far as I know, there is no unemployment. Of course, education is free. I do not know about higher education, but certainly in the lower grades, it is free. Not only there, but in Norway and elsewhere every school going child gets a good meal in the middle of the day. Educational schools and normal public schools are very good. The public schools there are for the general public and are so good that nobody thinks of sending his child to any private or special school. They all go to the same schools, and, as I said, every child gets a meal. In fact, one might say that the problems of Sweden are the problems of too much prosperity. Whether it is due to prosperity or not, I do not know, but there is a good deal of crime still there and juvenile crime. It is a bad thing, they are worried by it. Crime is in a slightly lesser degree in Norway, which is also a prosperous, democratic State with some kind of a socialistic structure. Norway and Sweden are not completely



socialistic either. There are rich people there, some very rich people, industrialists, but the average standard is so high that there is not much scope of conflict.

Finland is rather a special place, a fine place and a fine people. But in the last War the Soviet Union invaded Finland and the Finns fought them. Of course, how could they fight this big giant! But they did fight bravely. They were defeated ultimately and there was a peace treaty in which they had to give a heavy indemnity. First of all, they suffered damage from the War; secondly, they had to give a heavy indemnity, and thirdly, they had to cede some territory. I think that territory had probably 300,000 inhabitants or so. Here is a country emerging from a war, defeated and partly destroyed, and yet they worked hard, harder than ever, and paid the indemnity rapidly to the surprise of the rest of the world. They paid the indemnity, in foreign exchange. You do not pay out of your own exchange, your notes. Moreover, another very impressive factor was that they had ceded a small piece of territory of about 300,000 or more inhabitants. When the date came for the transfer of this bit of territory, every inhabitant of that territory—men, women and children—packed up and came to Finland and left the empty territory: an extraordinary demonstration of their love for their own country and language. They just came over, became refugees in Finland and the Finnish Government naturally took charge of them and it has been providing them with land and the rest. That is another burden on them, though, of course, they were efficient workers. Now, Finland, you know, is the most northern country in the world excepting some islands nearer the North Pole, and it is full of lakes. Finland, in fact, is called the country of 100,000 lakes. It is full of lakes and full of forests. Each farmer, if he has ten acres of land for farming purposes, has thirty or forty acres of forest attached to it. That is how they give both to each farmer.

We often have language controversies here. It might interest you that in Finland nine per cent of the population speak Swedish, and ninety-one per cent speak Finnish and between Finnish and Swedish, there is nothing in common: they are entirely separate languages. Finnish does not resemble any language in Europe except Hungarian. Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, they resemble each other somewhat, but Finnish is apart. Although Swedish is spoken by only nine per cent of the people living in a corner, the government there has made both Finnish and Swedish the two national languages, which everyone has to learn. The ninety-one per cent of the Finnish-speaking people have to learn Swedish, which is only the language of nine per cent. While there is so much trouble here about learning languages, why should we learn this or that compulsory language, there both are national languages, and both have to be learnt by everybody. Of course, they start with their mother tongue but in the next stage, in addition to this they have to do at least two more compulsory languages, foreign languages. They

can choose from German, French, English, Russian. So they have to learn four languages, apart from any classical language that they may take up. In all these countries and specially the smaller countries of Europe, that is, Holland, Belgium, Norway and Sweden, most people have to learn four languages, apart from their own language, three other languages and learn them fairly well. I found also that English was becoming more and more an internationally widespread language. In most countries, one of the compulsory languages taken was English. I believe, in the Soviet Union, English is a compulsory language. In China, they are thinking of making it so and in all these Scandinavian countries and Holland, English is almost always one of the compulsory languages, so that apart from the areas where it is spoken it is becoming better known in many other countries. The pace at which English is advancing as, more or less, one of the major world languages, is very fast.

I mention this because of course, we have also to consider the problems of language here and how far English should go. We cannot, of course, consider this question as English versus Hindi. That is absurd, because Hindi is our language, as are our other languages. But the importance of English as a compulsory second language becomes so obvious when you go round the world that you cannot escape it; it is more and more important whether it is science and technology, literature or just the international context....

I have no doubt that what has been going on in the Soviet Union is a result of inner changes taking place there as always happens in a country which has passed through a big revolution. Revolution means suddenly coming up to a high pitch of effort, whether it may involve killing, slaughter, but it is a high pitch of living, and no country can live at that high pitch; people get tired. The surprising thing is that the Soviet Union has carried on at a high pitch of effort and sacrifice for nearly forty years. The only way to explain it perhaps is that it had to face two great wars, a civil war, war of intervention, as well as inner trouble or rigidity of leaders, whatever it may be. But meanwhile, whatever the top may be, the people were changing, the people were getting better educated, widespread education, widespread reading habit, everybody reads there. Secondly, they were getting technically trained; remember that practically everybody in Russia under fifty has been trained under the Revolution. After the revolution—only some older people may remember the old days and all this—training has been highly technical. So that the Russian people are highly technical minded today like the Americans. America and Russia are the two countries which think more in terms of the machine than any other country. There is much in common between America and Russia, apart from this other things too, in spite of their political conflicts. The Russian people have been working, reading, thinking and changing. So pressures from below come and



those pressures are taking effect and the old system in Russia is gradually changing, I believe, in a good direction, in a direction of more liberalization. I do not mean to say that the basic economic structure of Russia will change. I do not think any large group of people there want that change but they do want greater individual freedom and more of the good things of life.

As I am talking about Russia, I might say a few words about China, the other great communist country. China is, of course, a communist country but we must always remember that it will be a gross mistake to consider China in the same way as the Soviet Union, even to consider Chinese communism in the same way. Hardly any of the big leaders of China know any language but Chinese. Young people have studied other languages; now they are studying English. All the thinking and all the reading of the big leaders of China has been in Chinese or through translations in Chinese. If they have read about communism or Marx it is through translations in Chinese. Now, it is a very difficult thing to translate, real good translation, from English into Hindi. Although the two languages are basically not dissimilar—I mean, the group of languages is more or less the same—it is very difficult. But to translate anything into the Chinese language is next to impossible. The Chinese language has not got words, it has got pictures, it has got ideographs, a whole idea represented in a picture, so it becomes terribly difficult to translate anything into Chinese; even simple ideas, they take a new shape. If that is so, you can imagine translating a highly technical work like, say, Marx's book, *Das Kapital*, into Chinese! In the Chinese translation, how far the ideas conveyed in Chinese are the same as in the German language is very doubtful. I imagine so, because I have had some experience of getting things translated into Chinese. It is very difficult, there is great argument about every word, because you could not find the right words. And so it struck me sometime ago that communism coming through books translated into Chinese must have been a different type of thing than in the original. Of course, the main approach may be the same. Secondly, the Chinese are more Chinese than Indians are Indian, if I may say so, although Indians are Indian very much so. But the Chinese are very Chinese, and steeped in thousands of years of certain culture. If you speak, as I have spoken, to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in the course of talk, he is constantly quoting some Chinese classic poet of a thousand years ago; he is full of the ancient classics of China.

So what I meant was the growth of China even under the communist Government is very much in the Chinese way of thinking. They have not copied Russia at all. They have gone their own way. They have been influenced by the principles of communist approaches undoubtedly, but they stand on their own feet. Secondly, people may date the Chinese Revolution from twenty years past, it has been in evidence since the late twenties, that is, thirty years ago, ups and

downs and all that. Some people date it from 1912, when Dr Sun Yat-Sen<sup>2</sup> appeared but other people date the beginnings of it to a hundred years ago including the Taiping Rebellion.<sup>3</sup> This is supposed to be the culmination of a hundred years of revolutionary effort, that is, with strong roots in old China, in spite of the tremendous influence of communist ideas. I am merely mentioning this that communism should not be taken as something grafted on China. It is something that has grown in China and that is why it is a peculiarly nationalistic expression of communism in China, and that is why it is strong, and it is not something put from above.

To go back to Europe, this cold war is continuing though it is at a slightly lesser rate. I was in England and in this Prime Ministers' Conference,<sup>4</sup> as it happened, the only two Prime Ministers who had attended these conferences before were the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr Menzies, and myself. All the others were newcomers, even the Chairman, Mr Macmillan. For the first time he was in that position. From Canada a new Prime Minister<sup>5</sup> came who had been recently elected just four days earlier and from Pakistan was the redoubtable Mr Suhrawardy. I should like to say that it amazed me what Mr Suhrawardy said in England, not so much at the Conference, I mean outside, and what he has been saying, according to press reports, in America, and he is there still. What he says is so very far removed from facts or truth that it really is not a distortion of fact but something entirely new. It really amazes me that such things should be said or distorted in the United States or in England or elsewhere, and Mr Suhrawardy is an able man. It is not that he is likely to do things by chance or by merely lack of memory. It is a very regretful thing because these things create repercussions in Pakistan and elsewhere. Also, in this connection, may I mention that you may have seen newspaper accounts of some trouble internally in Kashmir, some bomb outrages and the like. A very noted gentleman in Pakistan delivered a speech some time ago which was reported briefly in which he laid down, as a policy of action, that is, committing large scale sabotage inside Kashmir apart from other things.<sup>6</sup> It is called a liberation front or some such

2. Leader of the Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party).

3. (1850-64); large-scale rebellion against the Qing dynasty in China that ravaged 17 provinces, took some 20 million lives, and left the Qing government unable to regain an effective hold over the country.

4. From 26 June to 5 July 1957.

5. John G. Diefenbaker formed the new government in Canada on 21 June 1957 after his Progressive Party returned as the largest party in the Federal House of Commons in the general elections held on 10 June 1957.

6. See *post*, p. 704.



thing. So that we are up against something in Pakistan at present which apart from our extreme differences, is, well, so lacking in political integrity and even decency that it surprises me. It is no good our getting just angry and shouting because shouting does not help the other country and if we shout and curse it only rather covers up the issue in a mutual game of shouting at each other. Nevertheless one has to take note of all these things and be prepared for any emergency that might arise.

I went to Egypt on my way back. Of course, at the present moment the so-called Middle East situation is supposed to be the most difficult and the most critical. It has toned down somewhat but there it is and many countries are constantly blaming Egypt. In the last two or three years, the Arab countries have been split up for various reasons but in the main one of the approximate causes of this has been the policy underlying the Baghdad Pact. The Baghdad Pact won over some countries while others were against it, so it split up the Arab League and the Arab nations who were more or less functioning together. Of course, there were rivalries between them. Two things have done a lot of damage to the Middle East and to some extent elsewhere too. One is oil and the other is just money. Both these are corrupting influences, oil also because it means money in that sense and just money. They are corrupting these countries. And money being dangled and all kinds of things like this and arms and all that, it is a most unfortunate situation. In this situation in the Middle East, I have no doubt that the two countries which, in a political sense, are more wide awake are Egypt and Syria. Syria is having great difficulties, so is Egypt.

I have been to Egypt almost every year for the last four to five years but on short visits, one day, two days, and I met President Nasser. I have formed a very high opinion of President Nasser. Both his integrity, his ability and his generally growing up to the difficult problems he has to face. I do not say that everything that President Nasser has done has been right or free from error. But I am merely saying that he has grown with events. And he is a man of integrity and a man of his word. That is the impression he has given me. I say this because there is a campaign to run him down in many countries. Also the impression I got in Cairo, a general impression, was of bustling activity. Only six months or eight months ago, you remember, it was being bombarded. Cairo is becoming beautiful. Only the other day, Dr Sushila Nayyar,<sup>7</sup> who spent a few day in Cairo, was telling me how she visited some reclaimed areas on the edge of the desert where new colonies have grown up and how she was greatly impressed by them. How well they have been planned, constructed with amenities and relatively cheaply,

7. Personal physician of Mahatma Gandhi and member of Lok Sabha, 1957-62.

right on the edge of the desert, that we could learn much from them. Egypt today appears to be a vital country with enormous problems, difficulties, but still a vital country. I cannot say that of some other countries of the Middle East. Some of these countries call themselves free and democratic, as Mr Suhrawardy claims himself that he stands for freedom and democracy. But the measure of freedom and democracy that one sees in these countries is very limited, if at all, sometimes. And there is often a hiatus between the government and the people, elections are not held and so on and so forth.

Last year there were developments in connection with the Suez Canal. A month or two back, the Egyptian Government made a declaration about the Suez Canal which I think is a very satisfactory declaration, and which really is not a unilateral document any more. Although it was made by Egypt alone, but it has been registered in the United Nations and has the status of an international document. There, apart from everything else, it is stated that if there is any differences of opinion we refer to arbitrators. So I think it is a very satisfactory document. I say this because, again, it is criticized as a unilateral document, etc. I do not think there is much justification for that criticism. England and Egypt and some other countries specially have not got any diplomatic relations at present since that invasion. I hope that those relations will be established because it does not help anybody by breaking relations. I do not know when this will happen, but President Nasser has made some very forthright speeches about this saying that he is perfectly willing to do so.

Well, I won't take up any more of your time. You had a hard day. Other matters when they occur to me I shall mention them to you on future occasions.



### III. NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

#### (i) China

#### 1. To the Dalai Lama<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
8 May 1957

Your Holiness,<sup>2</sup>

In February last I received from our Political Officer<sup>3</sup> in Sikkim two letters which you wrote to me from Gangtok. I was at that time extremely busy with preparations for the general elections in our country which, as Your Holiness may know, took place throughout India during the first fortnight of March. I regret that owing to many preoccupations I could not answer your letters earlier.

I thank Your Holiness very much for the friendly sentiments which you have expressed in your letters. We were happy to have you in India as our guest.<sup>4</sup> I only hope that you did not find the programme here too strenuous.

We reciprocate Your Holiness's desire for closer cultural relations between Tibet and India. We have accordingly given very careful consideration to the suggestions you have made in one of your letters.<sup>5</sup> We see no difficulty about the extension of the Tibetan Monastery at Buddha Gaya and are prepared to consider sympathetically any concrete proposal from Your Holiness. We shall

1. JN Collection.

2. Tenzin Gyatso, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.

3. Apa B. Pant.

4. The Dalai Lama, who was on a visit to India in November-December 1956 and January 1957, stated in his letter dated 13 February 1957 that he and his entourage "had a good pilgrimage" in India. He also expressed his heartfelt thanks to all those Indian officials who had accompanied the Tibetan delegation during their visit and requested Nehru to "recognize the valuable services" rendered by these officials.

5. The Dalai Lama stated in his other letter (undated) that it was of the greatest importance to establish a relationship, "on a firm basis", between India and Tibet on matters pertaining to religion and culture. He further stated: "I would be very happy indeed if your goodself would deal directly with matters relating entirely to religion and cultural affairs of India and Tibet."

also await proposals from Tibet for the establishment of monasteries at other centres in India, which are considered holy by Buddhists.

Your Holiness has referred to the appointment of a new Abbot at Tharpa Choling Monastery at Kalimpong. As Your Holiness may know, the administration of this Monastery was extremely unsatisfactory under the old Abbot. We only hope that the new Abbot, whoever he may be, will be carefully selected. Our local officers in Kalimpong will give him every possible assistance. We shall await particulars about Your Holiness's nominee. You can rest assured that we shall give our concurrence in the new appointment with the minimum delay.

We shall also be happy to receive Tibetan scholars in India. I presume that the expenses of these scholars will be borne by the Tibetan Government.

I thank Your Holiness for inviting me to pay a visit to Lhasa. I would have liked to accept your invitation. Unfortunately, I shall not find it possible to go to Lhasa this summer. I have to go to London towards the end of June for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting and shall be out of my country for nearly a month. If I see any possibility of visiting Lhasa later in the year I shall ask our Consul-General<sup>6</sup> to approach you. I shall also simultaneously inform the Government of the People's Republic of China.

Assuring Your Holiness of the highest consideration,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. S.L. Chibber, officiating Consul-General at Lhasa.



## 2. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 14, 1957

My dear Sampurnanand,<sup>2</sup>

I am writing to you about the Indo-Tibet border. There are three places, I believe, (in the UP and Himachal Pradesh), where we have had some trouble in the past.<sup>3</sup>

We were not greatly worried about these particular places, and the actual territory involved was probably a few miles this way or that way. What we objected to was what appeared to us to be an aggressive way on the part of the Chinese. It is true that these disputes are old standing ones, dating back many decades. In those days, the disputes were with the Tibetan Government.

Although these particular matters were of no great importance, the really important aspect of them related to the whole border of India with China, including Tibet. As you know, this border was in a way settled long ago by a tripartite meeting,<sup>4</sup> and this border line is often referred to as McMahon Line. The British Governments in India and Tibet accepted it. The then Chinese Government did not accept it. Ever since then, there has been no formal acceptance of this border by the Chinese Government. The Chinese maps of Chiang Kai-shek's time showed quite a considerable bit of North-East India as being in Tibet. Even more recent maps issued by the Chinese Government have continued to show this area as being in Tibet.

So far as we are concerned, we have made it repeatedly clear in Parliament and elsewhere that this border is a firm one, and there was nothing to discuss about it. In fact, there was some slight attempt on the part of Chou En-lai<sup>5</sup> to discuss this matter with me when I went to Peking. I told him there was nothing to discuss.

The fact, however, remained that this could not be treated as an agreed border, between India and China, and the question might be raised at any time by China. This would affect not a few miles of mountain territory, but quite a large area.

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

3. For reference to one such case, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 35, pp. 515-516.

4. This was the Simla Conference held between October 1913 and April 1914.

5. For Nehru's record of talks with the Chinese Prime Minister, Chou En-lai, in Beijing in 1954, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 11-31.

When Chou En-lai was here in India on the last occasion, I had long talks with him about various matters. He referred in this connection to the talks between Burma and China about certain border disputes. I had previously written to him about these matters. He told me that they had agreed to that part of the McMahon Line, which lay between Burma and China. He added that although the matter was by no means clear, as the British Government of the day had been committing aggression in various places, nevertheless, as India and China were friends, he was prepared to accept this McMahon Line as the border of India and China also.<sup>6</sup>

This was an important statement and admission from our point of view, and I therefore had him repeat this quite clearly. I added then that quite apart from this long frontier about which there was no argument, there were two or three other small border disputes, and the sooner we settled them, the better. This settlement should take place on the basis of usage and geographical features. He agreed.

Some time after that, we wrote to the Chinese Government and suggested that we might take up one of these matters in dispute on the above suggested basis. The Chinese Government agreed, and we are waiting for their representative to come to Delhi to discuss this.

I am writing this letter to you so that you may know about these recent developments and what the position is today. In view of what the Chinese have stated and our approaching talks, we should not adopt any aggressive attitude in these places. It sometimes happens that the local people misbehave. We should be vigilant about this. But, broadly speaking, we should realize that these matters are being settled in conference and, what is more important, that the major border issue has already been settled for all practical purposes.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, pp. 599-601 and 614-615.



### 3. To R.K. Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

June 9, 1957

My dear Ratan,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 24th May and the note on the rectification drive in China.<sup>3</sup> I have read this with great interest. It is odd how much in common we have with China. We speak a different language and we function somewhat differently also, of course, but the problems are much the same.

I am leaving in a few days for Europe and I shall be away for almost exactly one month. On my way out, I shall spend a day at Damascus and on my way back, I shall stop for a day each at Cairo and Khartoum.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. India's Ambassador in Beijing.

3. The *People's Daily* (Beijing) denounced, in a long editorial on 13 April, the bureaucratic methods of certain communist officials, who, it declared, had ignored popular grievances, "grossly infringed the rights and interests of the masses" and "made use of brutal forms of pressure, thereby arousing justified popular discontent." To correct this, a rectification campaign was launched during which bureaucrats were exposed by means of public discussions and were required to "remould" themselves by confessing their errors. A directive issued by the Communist Party's Central Committee on 30 April stated that the campaign would last six months.

#### 4. To R.K. Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 15, 1957

My dear Ratan,

I have returned today from tour abroad. I have received three letters from you, one sending me Mao Tse-tung's long statement, another about the performance of Shakuntala in Peking<sup>2</sup> and the third, dated 28th June, about the rectification drive in China.

Mao Tse-tung's statement<sup>3</sup> is of course of great importance and it has attracted much attention in Europe and elsewhere. The other papers you have sent me are also very interesting. It is clear, however, as you say, that now there is some kind of a reaction to the previous attempt at inviting criticism.<sup>4</sup> Today's papers contained the news that a number of prominent critics had confessed their sins and apologized.<sup>5</sup> This kind of thing is not impressive. But I suppose that, in the conditions prevailing in China, this is normal. I hope, however, that this will not go too far.

1. JN Collection.

2. The Chinese Art Theatre staged, on 7 May 1957, the Indian classical play, Shakuntala. The play was translated by Professor Chi Hsien-lin of Peking University.

3. Chairman Mao Tse-tung delivered a speech on 27 February 1957 on "the correct handling of contradictions among the people" to the Supreme State Council of China. The text was revised and enlarged by Mao himself and published on 18 June. Elaborating on the Chinese Communist Party's slogan "Let a 100 flowers blossom and 100 schools of thought contend", Mao emphasized that ideological and artistic controversies should be decided through free discussion and not by "crude coercive methods." He added that the Communist Party and other parties should continue to exist side by side and engage in mutual criticism, although the "building of socialism" and the leadership of the Communist Party must remain the guiding and unassailable principles.

4. The revised text of Mao's speech emphasized that criticism was useful only if it strengthened the "people's democratic dictatorship" and the leadership of the Communist Party. Soon thereafter, the rectification meetings that had started in April became devoted mainly to denunciation of the "rightists".

5. At the start of the National People's Congress on 13 July several "rightists" confessed to their errors. Chu An-pin, editor-in-chief of the daily newspaper, *Kwang Ming*, was among those who confessed to all their faults in attacking the Communist Party. He, along with Chang Fo-Chin, Minister for Communications, and Lo Lung-chi, Minister for Timber Industry, were among those who were denounced by the People's Congress for attacking the Communist Party.



You must know that lately there has been much suspicion of China in Burma. There is a feeling there that the Chinese Government is playing some kind of a game with them about their frontier and not acting up to their word. Whether this is true or not, I do not know. But it is a fact that the Burmese people feel that way. I hope that the Chinese Government will not give them occasion to distrust them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. The Border with China<sup>1</sup>

What is the position in regard to Hoti?<sup>2</sup> I was under the impression that the Chinese were going to send some representative to discuss this matter with us.

Our Ambassador in Peking says that when a settlement with Burma is reached, it would be easier to deal with the Indo-Chinese border. I think there is some misapprehension in his mind. So far as we are concerned, we have never admitted that there is any dispute about our frontier with Tibet (apart from one or two minor matters). The real question was about the McMahon Line. In view of my talks with Premier Chou En-lai when he came here last, it was made clear that the McMahon Line was an accepted frontier, although this has not been formally stated in any document. The only questions [that] remain, therefore, were about Hoti and one other place.

You might enquire from the Chinese Ambassador<sup>3</sup> about Hoti.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 30 July 1957. JN Collection.

2. Bara Hoti, also called "Wu Je" by the Chinese, is a village on the Hoti plains, in the Garhwal district of Uttranchal, 16,000 feet above sea level. In 1954, a number of Chinese soldiers arrived and set up a camp at Bara Hoti. In 1956, after prolonged negotiations, both India and China agreed that officials of the two governments would visit Bara Hoti and ascertain whether it lay south or north of the Tun Jun La, which both sides had recognized as a border pass in 1954.

3. Pan Tzu-li.

(ii) Pakistan

1. Suicide by a Pakistani<sup>1</sup>

I agree that we should adopt a clear attitude in this matter<sup>2</sup> and that we should send the papers you mention to the Pakistan High Commissioner<sup>3</sup> for being forwarded to his Government.<sup>4</sup> As regards the other papers that you are keeping with you, that is, the letters addressed to me<sup>5</sup> and to the Police authorities, etc., I think that copies of them should also be sent to Pakistan, the originals being kept here.

I think that we should not only keep copies of the two wills<sup>6</sup> but have photostats made of them for record here.

The cheque for Rs 500/- is in the name of Dr Sen.<sup>7</sup> It should be sent to him and he should be asked to return any surplus money from it after paying the

1. Note to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 3 May 1957. JN Collection.
2. It related to the aftermath of the suicide committed by a Pakistani national, Muzaffar Hasan, during a visit to India. Originally a resident of village Surajgarh, district Monghyr, Bihar, Hasan had migrated to Pakistan in 1950. He subsequently donated Rs 144,000 to the Government of India for the building of a school in his native village in memory of his deceased father [See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 35, pp. 221-222 ]. Hasan had come to Delhi in February 1957 for medical treatment. Depressed about his health, he committed suicide on 9 April 1957 at Hotel Broadway in Delhi.
3. Mian Ziauddin.
4. Among the several letters found in the hotel room where Muzaffar Hasan was staying, two were addressed to the Prime Minister of Pakistan in which he requested that all his moveable and immoveable property should be handed over to the Prime Minister of India. The letters also stated that Hasan had no ill will towards Pakistan and prayed that India and Pakistan should live like brothers.
5. In three letters, two in Urdu and one in English, addressed to the Prime Minister of India, the deceased took on himself the responsibility for the suicide. He also desired that a school might be built at his native village out of the money left by him in Pakistan, or this money might be utilized for giving rewards each year to such persons who helped in promoting friendship between India and Pakistan as well as Hindu-Muslim unity.
6. Two wills, one each in English and Urdu, related to the deceased's desire for the construction of a "college" in his native village and his burial, if possible, in its compound.
7. From 1 to 8 April 1957, Muzaffar Hasan underwent treatment in a nursing home run by Dr Santosh Sen at Daryaganj in Delhi.



Nursing Home bills. Expenses incurred in the burial should be charged to the balance of this money as well as the cash left by Muzaffar Hasan. The balance, if any, should be sent to the cousin of the deceased through the Pakistan High Commission. If some extra expenditure is incurred by us, we need not ask for a payment of this from Pakistan.

All these papers should be sent with a covering letter to the High Commissioner of Pakistan. This letter should be fairly detailed giving a list of the articles sent, monies received and spent, etc.

In this letter attention should be drawn to the will and the Pakistan Government's views in regard to it might be asked for. We may state that we are perfectly willing to carry out Mr Muzaffar Hasan's wishes and establish a college in his home town in Bihar should the amount necessary for it is sent to us, according to his desire.

It should also be stated that Mr Muzaffar Hasan expressed a wish for burial in his home village in Bihar. We could not carry out his wishes soon after his death because no arrangements could be made in time. He was therefore buried in Delhi in a suitable coffin. If, however, it is the wish of his relatives or the Pakistan Government for the removal of his coffin for reburial in his village in Bihar, we are perfectly prepared to do so.

A copy of your letter to the High Commissioner of Pakistan should be sent to our High Commissioner in Karachi.<sup>8</sup>

8. C.C. Desai.

## 2. Arrest of Two Indian Officials<sup>1</sup>

What this telegram says is scandalous.<sup>2</sup> I cannot understand why our people in Lahore did not protest immediately. Of course we must protest to Karachi, but it was for our people in Lahore to do so also.<sup>3</sup>

This is not merely a matter of protest. We must consider what else we might have to do about it. In any event, immediate protest should be lodged and we should ask for the punishment of the policemen involved.<sup>4</sup>

1. Note to Secretary General and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 8 May 1957. File No. 28(45)/57-Pak I, MEA.
2. On the night of 7 May, two Indian diplomats, Govind M. Seth and M.B.C. Rajan, along with three others were arrested in Lahore by the local police on charges of creating nuisance in a public place under the influence of alcohol. They were kept in police custody during the night and subjected to a medical examination. The officials were released the next morning.
3. P.C. Bhandari, India's Deputy High Commissioner in Lahore, cabled to New Delhi on 8 May that he had refrained from lodging a strong protest locally due to the consideration that this should appropriately be done from Karachi. On 10 May, Bhandari lodged a strong oral and written protest to the Governor of West Pakistan, M.A. Gurmani who expressed regret at the incident and promised a high-level enquiry.
4. C.C. Desai, saw the Pakistan Foreign Minister Feroz Khan Noon on 9 May and lodged a strong protest, both orally and in writing, asking, among other things, for exemplary punishment of the police officers involved.



### 3. To Pyarelal<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 11, 1957

My dear Pyarelal,<sup>2</sup>

I have received a letter from Charu Chowdhury,<sup>3</sup> Secretary, Gandhi Camp, Noakhali. This has been sent to me by Swami Satyakamananda<sup>4</sup> of the Ramakrishna Mission, Dacca.

Charu Chowdhury writes to me that he wants to tour about India to see the various social welfare and constructive activities being conducted here and for this purpose he wants an all-India Railway Pass, First Class if possible.

I am afraid it is difficult for me to arrange this, and I am not sure if it will be quite proper. Passes of this kind are not issued to individuals except very rarely.

Apart from this, for me to take this step for a resident of Pakistan might well put him in some difficulty.

I am writing to you on this subject because Charu Chowdhury suggested that I might write to him care of you and that you would forward the letter to the meeting of the Sarvodaya Sammelan, where he intended going. The Sarvodaya Sammelan is almost over now and I do not suppose you can catch him there.

I would not suggest to you to write to him in Noakhali or to any place in Pakistan. I am merely informing you of my answer so that in case you get in touch with him, you may tell him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. An associate of Mahatma Gandhi and his Secretary from 1942 onwards.

3. An associate of Mahatma Gandhi; detained by the Pakistan Government several times since 1947; in jail, 1963-71; reorganized the Gandhi Camp in Noakhali into Gandhi Ashram Trust, Dhaka, 1975.

4. Swami Satyakamananda, pre-monastic name of Nitindra Sankar Roy (1911-1996); spiritual initiation, 1930, joined the Ramakrishna Mission at Belur Math, 1935; accepted as a pre-probationer, April 1936; initiated as Brahmachari, 1940; had Sannyāsa *diksha*, 1944; served at Belur Math, 1935-36 and 1965-67; served at the branch centres of the Mission at: Barisal, 1936-37, Patna, 1937-44, Narayanganj, 1944-45, Dhaka, 1945-57 (and as head of the Centre, 1953-57), Mumbai, 1958-64 and Khetri, 1967-72; after that he was at Jabalpur, Bhopal, Port Blair, and Khetri, where he passed away.

#### 4. The Lahore Incident<sup>1</sup>

I agree with you.<sup>2</sup> We need not attach too much importance to the Karachi official handout. At the same time I think we should draw the attention of the Pakistan High Commissioner here or of the Pakistan Government at Karachi to the impropriety of this procedure while an enquiry is taking place.

It is not quite clear to me what the last part of the telegram from Lahore means.<sup>3</sup> We had asked our Deputy High Commission[er] to inform the Pakistan authorities in a certain way, that is, telling them that we were prepared to help, but could not participate in any judicial enquiry. Is he acting up to this or not?

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 14 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. M.J. Desai noted that the Pakistan Government handout on 13 May was "indicative of the attitude the police department will take up" in the enquiry by the District Magistrate of Lahore. He, however, added that New Delhi "need not take any serious notice of this, but await the result of the inquiry." The handout accused the Indians of ridiculing the police officer who had asked them to move their car away from a shop and of adopting an "aggressive attitude". It, however, admitted to the handcuffing of Indians while being taken to hospital. See also *ante*, p. 696.

3. Bhandari, in his cable to C.C. Desai on 14 May, suggested that he would not submit any more documents to the Lahore District Magistrate who was conducting the inquiry, as the official version of the Pakistan Government had "vindicated" the actions of the police officers, "even before the commencement of the enquiry." Bhandari then stated: "Presume you agree and will consider lodging protest against official announcement while matter is still sub-judice."



## 5. To Mohammad Noman<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

May 24, 1957

Dear Mr Noman,

I have received your letter of the 20th May and also a copy of your article on Indo-Pak Relations. I have read this article with interest. It is not for me to criticize what you have written. I shall only make one remark about it: that you have perhaps laid too much stress on me in this article. Individuals count, of course—and I know that I count in India—but, in a complex and moving society, the role of the individual becomes much more limited. In your visits to India, you may have noticed that in spite of many irrelevancies and follies, the mind of the people here is being conditioned more and more by the dynamics of a developing nation. They talk of planning and of the Five Year Plan, and most of our activities turn round it. Even our recent Budget statement, much criticized by some people, is intimately connected with this line of thought.

In a sense, of course, this development is a healthy one, because people face more and more their real economic and social problems. There are evident dangers in it, as all attempts at rapid advance involve risks. Always one has to balance the two aspects and try to find a line of advance which cannot prove too much for the people.

One thing has always surprised me. Why should intelligent people in Pakistan think that India wants to annul the partition and put an end to Pakistan as an independent country? Some foolish people in India belonging to the Hindu Mahasabha or like organizations may say so. But the whole idea is fantastic and absurd. I do not say so for any sentimental reasons, but on the basis of hard facts. Most people in India would be rather frightened even at the prospect of this happening, for the simple reason that it would upset all our tremendous efforts at planning and development. Utterly new and difficult problems would arise, and we would sink into the quagmire of internal conflict, when no progress of any kind is possible. Whether one considers this question from the sentimental point of view or the practical, the national or the international, one has to rule out completely any such possible development.

I do not mean, of course, that India and Pakistan should not have the closest relations with each other. That I earnestly seek, and I have no doubt that some time or other, this will happen.

1. JN Collection.

C.C. Desai has suggested to me that you might be interested in my "recent books". I do not quite know what recent books mean, because I have not written a book during the last twelve years. Two collections of my speeches and statements have been brought out in the course of the last six or seven years. Should you care to have them, or any other book of mine, I shall gladly send them.

Thank you for your letter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. The Ganga Barrage Scheme<sup>1</sup>

I agree with you that we should keep far away from any arrangement which would tie us up with advisory and technical services of a UN body for cooperative development of these rivers. I shall tell the Pakistan High Commissioner so; but I shall add that we are all in favour of cooperation between Pakistan and India on this subject.

As for the Ganga Barrage Scheme, I think that in this, as in other matters, we should take a straightforward course and not try to overreach Pakistan. The straightforward course is for Pakistan to be told that in connection with our planning, we have studied this Scheme as well as many others and it is only after the study that we give consideration to them. In this way the Ganga Barrage Scheme is being studied. Probably the study itself will last for nearly a year. We need not tell Pakistan that we shall consult them before we take any decision. That would be a commitment. But I think that it would be improper for us, after all our correspondence with them about the Ganga Barrage Scheme, to take a decision secretly without informing them of it.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 28 May 1957. JN Collection.



## 7. Indus Waters and the World Bank<sup>1</sup>

Mr Iliff<sup>2</sup> of the World Bank saw me this afternoon and was with me for about forty-five minutes. He said that he had had talks with our Minister for Irrigation & Power and he paid a tribute to his charm and ability in stating India's case.

2. He said that he was feeling unhappy and not at all optimistic about the response he is likely to get from Pakistan. He could understand our position. Pakistan had, however, pointed out that if they agreed to the principles and if later there was no agreement about the details, then India would act unilaterally, and this would put Pakistan in a very difficult position. Iliff felt that there was some justification for this.

3. I repeated the usual arguments to Mr Iliff and also spoke about the background of this case as well as of our dealings with Pakistan which had been very frustrating. I told him further that the idea that we wanted to injure Pakistan and break it up was fantastic because if there was such a break up there, political or economic, it would have a boomerang effect on our own country. As it was, owing to the difficulties in East Pakistan, we had to endure this tremendous and continual influx of people. We could hardly bear this additional burden. What if the remaining nine million people in East Pakistan came over to us?

4. So we were anxious that Pakistan should function properly and flourish and should leave us in peace. It was natural for us to develop good relations with a neighbour country, more especially as there were such intimate contacts in other ways, historical, cultural, etc. But, it had been our misfortune that every effort of ours had met with obstruction, whether this was in Kashmir or Canal Waters or Evacuee Property or this influx of people from East Pakistan.

5. Iliff expressed sympathy. He said he understood. Nevertheless, he said what are we to do about it, because he did not expect Pakistan to agree to accept the principles about this Canal Waters division at this stage. He did not wish this to breakdown, and at the same time, he intended telling them that the World Bank's patience might be exhausted. He would, therefore, like to carry on somehow till after the Pakistan elections for which might bring about a more stable Government in Pakistan. Here in India we had had our elections and we had a strong Government. Pakistan was full of political and other difficulties.

1. Note to S.K. Patil, Minister for Irrigation and Power, and the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 10 June 1957. JN Collection.

2. William A.B. Iliff, Vice-President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, was associated with the Bank's mediatory role in the Indus Waters dispute.

6. I told him that we had no desire to see these talks breakdown. After all, we had been carrying them on for five years and had shown repeatedly our desire for some settlement. We had been patient, but how long is this to continue? The Bhakra Dam was getting ready and people were anxious to utilize the benefits from it. The moment this was quite ready, we cannot stop supplying water through the canals. The pressure on us would be too great.

7. Also I said that I thought that relying on the elections in Pakistan for something to happen was not good enough. Nobody knew when the elections would take place, and even if they took place, no one knew what the result would be. Therefore, the elections should not be considered in this connection.

8. I pointed out to him that we were not against a Commission or even arbitration. In fact, in 1949, I had myself made a proposal for some kind of a joint Commission of India and Pakistan to deal with all river problems.<sup>3</sup> But no Commission can work unless there was an agreed basis of principle. We cannot ask a Commission to decide on principles, and we cannot ask them to decide on details before the principles were decided upon.

9. Iliff agreed, but nevertheless said that here was this difficult position and all he could do was to gain time in order to avoid a breakdown. He further said that in some matters which ought to be easy to decide by engineers, the difference between Indian engineers and Pakistan engineers was complete. The World Bank had their views about them, but they could not impose their will. I said that I understood that, but surely without any imposition of a decision, the World Bank could express their view from the engineering point of view.

10. Iliff said that they had succeeded in getting Pakistan to accept that there was enough water to go round for everybody and further that it was possible by engineering works to utilize that water fully. The only question that remained was as to how this was to be done and the cost of it. I said that it was clear to me that no adequate progress could be made without some agreement on principles. We cannot work in the air and later be saddled with commitments which we could not accept.

11. Finally, Iliff said he would try to do his best, but he did not hope for much. The most he could do was to try to gain time. After seeing the Pakistan Prime Minister, he would come back here and have further talks with our Minister for Irrigation & Power.

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 13, pp. 251-252.



## 8. Cable to M.J. Desai<sup>1</sup>

Regarding Iliff's recent memo<sup>2</sup> I have told UK Government that we are prepared to accept it generally subject to certain clarifications and minor changes in order to avoid arguments about interpretation in future. I did not discuss this matter in any detail with them.

2. I understand that Pakistan Prime Minister Suhrawardy told UK Government that he could only study Iliff's memo after his return to Karachi. As he was not returning there for another three weeks he would have to ask the World Bank people for an additional fortnight's time for reply.

1. London, 5 July 1957. JN Collection.

2. Iliff, in his letter of 24 June, to the Indian Government noted that the best prospects of carrying forward the discussions regarding the Indus waters, lay in obtaining from both India and Pakistan "acceptance of some main principles as a firm starting point from which we might proceed to the formulation of the detailed text of an International Water Treaty." He also made certain proposals in an appendix to his letter.

## 9. To C.C. Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 18, 1957

My dear C.C.,

Thank you for your letter of the 15th July<sup>2</sup> with which you have sent me a pamphlet<sup>3</sup> by ex-Major General Akbar Khan<sup>4</sup> and it makes interesting reading.

Some two or three months ago I read a report of a speech by Akbar Khan which, I think, was delivered at Rawalpindi and in the course of which he had referred to this very line of action which is given more fully in his pamphlet. I referred to the speech of his in London privately to some of the Ministers there.

I think this pamphlet is very helpful in understanding not only Akbar Khan's way of thinking but probably of others also. In fact, recent happenings in Kashmir indicate that this policy is being pursued there.<sup>5</sup>

If you can get one or two copies more of this pamphlet, they will be helpful. Suhrawardy made a great deal of noise in London and threw his weight about

1. JN Collection.

2. Summarizing the contents of the pamphlet *How to solve the Kashmir problem*, Desai stated that India could use its contents to expose the real aims and intentions not only of some of the leading political elements in Pakistan, but also of the Pakistan Government itself. Desai added that: "His pamphlet cannot...be just brushed aside as the outpourings of a diseased mind or the views of an unbalanced non-entity." Akbar Khan, though not officially in the Awami League, maintained close liaison with Prime Minister H.S. Suhrawardy. Desai's assessment was that Akbar Khan was a "clear-headed, practical minded, experienced man with a colourful personality and who is always ready for adventure or desperate action in the cause of Kashmir."

3. The pamphlet contended that India would not yield an inch of territory in direct negotiations. The solution therefore lay in internal revolution in Jammu and Kashmir, "which, if it is to succeed, must be organized, supported and supplied and directed from Pakistan with the covert connivance of the Government of Pakistan." Khan's conception of the internal freedom movement was not merely a movement by Kashmiris in Jammu and Kashmir, but also by Kashmiris in Pakistan. He felt that it was best to get India to negotiate under pressure. His view was that "in going ahead with the freedom movement we need not be unduly swayed by apprehension about Indian military retaliation. The risk is there, but if war comes we can look after ourselves and therefore the risk is worth taking."

4. Akbar Khan, a ringleader in the Rawalpindi conspiracy case, was released in 1957 and was in the process of forming his own political party at this time.

5. Between 18 June and 8 September as many as 16 explosions occurred in Jammu and Kashmir, resulting in the death of six and injuries to ten persons.



a good deal. I suppose he impressed some people, but his behaviour on some public occasions did not add to his credit in the eyes of many. I met him in London after seven or eight years. He was never a beauty, but I must say that on this occasion I found him peculiarly repellent.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iii) Sri Lanka

## 1. To Asoka Mehta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 12, 1957

My dear Asoka,<sup>2</sup>

I understand that you intend to go to Ceylon, arriving there on the 17th May, to attend the Ceylonese Workers Congress meeting. As you know, I shall be reaching Ceylon on the 17th also for a stay of about two and a half days. Thondaman<sup>3</sup> had invited me to his Workers Congress meeting. It will not be possible for me to accept this invitation for a variety of reasons.

First of all, I had no time and also I was the guest of the Ceylon Government and it was for them to decide my programme. My two days there were very full. My main object in going there was to attend the final Buddha Jayanti celebrations.

But apart from this, it will be very embarrassing for me to attend this meeting which naturally would criticize the Ceylon Government's policy. Also the Ceylon workers' movement has been split up into two parts: one under the leadership of

1. JN Collection.

2. General Secretary, Praja Socialist Party.

3. S. Thondaman (1913-1999); leader of the Sri Lankan Tamils; founder member and President of the Ceylon Indian Congress, (became Ceylonese Workers' Congress, 1950) from 1939 onwards; Member of Parliament, 1947-51, 1965-67; joined the United National Party government as minister, 1978; remained a member of a majority of cabinets in Sri Lanka till his death.

Thondaman and the other under the leadership of Aziz.<sup>4</sup> I believe that Thondaman's party is the bigger and probably the more important. There appears to be a great deal of friction between these two groups. Whatever our views might be about them, it is embarrassing for us to get entangled in these local quarrels.

I am writing to you because our High Commissioner<sup>5</sup> in Colombo is rather worried about your visit to Thondaman's Ceylonese Workers Congress because of this friction between the two groups and also because of the local political situation. Some Ceylonese elements might well exploit the situation and make out that people from India were encouraging movements in Ceylon against the government.

I do not wish to come in the way of your programme at all if you have fixed it up. But I thought I would draw your attention to these various factors.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Abdul Aziz, member of the Ceylonese Workers' Congress, split from Thondaman in 1956 and formed the Democratic Workers' Congress.
5. Y.D. Gundevia was appointed as India's High Commissioner to Sri Lanka in March 1957.

## 2. On a Pilgrimage<sup>1</sup>

Mr Prime Minister,<sup>2</sup> Excellencies and Friends,

I have come here after three years.<sup>3</sup> I have come today on a rather different mission than in my previous visit. I am happy to be here as always, but more particularly because I have been given the privilege of coming here in connection with the Buddha Jayanti celebrations. Lord Buddha preached to humanity the gospel of love and ahimsa which our countries and the world needs so badly. I

1. Speech at Colombo airport, 17 May 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.

2. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike.

3. Nehru last visited Sri Lanka from 28 April to 2 May 1954. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 423-424.



come here for that celebration or rather the idea it embodies. This is something of vital importance for the world today. And so I have come here, in a sense, on a pilgrimage to this great idea and in all humility.

Thank you.

### 3. Opposite Approaches to Life's Problems<sup>1</sup>

On many occasions I have been given warm welcome here by the Government and the people, and, if I am not mistaken, on a previous occasion by the Municipal Council also. But that was rather long time ago. Newspapers tell us that this is my fifth visit to Ceylon,<sup>2</sup> I do not think they are quite accurate. At any rate they forget at least one visit that I paid to Ceylon when I was about ten years old. And so coming back here, brings back to me many memories, friendly memories, of this great and beautiful island and of her people and it makes me happy to come here.

Previously I came for various purposes: just as a visitor, or to take some rest here and to take advantage of the soothing air of Ceylon or I came for some political purpose to meet the leaders of this country and to take counsel from them. On this occasion, I do not come just as a tourist or for any political purpose but for another purpose: to participate in a humble way in these final celebrations at the end of this great year, the Buddha Jayanti Year. I would very much have liked to have been here a few days earlier on the auspicious *Purnima* day. But it so happened that we had ourselves chosen that day because it was an auspicious day for the opening of the new session of our new Parliament. And so I come here in this capacity to offer my homage and, of course, to learn something and to imbibe something of the peaceful atmosphere of this island.

As I started from Delhi today, the newspapers announced that somewhere in the Pacific Islands, a test explosion has taken place presumably of what is called the hydrogen bomb. In a sense, we have been expecting it. A little before that we had heard of a series of test explosions in another country, and we are told that yet in a third country there are going to be a number of them. Immediately my mind, which was to some extent filled with the prospect of this visit to Ceylon

1. Address at a civic reception, Colombo, 17 May 1957. AIR tapes, NMML. Extracts.

2. Nehru's other visits were in: 1927, 1931, 1939, 1950 and 1954.

for the Buddha Jayanti celebrations, began to think of this tremendous and vital conflict between these two approaches to life's problem. There is the approach which is signified by these celebrations connected with the message of the Buddha and there is the approach of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. There is no comparison between them. They are entirely different and opposite approaches. I wondered at this contrast which is facing the world today, and I wondered further what the future will bring.

Mr Mayor, you have just referred to the next 2,500 years. That is a fairly long period and much may happen during it. But I imagine there is an "if" about it—if the world survives that long—because for the first time in human history we have come up against something which might put an end to human life as we see it. We may be optimistic and imagine that if man has survived so long in spite of tremendous difficulties man will survive still. I hope so, but at the back of mind I believe so too. Nevertheless, the fact is that while history has seen many disasters, many terrible happenings in the past, at no time has it been confronted with this possibility of human extinction as it is confronted today. And confronted not by the natural disaster, not by some great calamity, which is beyond the power of man, but by what man himself is making and thinking about. It is difficult to ignore the problem and gradually drift on to the brink of that disaster.

And so one thinks of the alternative. I am not speaking here on the political plane as such, but somehow the political plane itself today is lowered to some other plane. It seems to me that while we may perhaps succeed in placing some kind of limitations or restrictions on the use of these huge weapons of mass destruction, it seems to me that even that is not good enough. One has to go deeper, to see and try if it is possible to divert the mind of mankind into a different direction. To divert it essentially into a direction, which does not think in terms of military might and great weapons; and to think in terms of compassion, to think in terms of human freedom, and human cooperation. Even though we are working in the political field, we are faced by problems which go outside that field. We have to consider whether politics is to be some kind of a moral practice, each group or nation trying to think of itself only, and not caring for others, or whether there will be an enlightened self-interest because again something new has happened. That is an old law of the universe that has been stated by many great people, but it is not wholly wrong, and seems to have become quite practical: that if you do injure another, you injure yourself and the hydrogen bomb has come to prove that. If you use it you do not merely injure the other, but you injure yourself, and may bring about the end the whole world.

So these new problems arise, and at the same time we see ourselves enveloped in arguments, full of fear and suspicion and apprehension and hatred, full of the



desire to overreach and destroy somebody else. The only fear is that if we try to destroy the other we may come into the teeth of destruction ourselves. That has made people think. So these thoughts came into my mind, as I was travelling today from Delhi to Colombo. Something of that kind comes into my mind fairly frequently because I have to deal with those problems—many others who have the responsibility in their nations have to deal with them—but, more particularly, this sudden coming together of these events in my mind, my journey for the Buddha Jayanti celebrations here and the news of another nuclear test explosion.

On the one hand, there are the problems of the tremendous possibility of disaster and, on the other, the problem ultimately of raising our people—poverty and misery—and give them, as far as we can, the opportunity of living a good life.

No doubt you have your problems here in Ceylon. I have many in India. Sometimes they appear to be rather overwhelming problems but we have tried to face them with some courage because it was our good fortune for many long years to be trained by a great leader, Mahatma Gandhi. He trained us not to give in. This ought to guide us. We face our tremendous problems in our big country with a stout heart, at any rate, try to do what we consider to be our duty even though no one can guarantee the consequences of what might happen in this world or in any country....

#### 4. Anuradhapura—A Shrine of Buddha's Message<sup>1</sup>

I am happy to be associated with a ceremony which has a certain historic significance. The city of Anuradhapura enshrines 2,000 years and more of not only the history of Ceylon but also the spirit of the people. I hope the new city will combine the wisdom of the old with the vigour of the new.

The ancient city of Anuradhapura reminds me of the message of the Buddha. As I stand here I feel the weight and light of the past upon me. I feel also the darkness of the present. The world today is full of arguments, hatred, violence and the like. How are we to deal with these? How can we bring the message of

1. Speech at a public meeting after inaugurating a new township in Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka, 18 May 1957. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindu*, 20 May 1957.

compassion and tolerance and wisdom to bear upon the problems of the world? That is the great question and that is the challenge of the times.

I thank you for this replica of the statue of the Samadhi Buddha. Ever since I saw the granite statue of Buddha twenty-six years ago,<sup>2</sup> it has been on my mind. It has given me confidence and strength when I feel weak or confused. I thank you also for the gift of a painting of Sanghamitra,<sup>3</sup> a daughter of India who came to Ceylon 2,000 years ago bearing the message of the Buddha.

Geography has brought us together. There has been much between India and Ceylon in all these years. Many things have happened. But perhaps the strongest bond that has brought these two countries together is the great message which came from the land of the Buddha to this country which has enshrined this message carefully.

To express the thoughts uppermost in my mind on the occasion of the Buddha Jayanti let me recite a poem of Rabindranath Tagore, called "To the Buddha".

The world today is wild with the delirium of hatred,  
The conflicts are cruel and unceasing in anguish,  
Crooked are its paths, tangled its bonds of greed,  
All creatures are crying for a new birth of Thine,  
Oh Thou of Boundless Life,  
Save them, rouse Thine eternal voice of hope  
Let love's lotus, with its inexhaustible treasure of honey  
Open its petals in Thy light.  
O Serene, O Free  
In Thine immeasurable mercy and goodness  
Wipe away all dark stains from the heart of this earth.

Thou giver of immortal gifts,  
Give us the power of renunciation  
And claim from us our pride  
In the splendour of a new sunrise of wisdom  
Let the blind gain their sight  
And let life come to the souls that are dead.  
O Serene, O Free  
In Thine immeasurable mercy and goodness  
Wipe away all dark stains from the heart of this earth.

2. For Nehru's impressions of this statue of the Buddha which he first saw in 1931 during a visit to Anuradhapura, see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 4, p. 533.

3. Emperor Asoka's daughter.



Man's heart is anguished with the fever of unrest  
 With the poison of self-seeking  
 With a thirst that knows no end.  
 Countries, far and wide, flaunt on their foreheads  
 The blood-red mark of hatred;  
 Touch them with thy right hand  
 Make them one in spirit  
 Bring harmony into their life  
 Bring rhythm of beauty.  
 O Serene, O Free  
 In Thine immeasurable mercy and goodness  
 Wipe away all dark stains from the heart of this earth.

## 5. The Relevance of the Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi<sup>1</sup>

I arrived here in Colombo the day before yesterday and already the time of my stay in Ceylon is going to end soon. I wish, first of all, to thank you not only for the welcome that you have given me but for the affection that you have showered upon me. I wish I could speak to you in your own language, and thus perhaps would be able to enter a little more into your minds and hearts; I cannot do so. But sitting here now and sometimes elsewhere, listening to speeches made in the Sinhalese language, I have found to my pleasure and surprise how many words I understood in that and they are common to many of our North Indian languages. I am also pleased and surprised, when listening sometimes to prayers in the Pali language, to find that I understood a good part of them, because they were so near to Sanskrit. Not that I know very much Sanskrit, but still what little I know helped me to follow them somewhat. Then, I am afraid I have to speak to you in a language which many of you may not understand.

You have been hearing learned discourses on religion and more particularly on Buddhism. I cannot speak to you about religion, because I am not a man of religion. I am a humble layman, struggling with the problems of life as they

1. Speech at a public meeting at the Independence Square, Colombo, 19 May 1957. AIR tapes, NMML. The meeting marked the finale of the Buddha Jayanti celebrations in Sri Lanka.

confront me and my country, trying to understand them, I hope, in no irreligious spirit but trying to understand them, and trying to do my duty as far as I can understand it. And the conception of that duty, I feel, is not only to serve of my people in India, but also to serve all others beyond India, and more particularly to develop good, friendly, cooperative relations between countries, not only neighbour countries but countries farther away from us also.

In any event that would be particularly desirable and necessary in countries like India and Ceylon, who have had and have so much in common. I mentioned to you the question of language, which is just a reminder of the basic unity coming down from the distant past. And perhaps, above all, there is this message of the Buddha, which came from my country to your country and which you have cherished so lovingly during these thousands of years. There is geography, of course, which has made us so near, neighbours to each other. There are many other cultural and like matters. That is inevitable in neighbour countries. But apart from our being neighbours and apart from this long inheritance of various kinds which has brought us together in many ways, there is the essential compulsion of events today in the world which draws us or which should draw us outside the shells of our own countries and make us try to understand others and try to help in bringing about international cooperation and goodwill, because without that the only other way is conflict and conflict on a tremendous scale in the world.

Gradually, all middle ways are being squeezed out and the great choice comes to the world, to your country, to my country, to every country, the choice between these two great extremes, the way of conflict and the way of peace and cooperation which you may say, is embodied in the message of the Buddha, as indeed it has been embodied in the message of all great sages and other great men also. There is that challenge for the world to find an answer to that. Does the world stand committed to the doctrine of the sword or to the doctrine of the Buddha and other great men? Today, it is the doctrine of the sword that appears to prevail. The doctrine of the sword has often raised its head and taken its many victims, it does so often enough. And yet I believe that the history of the world has shown that there is something much more powerful than the doctrine of the sword and the doctrine of hatred and all the evil brood that comes from them. But the essential compulsion of today is that the doctrine of the sword has got tremendous power behind it to destroy, not to build, and it may destroy on a scale that is unprecedented. Therefore, we are compelled to look upon this problem from a practical point of view, of immediate urgency.

What is there behind this doctrine of the sword? The weapon, of course, the big weapon and the small, the sword and the gun, and the atomic and the hydrogen bomb, but behind it lies something else also. It is violence and hatred that corrupt



the human mind. So we come back to something intangible, not the weapon of steel or any other kind of weapon but the mind and the heart and the spirit of man. If the mind and heart are corrupted by hatred and violence, then it will be bad for the world, for you and me, and for all of us. If not, then all these great forces which are used for violence can be turned to good purposes. It is in this connection that we have to think of moral and ethical issues. We have to get out of our little shells of individual or group or even what we might consider national interest, and look at these problems from a larger point of view. National interest can no longer be something which is against international interests, because if internationally we fail, we fail nationally also. If internationally there is war, we go down with it. Where is the national interest then that would save us? War, people say, should be ruled out and yet the very people who say that war should be ruled out, because it is too dangerous, talk glibly in terms of cold war. But I will tell you with all my heart that I would rather have the sword, unsheathe the sword before me, than the black heart of the cold war maniac. We can see the sword and we can see the weapon, it is bad, but it is something which you can see and feel. But how are you to deal with this cold war business which fills one with hatred. You may suppress it for a while but it comes out and poisons the world. I think this idea of the cold war is horrible.

I can understand occasions arising, when, as things are in the world at present, we have to defend ourselves. I speak as a politician, I speak as a person responsible, to a large extent, for my country's well-being and defence, etc. I cannot, I am sorry to say, in that position, say what my master Gandhiji might have said: "Do away with armies, put your faith in the goodness of your opponent, when he knows you by your sacrifice." I believe in that firmly, but howsoever much I may believe in it, I cannot function in that way, situated as we are. I cannot function, if I may with all humility use the word, as a saint because I am not a saint. I am a humble person and it is no good my trying to function as something else than what I am. As a democratic leader, I cannot take my people in a direction which they do not understand, for which they have no training or competence. So, unfortunately, in life we compromise, a statesman compromises, a politician compromises. He is forced to do so, because he cannot carry his people even though he may feel or understand the position. He has to make others understand it if he is a leader of men, and he has to carry those others with him. He can only go as far as his following or the people of his country will go. That is a limiting factor, or in other words you might say, you can only take a people as far as they are trained to go; as they have been disciplined to go; and as their heart and mind and spirit allows them to go. If they are not trained, your message does not sink in. It takes time to sink in. Gradually it may perhaps. So we have our limitations in conduct.

An individual may not have those if he lives an individual life, but when he lives a corporate life, more specially, if he is charged with the destiny of other persons, then he is a fellow traveller with others, taking a journey to a certain goal. He cannot run away from them, he has to go hand in hand with millions of other people. He cannot increase his pace, he may try to increase it a little, and carry others and push others, but he has to go with them. That is the fate and the destiny of a person who is put in that position, and so he has to compromise and compromising with a foul thing is always bad and dangerous, lest it lead to worse things. And that is the problem of the political leader. Yet he can try to save himself and his country by never compromising with what is definitely evil. If he cannot take the right step, because his people are not ready for it, or something else intervenes which prevents it, then at least let him not take the wrong step. Let him prevent that.

Peace does not mean absence of war. Peace means peace in the hearts of men, peace means spirit of cooperation, of man with man, and nation with nation. Peace means freedom from fear. If that fear is in your heart you are not peaceful. Fear is the most violent thing and induces violence, invites violence and makes you afraid. If I cannot establish real peace, at least I try to avoid the horror of war, hoping that a time may come when peace may establish itself in the hearts of men, because, after all, war and peace are established in the minds and hearts of men. In spite of the hydrogen bomb and the like, it is when the minds and heart of men go astray that evil follows. We see plenty of evil today in the sense of hatred and violence, and out of hatred and violence, I am utterly and absolutely convinced, no good can come.

So we see this position, and we endeavour not, not blaming others because what is the good of our trying to judge others, when we ourselves often find it difficult to find a right path. Who are we to teach other countries? We are much too prone to judge others, and blame them, and not being ourselves able to do very much in the right way. But even if we are in the right and the other is in the wrong, does it help our telling this other fellow all the time: "You are in the wrong, correct yourself." Is that the way to win over other people? Surely not. It only irritates, it annoys, it makes one angry with you, and not through anger will you win a neighbour! So we get entangled in these problems. And we arrive at the conclusion that whether we can take the right steps forward or not, let us at least avoid the wrong steps. Let us at least avoid compromising with something that is definitely evil, let us at least avoid merely angering others by trying to tell them that they are bad, that they should reform themselves. Nobody likes being told that. That is not the way to win over a child or a grown up or anybody, or a nation much less. So, step by step we may perhaps try to do that and thus possibly serve the larger causes we have at heart.



Ceylon and India attained their independence about ten years ago. We attained it after long travail and sacrifice, which is good because nothing is worthwhile, which has not had the full price paid for it, in human suffering and human travails, which disciplines a country. So, we attained our freedom and immediately we had to face a new and difficult problem, because freedom, like every good thing, carries its obligations with it too, you have responsibilities with it. If freedom comes, which is a tremendous and inalienable right of a nation, it brings a multitude of obligations and responsibilities and problems. Some people think that if they are free, they can be irresponsible and they can do what they like, but only slowly they learn the lesson of the responsibility and obligation, and the hard work that freedom involves.

So gradually we are learning these lessons by trial and error, and as we learn them, we try to march forward step by step, remembering always that that march forward is not my marching forward, but the marching forward of millions and millions of my countrymen and your countrymen, all together. We do that and we, a free country, get entangled with the problems of the world, which we might not have otherwise. That is the inevitable price of freedom, of becoming a free member of the world community, sharing the burdens of the world, trying to help, trying at least not to hinder all that happens. How far we will succeed, I do not know. It is given to us to labour, not always to know the result of that labour. So we labour and if we have enough faith, and if we have enough sense of function then it is well with us. If we have that, then it does not much matter what happens, because our heads will be high, and our eyes raised to the stars, and we would go on despite every obstacle that may come. But if we lose heart and if we get frustrated and doubt creeps into our minds as to where should we go, then that is a tragedy, indeed for a human being, for then he loses his function.

What is the role of a politician? I can function more or less adequately, because of some training. But I have not become Prime Minister so as to sit in a chair and sign papers and do the ordinary jobs of a politician. Something else drew me to this business; something else affected me, pulled me, pushed me and gradually, under our great leader, conditioned me, not me only, conditioned millions and millions of my countrymen, for some worthwhile purpose. And so we struggle with our national problems, and with our international problems and because we have faith in us, faith in our people, and faith in our country, and faith in the larger causes of humanity, we struggle on, otherwise it would be hard going.

I should like to say something about the relations between India and Ceylon. India and Ceylon are so constituted by geography, by tradition, by cultural tradition, by this message of the Buddha, by religion, and a multitude of factors, as to cooperate with each other, to know each other, to be friendly with each

other. Any other fate for them would be harmful to both. Obviously, to some extent that would apply to other countries too, but much more especially to India and Ceylon. We have problems, difficult problems, which disturb us, both our countries, and sometimes, in spite of our efforts, we find their solution not easy. How are we to deal with them?

The first thing to remember is this. However difficult any problem may be, we should always approach it in the right way, in the friendly way, in the cooperative way, trying to understand the other party's viewpoint. If we do that then at least a part of the problem goes away. I do not say it has been solved thereby, but a part of that difficulty that embitters, that makes a question even more difficult than it is, goes. That is one aspect of it.

The second thing to remember is that all problems should be viewed from the human point of view. Human beings are not odd entities, statistical entities. Somebody in England asked me, how many problems have you got in India? I said 360 million problems, because each individual is a problem, and I think of each individual as an individual, and not as some statistical entity. I like statistics, I say they are important to understand the things but I pull myself up repeatedly to think of the individual behind the statistics. And all these problems, whether they are between nations or within nations, are ultimately problems of human beings. Therefore, let us always approach them from this human point of view, thinking that there are human beings behind them: how can we serve and help those human beings?

Now, I will say something which seems to me very odd and may seem so to most of you. But I want to be perfectly frank with you and I want you to be perfectly frank with me. Some people, men of intelligence, have occasionally said that India is a great, big country, it may bully Ceylon, it may invade Ceylon, it may try to absorb Ceylon, take it over, it may march an army into Ceylon. The obvious answer to that is that this is fantastic nonsense. And I see that from every point of view, and I want you, or any odd individual who may have any such notion, to think about it, not merely accept my word for it, to think how such a thing could happen. This thing is an absolute impossibility. Even if people in India have an evil intention, even then it cannot happen. First of all, such a thing has no meaning. Only if the whole of India becomes a big lunatic asylum, would people behave in that way. Well, I do not think India is likely to become a lunatic asylum. I think by and large the Indian people are very sensible. But, apart from the sentiment of friendliness, which is there, even in spite of an occasional argument and an occasional problem, think of it from a practical point of view: What good would it do to India, if it behaves so foolishly? How would it profit India?

The world has changed. The old idea of an emperor or some great, big king



trying to conquer territory and thereby increasing his domain, does not apply. That was an idea rather intimately connected with the feudal idea of a country. Just like a landlord wants to increase his land, and become a bigger and richer person, so a king wants to increase his territory and become a bigger and bigger person, and more and more people call him, Your Majesty! That idea has no meaning today. The addition of territory today in a country, any country, which advances towards social goals, is a headache. It is a nuisance. What a country aims at today is cohesion and integration that gives strength, in spite of the variety in it—to maintain that variety of course, but have a cohesive country—so that people feel somewhat intimately attached to each other. The addition of any territory, which does not have that sentiment, does not strengthen that country, immediately it brings in a weakening element, and to try to conquer a territory with all the hatred and bitterness that it would involve, and thus bring in a canker in the cohesiveness of a nation, is inconceivable. I think almost anywhere it raises all kinds of enormous problems today, because no country can function by itself; it raises world problems. Here we are, in India, facing enormously difficult problems.

Somebody in a press conference asked me, referring to an English newspaper, about the difficulties we are encountering with our Five Year Plan. Well, I gave him many answers: We have deliberately invited enormous difficulties because we just are not going to remain where we are. We are not going to remain a sink of poverty and misery for hundreds of millions of people. We are going to raise their level, we are going to fight poverty, we are going to fight it with all our strength. And we know, we cannot gain all this merely by magic, we have to work hard for it. We have immense difficulties to face. We are not fighting for today and tomorrow, but for generations to come. The people of India are gradually shedding their poverty, raising their standards and living a prosperous, productive, creative life. That is the great goal which calls me and calls my countrymen. We have to work hard for it.

So we have got these terrific problems. Do you think any person is mad enough, not now, but in generations hence, to add to the problems of our nation by adventures abroad? I am mentioning this to you just to show you this fear in the mind of some people in Ceylon, how silly it is, because nothing can be further from the national interests of India. I am leaving out high morality, I am leaving out international goodwill, and even looking at it from the point of view of a narrow-minded Indian, it is impossible. I wanted to tell you that and have it off my head and breast because sometimes I hear that so and so has said, "Oh! India is going to invade." It shows, if I may say so with all respect, that those people who think so do not realize what the modern world is. They do not realize what India is. They do not realize what Ceylon is. I do not know in what time, in

what past century they live because we live in a revolutionary age, and the danger you have to face is not India and the danger India has to face is not any other country, however big it may be. The danger is from the problems of that country. If you do not solve them, well, the problems will overwhelm you. I am not afraid of any country in spite of their possessing hydrogen bombs or any bomb. There are many lessons I learnt from our leader Gandhiji, and one of them was not to be afraid. I hope we shall remember that lesson as instructed. I also remember that when we were a weak, defenceless, unarmed, country against an armed country, an empire, what else but with our spirit, with a stout heart, with our unwavering and unbending mind and yet, at the same time, in obedience to the will of our teacher, we tried with great or less success, greater still, to keep some goodwill for those people who were opposing us and suppressing us and humiliating us, and we won in an honourable way. That gave us some courage and some assurance, that is to say that mere strength of arms cannot smite us if we have strength of mind and spirit, and we have, I hope, that much.

So the problems we have to face is not any other country coming and sitting up on you. The problems I have to face is also not any other country coming and attacking me. No country is going to attack India at all and if it does, well, we shall fight it, that's all. There the matter ends, never worry about it. Be united. We will defend ourselves but the main thing is the raising of the standards of our people, making the country more integrated, having a cohesive people, friendly with the peoples of other nations, friendliness and cooperation, not cold war, which raises enemies wherever it puts its evil touch.

So again, I thank you with all my heart for your friendship and affection.

## 6. The Democratic Way<sup>1</sup>

When talking of democracy two things need to be remembered. First, that full-blooded democracy is a new thing both in the Western and Eastern worlds. Secondly, such a democracy exists in only a few countries at the present times. Until World War I only the upper crust of the British population formed the electorate. Britain got adult franchise only after the War. Certain ideas and

1. Speech at a lunch hosted by Members of Parliament of Sri Lanka, Colombo, 19 May 1957. From *The Hindu* and *National Herald*, 20 May 1957.



ideologies that preach violence, insurrection and other ways of seizing power can be understood better if it is remembered that democracy with adult franchise is something new. The concepts based on violence and insurrection, are products of the 19th century when there was no other way. Now there is a democratic way. Arguments based on violence and insurrection, therefore, have lost their meaning. Many of the theories and methods of action of the 19th century are today without relevance.

Recent developments have shown that arguments of a generation ago are out of date today. Ideologies held by many political parties have no foundation today because conditions have changed. It is dangerous to tie themselves to political dogmas and to slogans. Although they claim themselves to be revolutionaries they have in fact become conservative because they do not take note of changes.

There have been great revolutions, like the French Revolution, the American Revolution and the Russian Revolution. But the biggest revolution that has taken place has come gradually. The Industrial Revolution has changed the world in the past one hundred years much more than any revolution. The world is now on the threshold of the atomic age which is at least as important as the Industrial Revolution. The atomic age will no doubt bring about vast changes in the ways of living and the social structure of the world.

This is an exciting, fascinating and dangerous period. In the next ten or twenty years there will be great changes provided the world survives it. Man's understanding of the splitting of the atom has brought atomic energy, a colossal force which, if well used, will be beneficial to mankind but, if badly used, would destroy mankind. Can we face this change in a democratic way?

The democratic system is the best and the safest method. If it does not survive, some of the qualities cherished by man—spiritual, religious and individual freedom—will vanish. The democratic system has the best chance of solving the problems of the world today. By means of the democratic methods perhaps perfection is not possible. But the human being himself is not perfect and any institution of man cannot be entirely perfect.

The newly freed countries have to face a variety of problems with the opening of floodgates for forces that had long been kept under check. These problems have become immense, intricate and difficult. They are not merely political or economic problems but moral, ethical and human issues are also involved.

In India the problem is to keep the variety of India and yet maintain its unity. I do not want to lose the rich diversity of India. I want to bring about cohesion by retaining diversity. It is an immense task.

An interchange of ideas in various fields is now taking place between countries with contradictory ideologies. India has exchanged delegations with China to study the methods adopted in each country for solving the various problems.

An eminent economist from Poland who had come to India has recommended to his Government the adoption of the method of cottage industries in Poland to relieve the problems brought about by excessive stress on heavy industries.

There are a multiplicity of problems in the world. The atomic age has added new problems. We have to face them. We cannot run away from them. Einstein has stated that the atom bomb cannot be conquered by atom bomb but by the spirit of man. There is a need to break away from the rigidity of thought. A human approach is required to solve the current problems of humanity.

## 7. Joint Statement<sup>1</sup>

On the invitation of the Prime Minister of Ceylon,<sup>2</sup> the Prime Minister of India visited Ceylon from May 17 to 20, to participate in the Buddha Jayanti celebrations in Ceylon.

The Prime Minister of India visited Anuradhapura on May 18 in the company of the Prime Minister of Ceylon and was privileged to participate in the Buddha Jayanti celebrations there. The Prime Minister of India desires to express on his behalf and that of his daughter his deep appreciation of the hospitality offered to them and of the kind and cordial welcome they have received in Ceylon.

The Prime Ministers availed themselves of the opportunity of their meeting together to exchange views on international issues and Indo-Ceylon relations. The Prime Ministers feel satisfied that their talks have resulted in further appreciation of each other's views on the problems of their respective countries and helped them in their appraisal of international issues generally and as they concern their two countries. Their talks have once again borne evidence of the great measure of agreement in their approach to the problems of peace and world cooperation and their relations within the Commonwealth. They have served to clarify further and strengthen their understanding of these problems and the determination of their two countries to continue to adhere to and pursue the principles on which their approach is based.

1. Colombo, 19 May 1957. Issued to the Press on 20 May 1957. From *The Hindu*, 21 May 1957.

2. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike.





WITH INDIRA GANDHI, COLOMBO, 17 MAY 1957



ADMIRING THE SAMADHI BUDDHA, ANURADHAPURA, 18 MAY 1957



They reaffirm their faith in the five principles of international relations known as the Panchsheel, which were embodied in and extended by the principles adopted by the Bandung Conference. It is their conviction that the spirit of these principles, if acted upon, affords an opportunity for the establishment of cooperation, understanding and friendship amongst countries, many of which have ideological and other differences. This approach will also lessen the tensions of the world and help to avoid the grave conflicts which threaten the world today.

The Prime Ministers congratulated the people of Ghana on the attainment of independence and look forward to the people of Malaya also achieving independence.<sup>3</sup> They appreciate the action of the United Kingdom in acceding to the wishes of the peoples of these countries. They trust that the area of freedom will be enlarged and nations still under colonial domination will soon achieve their freedom. They disapprove strongly of every kind of aggression and attempt to re-impose colonialism or imperialism in any form.

The Prime Ministers express their relief and satisfaction at the opening of the Suez Canal for normal functioning. They view, however, with deep concern the developments in some parts of West Asia. The problems of this region can only be solved by the peoples of the countries within that region being left free to work out their own destiny in accordance with their own wishes. Any imposition of an outside authority can only lead to continuing tension and an intensification of these problems.

The Prime Ministers recognized the importance of the United Nations as an instrument for securing world peace and, in particular, trust that the basic aims stated in the Charter of the United Nations for securing political freedom, social equality and racial harmony should be the guiding principles of that great organization as well as of the member nations. In order to function effectively, the United Nations must become fully representative of the world community. The failure by the United Nations to recognize the People's Republic of China is not only opposed to the basic principles of the Charter, but also impairs the utility of the United Nations.

The Prime Ministers gave their anxious and particular consideration to the present state of the development of nuclear and thermonuclear power for forging weapons of mass destruction, and to the ominous catastrophe that threatens humanity if their development and production continued and their use were not prohibited. While, in the event of their use in war, humanity would in all probability face well-nigh total extinction, the Prime Ministers were concerned about the present and immediate consequences of the harmful and unpredictable

3. Ghana became independent in March 1957. Malaya gained independence in August 1957.

effects of radiation on mankind caused by the continuing explosions of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons for test purposes carried out by the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom.

The Prime Ministers regret that, despite the declared intentions of all nations not to embark upon war, and the mounting opinion and anxiety in the world in regard to the grave and growing menace of these tests to the present and future of mankind, the great powers concerned have not yet decided to refrain from their hazardous ventures in this field which have already proved injurious to populations in lands near to the location of such tests, dangerously polluted the world's air and water and threatened the present and future generations with both known and unknown risks and consequences.

The Prime Ministers, therefore, make an earnest and urgent appeal for the immediate suspension of these nuclear and thermonuclear test explosions, pending their abandonment. Such suspension would not only limit the dangers that have already arisen and help in easing international tension, but would also lead to an effective consideration of the problem of disarmament.

There are certain outstanding problems between India and Ceylon that yet await satisfactory solution. The Prime Ministers feel confident, particularly in view of the cordial relations that exist between the two countries and their cooperation in so many spheres, that these problems can and should be solved satisfactorily to both countries.

The Prime Ministers are conscious of the great and wholesome interest aroused in both their countries by their present meeting, which is a token of their existing friendship and of the earnest and widespread desire to promote and strengthen the ties that bind them. To this end, the Prime Ministers reaffirm their desire to devote their energies.

## 8. Press Conference<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Prime Minister and I have, just about five minutes ago, signed a joint statement<sup>2</sup> which will presumably be in your hands after this conference though the time for its publication is tomorrow morning, not earlier.

1. Colombo, 19 May 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.

2. See the previous item.



You will find in that statement a considerable part of it devoted to this question of nuclear and thermonuclear test explosions. We have expressed our views clearly and firmly on that subject. We shall no doubt express those views on other occasions too whenever opportunity offers.

When you talk about the Prime Ministers' Conference in London, you must remember that that meeting is for exchange of views. We have no doubt we will express our views on the topics that come up or that are raised by us. There is no question in that conference of any one party trying to bring pressure to bear on any other party except in so far as expression of views is concerned.

Question: Which of the power blocs, in your view, is standing in the way of agreement on banning the production of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons?

JN: That is not a very fair question, and even if the question was a fair question it would not get a fair answer from me because the main difficulty is this common feature of fear and apprehension on either side. If one gives it up the other may take advantage. The obvious course is for them to do it simultaneously and try to have such safeguards as are possible. I think safeguards are possible to prevent any surprise move or any secret move in that direction. Anyhow, that is a matter for scientists and experts to work out.

Q: Mr Asoka Mehta has recently said that Congress is playing the last innings...

JN: Congress's last innings? It is presumably Mr Asoka Mehta's opinion, what am I to say about it? It is his appraisal of the future. Well, everybody is entitled to have his views of the possible developments in the future.

Q: Regarding the question of inspection in connection with the thermonuclear tests, do you have any views on what precautions, what inspection measures might be done to bring about the end of these test explosions?

JN: This is a technical, expert matter. I am not competent to give any opinion on it. I can quote other people's opinions. What we would suggest is that in any event there should be a suspension of these test explosions while experts and others examine all the possible ways of any country bypassing that decision.

Q: You suggested in 1954 a standstill agreement on suspension of atomic explosions.

JN: I did. That is so. That is, a standstill agreement or a suspension and an immediate consideration by experts, scientists and others about means of

maintaining that decision and preventing any one breaking it. Surely, I cannot lay down the law for others. It was a general suggestion that they might be suspended, of course, in my opinion, preparatory to their complete abandonment, but in what period the suspension might take place is to be seen.

Q: [This related to the Jarring Report on Kashmir.]

JN: As a matter of fact I have not considered it quite appropriate to discuss this matter even in the Indian Parliament because the matter will come up before the Security Council, presumably. The Jarring Report is there for anyone to read and the question is there. So far as we are concerned, our position in regard to Kashmir has been stated clearly and explicitly. I do not know what will happen in the Security Council or what others might say. Our position is a very simple one although this Kashmir question has been overlaid by years of argument and controversy and all kinds of things. Our position is that in law, in fact and in the normal course of events, the State of Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India; secondly, that Pakistan invaded this State with her armies, first aided by some tribal people and then came itself, and it is still in possession of nearly one half of the territory of that State. That is aggression, that is continuing aggression, and until that aggression is vacated, as indeed the United Nations Commission said it must be vacated, other questions do not arise at all. Otherwise it would be a surrender to aggression with all its evil consequences.

Q: Sir, I was struck by the first statement<sup>2</sup> you made on your arrival here...Would you say, for instance, that Buddhism has introduced peace and tranquility in this area of the world?

JN: When I said I came on a pilgrimage that denoted a state of mind, chiefly, in which I came. I have no doubt that Buddhism—I would add, of course, the other great religions too, because all great religions are religions of peace, not of war and conflict. If Buddhism is really acted upon and believed in, in its essence undoubtedly it would create a peaceful cooperative atmosphere. When I say Buddhism I am not referring to what might be called the theological Buddhism but rather the message of the Buddha.

Q: [This question related to Buddhism's contribution to world peace.]

JN: There has been, not only very much so in the past year but even before, a very great interest in the Buddha, specially—maybe, I do not know, in the

2. See *ante*, pp. 705-706.



theological doctrines, that I do not know, but certainly in the Buddha—and last year, in the Buddha Jayanti celebrations, that was very evident. What that leads to in the form of individuals or groups adopting Buddhism it is difficult to say. There have been some people, some thousands of people, who have adopted it, but I cannot say exactly how far that was the religious motive or some other.

Q: What do you have to say about the Eisenhower doctrine in regard to Jordan?

JN: It is rather difficult for me to deal with the Eisenhower doctrine both because I confess I have not quite wholly grasped it yet, and secondly because, as you have mentioned Jordan, the application of it is also very complicated. But I have stated often enough that in its economic application I do not see why anyone should not welcome it. But not only in regard to that doctrine but other doctrines, I think the military approach is unhelpful and sometimes vitiates the economic approach too. It is mixed up with it. But in the main I feel that in countries of Western Asia or any other part of the world, the countries themselves should be left, as far as possible, to work out their own destinies. They can be helped economically and otherwise. Anything else leads to greater confusion and conflict.

Q: Would you comment on the possibility of the right of way for Israeli ships through the Suez Canal?

JN: You know that the Government of Egypt and indeed all governments have repeatedly laid stress on the 1888 Convention governing the Suez Canal. It becomes then a question of the interpretation of that Convention. If you want to ask my personal opinion, I think that every country should have the right of passage through the Suez Canal. The Egyptian Government, I believe, have stated that if people do not agree with their interpretation it is open to them to go to the International Court to get the Court's interpretation. I imagine that if that happens, every country will accept what the International Court says and the argument can be ended.

Q: Why is the State of Kerala communist?

JN: I do not think it is correct to say that the State of Kerala has gone communist. It is correct to say that the Communist Party got nearly half the seats in Kerala. Not quite half, and then they got some other sympathizers to support them and thus got a bare majority. I think that in the main that was due to local causes, not broad questions of policy in India or in Kerala, but the local causes, disapproval

of the previous regime or State Government, these and other things. Kerala is a very heavily populated area and there is a substantial middle class and unemployment. So all these causes I think led to it.

Q: Would the formation of a communist government in Kerala strengthen your hands in taking India towards the goal of socialism?

JN: That depends very much on how the Government of Kerala functions. I do not know. But the Government of Kerala thus far have stated repeatedly that they will function within the terms of the Constitution of India.

Q: The Government of Kerala is complaining of inadequacy of Central financial help.

JN: I think you will find every State government in India saying the same thing. And it is understandable because they want to press their States' rights to greater help from the Centre. We are perfectly prepared to help them to the best of our ability – every State – we cannot go beyond our ability. And you might have noticed that in the recent budget statement of our Finance Minister our Government has gone pretty far in trying to raise revenues from all classes. It requires a good deal of courage for any Finance Minister to do that. But we are determined to work successfully our Five Year Plan and although we welcome help from abroad we realize the main burden must fall on ourselves and our people and we are prepared to shoulder it.

Q: Do the latest taxation proposals reflect the financial difficulties posed by the Five Year Plan?

JN: Well, the mere fact that we have raised nearly a hundred crores extra taxation shows that we were facing some difficulties. Every country which is trying to progress rapidly, industrially and like development, is constantly facing trouble because it is trying to raise itself up from its bootstraps. That is a troublesome process. It is only those who sit quietly and statically that apparently have no trouble, although they also have their troubles.

Q: [This question related to reform of the UN.]

JN: That is a question of reform of the whole of the United Nations and Security Council and all that. Undoubtedly I think that the present constitution does not give adequate representation to Asian countries.



[The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka requests closure.]

JN: May I say something about our running into trouble. I should like somebody to point out to me almost any country in the world which is not having a good deal of financial and like troubles. In most countries of the West, as in the East, there is inflation, heavy inflation. In fact, in India there has been some inflation but it has been kept much more in check than in most other countries. A developing economy leads to some inflation. And then, inflation in the Western countries reacts on us. That is to say, we have to buy lots of goods, machinery and the rest, we have to pay more for it because of the higher prices in the other countries. The Suez Canal comes in; higher prices still. Naturally, all this means additional burdens for us. Thank you.

## 9. Talks with S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister of Ceylon spoke to me about this matter during our talks and more or less said what the Governor-General<sup>2</sup> told you, though he did not go into all these details. I listened to him and only said that I was concerned with the human aspect of this matter and I did not like the uprooting of people who had been settled for a long time. We did not discuss this at any length. The Prime Minister said that we must fix some other time later. "Later" meant some time after the Prime Ministers' Conference<sup>3</sup> and not in London.

The Prime Minister also told me that he was apprehensive of two developments:

- (i) that the estate labour, etc., that is, the so-called Stateless persons, should throw in their lot with the Jaffna Tamil agitation on the language issue, and
- (ii) that the Jaffna Tamils should be supported by the Dravida Kazhagam people in Madras.

I told him that I would not like the estate labour to get entangled in this agitation. As for Dravida Kazhagam, they were a mischievous lot of people in India and they were giving us some trouble.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 21 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. Oliver Goonetilleke.

3. Held in London from 26 June to 5 July 1957.

(iv) Myanmar

1. To U Nu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

May 14, 1957

My dear U Nu,<sup>2</sup>

You wrote to me on the 17th April about the talks relating to the border between Burma and China. With your letter you sent me some papers. I replied on April 22.<sup>3</sup> In this reply I said that I would have the papers you had sent me examined by the Historical Section of our External Affairs Ministry. I have now received their report with some maps. I am sending you two copies of their note and photostat copies of maps.

I do not know if these papers and maps will give you any additional information which you have not got. Anyhow, they might perhaps be of some help to you. You will notice that in the view of our Historical Division, the previous admission made by the British in regard to the Hpimaw Tract strengthens the Chinese claim to it. But there appears to be no reason why you should give this Hpimaw Tract up unless the Chinese give up their claim in the Namwan Tract and Wa border. I am merely repeating what the Historical Division has said. It is obviously for your Government to decide what is right and proper to do.

There is one matter I should like to clear up. In U Ba Swe's<sup>4</sup> letter of 4 February 1957 to Chou En-lai, it is stated that the northern boundary runs from the Isu Razi pass to the Diphu L'ka pass. This statement appears to be incorrect. Our Historical Division informs us that the northern boundary between Burma and China runs from the Isu Razi pass to a point near the Talu pass, as shown in the map.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Prime Minister of Myanmar.

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 37, pp. 507-508.

4. Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister of Myanmar at this time.



## 2. To U Nu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 17, 1957

My dear U Nu,

I received your letter (apparently without date) when I was in London. This letter was in answer to my letters of April 22 and May 14, 1957.

Immediately on receipt of your letter, I wrote to the External Affairs Ministry in Delhi and asked them to send you such papers as they had in regard to the question of the boundary between Burma and China. I find now that these papers have already been sent to you a few days ago. They were in a secret file which contained the printed correspondence dealing with the rectification of the Burmese section of the McMahon Line. I hope these have been delivered to you already by our Ambassador<sup>2</sup> and that they will be of some help to you.

I returned to India day before yesterday after a month's tour abroad. The primary object of my visit abroad was to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. I took advantage of this, however, to visit some other countries. There was a brief visit to Damascus and then somewhat longer visits to Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. Later, on my way back, to Holland, Cairo and Khartoum. I was much impressed by the developments in the Scandinavian countries and I liked the people there. On my return here, I wrote a note for some of our Chief Ministers in the States.<sup>3</sup> As perhaps this might interest you, I am sending you a copy. This is a secret note and I should like it to be treated as such.

In spite of the difficulties that Egypt has passed through in recent months, I found the place full of vitality and considerable progress has been made in many directions. I have no doubt that Egypt is far the most vital place in the Arab world today.

I have come back to face a large number of difficult problems which are pressing in upon us from all directions. There is the basic problem of our financial difficulties, both in external and internal finance. Prices have risen so much in other countries that all our estimates of the Second Five Year Plan have gone up greatly. We have increased our taxes heavily, and this naturally has not made us very popular. At the same time, we are facing demands all round for an increase

1. JN Collection.

2. Lalji Mehrotra.

3. See *post*, pp. 791-798.

in salaries and wages, and big scale strikes are threatened. Any marked increase in salaries and wages would inevitably result in inflation and would completely upset our Plan. Indeed, ultimately an increase would be wiped off by the inflation. We have any number of other problems also which are troublesome. As you know, it is no easy matter to be Prime Minister.

My counterpart in Pakistan, Suhrawardy has been carrying on a virulent campaign of abuse both of India generally and me personally, wherever he goes. It is astonishing to what lengths of falsehood he can descend to.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(v) Nepal

## 1. Investment of Indian Capital<sup>1</sup>

You will remember my sending you some papers about Indian capital being invested in Nepal for a cement factory as well as other factories.<sup>2</sup> The Birlas had had some talks in Nepal and had written to me. They had been encouraged to go there by our Ambassador<sup>3</sup> there.

2. The proposals made did not appear to me to be feasible, so far as Government was concerned. Apart from this, I did not see any reason why we should make any move unless the Nepalese Government itself took the initiative.

3. I sent these papers to the Finance Minister<sup>4</sup> and he also thought that this was not a feasible proposition. Our Ambassador in Kathmandu was very keen on this proposal and wanted to come here to discuss the matter with us. I do not know what kind of a communication was sent to him from our Ministry.

4. The Home Minister<sup>5</sup> has been interested in this and he asked me what the

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 22 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 37, pp. 550-551.

3. Bhagwan Sahay.

4. T.T. Krishnamachari.

5. G.B. Pant.



position was now. Could you please let me know or show me the papers? Shri G.D. Birla<sup>6</sup> also came to see me this evening and, in the course of our talk, asked me how matters stood. He said that so far as he was concerned, he was not very anxious to tie himself up with any proposal in Nepal unless our Government wanted him to do so.

6. Prominent industrialist and close associate of Mahatma Gandhi.

## 2. Cable to Bhagwan Sahay<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 126 July 30.<sup>2</sup>

2. We know Patnaik very well, his capacity, virtues and failings. He is a man of great enterprise and adventurous spirit. At the same time, he is often irresponsible. We, therefore, do not tie ourselves up directly with his activities.

3. It is true that when he came to us about his proposal for running internal airlines in Nepal, we told him that we had no objection and he can do so if the Nepal Government agreed. This, however, should be a matter entirely between him and the Nepal Government. So far as we are concerned, we can inform the Nepal Government, if they ask us, that we have no objection to his doing this work. That is, we can indirectly help him in this without involving ourselves in any way.<sup>3</sup>

4. As regards any political activity, he should be told clearly and definitely that we disapprove of this and he must keep away from it.<sup>4</sup>

1. New Delhi, 31 July 1957. JN Collection.

2. Bhagwan Sahay cabled that Bijoyanand (Biju) Patnaik, a pilot and industrialist from Orissa, had come to see him claiming that he had Nehru's permission "to secure internal airlines work" in Nepal, as also to establish industries through Indian investments. Biju Patnaik, who sought "to create the impression that he is on terms of great intimacy with several leaders of our Government", had also "hinted that if needed he would try to gain control over political groups by the means that may be required."

3. Sahay asked if he should help Patnaik to negotiate in respect of the airlines work.

4. Sahay thought it was inadvisable for Patnaik to indulge in "political manoeuvrings" in Nepal.

## IV. OTHER COUNTRIES

### 1. Attitude to the Eisenhower Doctrine<sup>1</sup>

I agree with this letter, and it should be sent to our Missions in Damascus, Cairo and Khartoum. I would suggest, however, that the main parts of the letter should be in the form of a note, which is attached to a covering letter. The covering letter would contain more or less what you have said in paragraph 1 and 2. Some consequential alterations may be necessary here and there also.

2. If a separate note like this is prepared, this may be useful to some other Missions also for their information and not for any other use.

3. Two or three days ago, I saw a telegram which I think came from our Representative in Khartoum. In this, he said that he was trying to convince the Ministers there not to tie themselves up with the Eisenhower doctrine,<sup>2</sup> and he wanted some further facts and figures. While it is quite right for him to discuss this matter with them and explain to them our attitude, he should not overdo things in trying to push them in any particular direction. Sometimes, this kind of thing has an opposite reaction and, in any case, it is talked about. You should leave this to his discretion after explaining how he should proceed about such matters.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 1 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. President Eisenhower proposed to the US Congress on 5 January 1957 that the US would extend economic and military aid to any West Asian country requesting assistance "against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism."



## 2. Negotiations in Laos<sup>1</sup>

I agree with your appraisal of the situation and the kind of resolution that you suggest.<sup>2</sup>

2. The resolution that Shri Sen has suggested for the Commission does not seem to me at all proper.<sup>3</sup> In effect, the resolution is a direct condemnation of the notes of the UK, the USA and France. Such a resolution can only be passed by a majority of the Commission, i.e., India and Poland. It will irritate the Canadian representative as well as the Governments condemned. In fact it would bring about a definite breach with these Governments. Therefore it would be unwise for the Commission to say anything about the notes of the USA, the UK and France.

3. The resolution<sup>4</sup> that you have suggested approves of a certain line of action which presumably is not to the liking of the US, the UK and France. In that sense this is an indirect criticism of the notes of those countries.

4. Anyhow, I agree with your proposal.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 5 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. Desai noted that he had told Malcolm MacDonald, the UK High Commissioner to India, that the note handed over by the USA, the UK and France to the Laotian representative on 16 April condemned the Pathet Lao and their attitude towards negotiations with the Royal Laotian Government and that its publication would be "definitely prejudicial to political settlement and create serious difficulty for India as chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control (ICSC)."

3. Samar Sen, Chairman of the ICSC, wanted to initiate a resolution which stated inter alia: "the Commission feels that nothing has happened in the negotiations which has gone counter" to its resolution of 7 January 1956, and that "Commission feels concerned at the adverse effect that note of 16 April is bound to have on the efforts... to arrive at a political settlement."

4. Desai suggested that the resolution should express the Commission's "satisfaction" that negotiations were being carried on and that the December 1956 agreement had been arrived at. The Commission should also express the hope that the parties in Laos would continue negotiations and conclude a political settlement without allowing "the publication of the three-power note of 16 April to prejudice these negotiations."

### 3. Talks with the US Ambassador<sup>1</sup>

The US Ambassador<sup>2</sup> came to see me today and handed me the letter attached, which I had previously received by telegram.

He was with me for about an hour. He told me that he had two talks with our Finance Minister<sup>3</sup> about our Five Year Plan and the difficulties of foreign exchange. He had written about these matters to his Government suggesting long term credits. It would be helpful, he said, if our Ambassador<sup>4</sup> in Washington informally spoke about these matters to the State Department. I replied that our Ambassador could certainly do that.

He then discussed various other matters, more especially American military aid to Pakistan which he knew had caused us much concern.

I spoke to him about this matter as well as Pakistan, Kashmir and Goa at some considerable length.

In the course of our talks he made a remarkable suggestion. Would it be possible, he said, to settle the Goa question by payment of money to Portugal? He referred to the Louisiana purchase by the US.

He said that it was unfortunate that people in the US did not have clear ideas about these issues. He was referring specially to Kashmir. If two or three very simple facts were placed before them, they would perhaps understand them a little better, such as, the legal accession of the State to India, the invasion by Pakistan and the non-implementation by Pakistan of the resolutions of the Security Council.

1. Note to the Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 8 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. Ellsworth Bunker.

3. T.T. Krishnamachari.

4. G.L. Mehta.



#### 4. Representation of the Arab League in India<sup>1</sup>

I recognize that the presence of a representatives of the Arab League in Delhi in a more or less permanent and official capacity is likely to cause much embarrassment to us.<sup>2</sup> I would, therefore, prefer that he did not come here. At the same time I do not quite see how we can meet his request with a blank refusal. It appears from the file that a previous agreement<sup>3</sup> has been sent and this might well have been communicated to the Arab League.

I agree, therefore, that you might write to our Ambassador in Cairo pointing out our apprehensions and suggesting to him that he might discourage them politely.<sup>4</sup> It might be stated that in view of various attempts made, chiefly by some great powers, we have laid down a policy in regard to Information Centres in order to limit them. Only Centres directly connected with their Missions are permitted. If we depart from this practice, it might embarrass us with others.

Having said all this, I feel that if our refusal will create greater difficulties, then I would agree to the Arab League having a representative here. In that event, it should be clearly stated that as political activities are in charge of the Arab Missions here, the Arab League representative should only carry on cultural activities. It might further be indicated that our general policy is not to encourage propaganda against any country.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, and Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 22 May 1957. JN Collection.
2. On 20 February 1957, India's Ambassador in Cairo, Ali Yavar Jung had supported the request of the Secretary General of the Arab League to open an Information Office in New Delhi. The League of Arab States had established Centres in New York, Geneva and Bonn and proposed to establish new Centres in New Delhi, Karachi and Turkey.
3. In the past, India had permitted an Indonesian office and a Tunisian office to function in New Delhi.
4. Both Pillai and Dutt, though averse to the proposal, were initially reluctant to refuse the request of the Arab League as "our refusal would be misunderstood by the Arab countries and taken advantage of by Pakistan in doing propaganda against us in West Asia," as Dutt put it. However, both of them fell in with the view of Defence Minister Krishna Menon, who expressed himself against the proposal.

## 5. A Tribute to the People of Japan<sup>1</sup>

Mr Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,  
We have met here today to welcome His Excellency the Prime Minister of Japan. He has come here and experienced the warm climate. I hope he also has experienced the warmth of our welcome to him as a distinguished representative of the great country of which he is the Prime Minister. One of my earliest recollections as a little boy is one of a very vivid admiration for Japan<sup>2</sup> and that feeling has persisted throughout these many long years even though at times it suffered a strain because of some differences in policies. But that admiration for the people of Japan for their great work, for their great achievements, for their artistry and for the way they have built up their nation and changed it within a generation and made it one of the greatest progressive nations of the world always struck me as something amazing. Now, after the horror of war, again we see, during these last few years, the people of Japan rising to the occasion and building up their country anew. It is obvious that there is something, some qualities in the people of Japan which cannot be put down by any disaster that might occur and that surely is a true test of a nation, not merely how it faces triumph but how it faces disasters.

That disaster had the culmination in Japan by an event which might be said to have ushered in a new age—the atomic age. Everybody was shocked in the world although they did not experience it. It was a great shock in itself and the shock of what was to come to the world. Ever since we have lived under the shadow of this atomic age not knowing what might happen to us and to others in this world. To you and your country, Sir, perhaps this sense of human danger is even greater than to other countries, partly because of your personal experience, partly because even these so-called test explosions that have taken place had been nearer to your country than to many others. But gradually the feeling is coming, I think, all over the world, in all the peoples of all countries in the world, that something must be done to put an end to this terrible sense of fear

1. Speech at a banquet in honour of the Japanese Prime Minister, Nobusuke Kishi, New Delhi, 23 May 1957. PIB.
2. Nehru wrote in his *Autobiography* (1936) that he remembered the Russo-Japanese war of 1905 affecting him when he was an adolescent: "Japanese victories stirred up my enthusiasm and I waited eagerly for the papers for fresh news daily. I invested in a large number of books on Japan and tried to read some of them.... I liked the knightly tales of old Japan and the pleasant prose of Lafcadio Hearn."





IN COLOMBO, MAY 1957  
PRIME MINISTER S.W.R.D. BANDARANAIKE IS IN THE CENTRE



WITH JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER NOBUSUKE KISHI, NEW DELHI, 23 MAY 1957



that pervades humanity because of the possibility of what might happen and because of what is actually happening.

You know, Sir, that in this matter, as in many others, we are at one in our strong feelings against this danger and against the possibilities of war in the future. In India, not only in the present age but for generations, I might say present generations, and to some extent even the past, we have stood for peace. Even in the struggle for freedom we adopted peaceful methods under our great leader Mahatma Gandhi. Subsequently, since we became an independent nation, we have tried in all humility to try in so far as possible, to follow that path, although it is not an easy one, in the modern world with all the dangers and risks that one has to face. Yet we have tried to follow, and we hope to continue to follow, that path. We have sought friendship of all nations even though we have disagreed with them in their policies or their political or economic structure, because we have thought that not only that is the right approach, but that is the only approach, which will lead to peace. If we seek peace, the approach should be one of peace and not any other. I am quite sure that the people of Japan are also passionately desirous of peace and so are, I believe, the people of most countries if not all. In that great work of peace, you will have our wholehearted cooperation and not only in preserving peace but in the arts of peace, in the development of our countries, in the development, more especially of the countries of Asia. Your country and mine, have a greater interest in Asian development than other countries might have, and we hope that through these arts of peace we shall be able to cooperate in a large measure.

We welcome you here and we hope that even though your stay will be short you will feel the friendship that we have for the people of Japan and that you will, Sir, take away with you our greetings, good wishes and friendly sentiments to the people of Japan.

I ask your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen to drink to the health of the Prime Minister of Japan.

## 6. The Resurgence of Japan<sup>1</sup>

Today's reception takes my memory back to the early years of this century when I was a young boy. In those days I was greatly excited over the Russo-

1. Address at a civic reception in honour of the Japanese Prime Minister, New Delhi, 24 May 1957. *The Hindu*, 25 May 1957.

Japanese war. I did not know much about Russia or Japan then but in my eyes Japan had become the dominant power in Asia which was putting a halt to the all-conquering waves sweeping towards Asia from Europe. Japan stood as a symbol of Asian determination and might to stop these European forces from enslaving Asia. This sentiment for Asia grew in my heart in those days and I felt a day might come when India would be free and help other Asian nations to break the shackles of slavery. Ever since those times I have always had great respect for Japan.

Japan was able to become one of the five or six great powers in those times because she had tried to master the scientific technique of the West. The Japanese leaders in those days realized that Japan could retain her position and honour in the world only by changing with the times and entering the era of technology. Japan retained many of her old cultural values but she did keep abreast of the world of science. In a matter of years, Japan changed the techniques of a thousand years and became a modern industrialized nation.

Japan misused this power to some extent and invaded neighbouring countries and, as you know, Japanese forces reached up to the borders of India in Assam. How can we like such a thing if it is done by any country? But you all know how it all ended. It ended with a bang, which marked the birth of the era of the atom and hydrogen bombs. The world entered a new age—the age of the atom bomb. You and I may talk about the atom bomb explosions in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and criticize them. But I have my doubts as to how many of you really realize the turn the world took at that time. People still seem to be torn by petty things without realizing that the world has come to the brink of the abyss of danger and destruction.

Apart from the point whether the military policies of Japan were right or wrong, one fact stands predominantly that the Japanese people have shown great courage and determination in undertaking all kinds of sacrifices to rebuild themselves after utter defeat. They did not scream or whimper or shout about their difficulties. They worked silently and with energy without complaining about anything. They bore all kind of sufferings without breaking under them, and ultimately rehabilitated their economies. Japanese goods are again going round the globe and making their impact on the world market. The Japanese people were able to do it because they knew how to work together without letting petty dissensions divert their minds and energies. We can learn a lesson from this steadfast determination of the Japanese people.

As you might be aware, some nations signed a peace treaty with Japan at San Francisco some years ago. India refused to sign it because the treaty tended to curb the sovereignty of Japan. Later on India signed a separate treaty with Japan on terms of equality. Then there was the question of reparations which Japan



had to pay India after the last war. India waived the reparation payment because she valued friendship more than money. India also played her part in enabling Japan to join the United Nations. I do not say that in matters of foreign policy India and Japan see eye to eye. Our policy is different from that of Japan in certain matters but between India and Japan there are no problems and the peoples of these two countries are firm in their opinion that the world should be saved from another world war.

Recently some countries have carried out hydrogen bomb tests. Now, whether they were conducted in the Pacific or in Siberia in the Soviet Union, their effects are felt in Japan. The Indian and Japanese people have raised their voice against these explosions because they are a menace to the whole world.

I hope that the visit of the Japanese Premier would bring our two countries closer together and they would cooperate more and more not only in the fields of culture and trade but, as far as possible, in the political field also, in the UN and elsewhere, to serve the cause of peace.

## 7. To Tunku Abdul Rahman<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 24, 1957

My dear Tunku Abdul Rahman,<sup>2</sup>

I thank you for your personal letter of the 10th May extending an invitation to the Government of India to participate in the Independence celebrations at Kuala Lumpur between the 30th August and the 3rd September 1957.

We will be delighted to send a delegation<sup>3</sup> to participate in the celebrations on this historic occasion. We shall send a reply to the formal invitation when

1. JN Collection.

2. (1903-1990); Malaysian statesman; educated in Malaya and Cambridge; worked in the civil service till 1938; joined the United Malay National Organization (UMNO) after the Second World War; President, UMNO, 1951; became Chief Minister of the Executive Council following legislative elections, July 1955; Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, and, subsequently, Malaysia, 1957-70.

3. S.K. Patil, accompanied by Saadat Ali Khan, parliamentary secretary to the Prime Minister, attended the independence celebrations at Kuala Lumpur.

received but I would like to take this opportunity of extending my heartiest congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of the attainment of independence by the Federation of Malaya within the Commonwealth of Nations.

I look forward to close and friendly cooperation between our two countries.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 8. Afghanistan's Stand on Chitral<sup>1</sup>

Please refer to top secret savingram No. 2/57 dated the 22 May, 1957, from our Ambassador in Kabul.<sup>2</sup> The kind of statement that he wants to make, is entirely unacceptable as well as undesirable. I am surprised that he should suggest any such thing.

2. I think that the Afghan Government has been wholly unreasonable about this question of Chitral. They have had no reason whatever for dissatisfaction and even if they were apprehensive to begin with, our explanation should have satisfied them.

3. However, the fact remains that they are not satisfied. I am inclined to think that the change in their attitude to India in recent months is not merely due to this Chitral business, but to other factors also.

4. The first thing is for you to send a telegram to Haksar, informing him that we wholly disapprove the kind of statement he has suggested. You should add that you are writing to him more fully.

5. I think that any public statement on this question is to be avoided. I cannot think of any suitable wording which will be satisfactory to the Afghan Government and, at the same time, will be satisfactory to us and to other countries. By making any kind of a statement, we shall get hopelessly involved. The kind of statement that Haksar has suggested, is practically an admission by us of the claim for Pakhtoonistan. We have never formally admitted this claim. It was none of our concern. Even in private conversations with Afghan Ambassadors,

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 27 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. S.N. Haksar, Indian Ambassador in Kabul, 1957-60.



the most we have said is that we would welcome the people of that region to be given the right of self-determination.

6. I think that you should send for the Afghan Ambassador<sup>3</sup> and try to explain to him that we are surprised at the continuing misunderstanding of the Government and the Press of Afghanistan about what I said in regard to Chitral last year.<sup>4</sup> This had nothing to do with any claim or any future settlement. This referred merely to the strict legal position vis-a-vis Pakistan which had incorporated Chitral. I think you should further say that we regret deeply a certain evidence of the Afghanistan Government adopting an attitude in regard to Kashmir in their relations with India, which is not in keeping with our friendly relations and their previous attitude. We hope that this is due to some misunderstanding which should be removed.

7. Haksar should say something to this effect to the Kabul Government.

8. All this should be done orally without any written statements, more especially, without any Press statements.

9. As Haksar has sent his message to Karachi, you should inform Karachi of the steps you are taking.

3. General Mohammed Omar.

4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, pp. 382-383, for Nehru's statement in Parliament on 26 May 1956.

## 9. Aid to Egypt<sup>1</sup>

I have received from various sources sums of money amounting to rupees forty thousand for relief work in Egypt. This has been credited to the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund. There is no point in my keeping it. I want to utilize it for the purpose named.

2. What am I to do about it? Even though it is a small sum, I would rather not draw upon foreign exchange. This means that we might send some goods which might be useful there such as medicines or blankets or anything else. I would like to do this preferably through the Indian Red Cross which should deal with

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, and Foreign Secretary, 28 May 1957. JN Collection.

the Egyptian Red Cross. I heard a number of complaints on the last occasion we sent goods that these were not properly distributed and the Egyptian Red Cross had no say in it.<sup>2</sup>

3. I suggest that you might write to our Ambassador in Cairo informing him of this and asking his advice. You can tell him that we would prefer to give this money or rather the equivalent of it in goods to the Egyptian Red Cross through the Indian Red Cross. If goods are to be sent, what should they be? Some indication might be given.

2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 37, p. 530.

## 10. Relations with Indonesia<sup>1</sup>

It would be better for President Soekarno<sup>2</sup> to come here in November or December. In January, apart from the Republic Day, we are very busy with our Congress Session, Science Congress, etc.

2. If President Soekarno invites our President to visit Indonesia, I think that probably there will be no difficulty in our President accepting the invitation.

3. When President Soekarno comes here, we shall be glad if he visits Kashmir. But January is one of the most difficult months to go to Kashmir. November is a better month. As for the rest of his programme in India, we shall gladly draw it by according to his wishes.

4. So far as the Second Bandung Conference is concerned, it is clear that there is no atmosphere for it now and it is likely to be a flop. Whether that atmosphere can be created in the future is another matter. It is, therefore, better not to raise this question at this stage. Conditions all over the world and, more especially, among the nations represented at the first Bandung Conference are in a state of tension.

5. As for my visit to Holland, you might make it clear to our Ambassador<sup>3</sup> at Djakarta that the Netherlands Government have been pressing me to go there

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 30 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. President of Indonesia, 1945-68.

3. G. Parthasarathi.



for a long time past. It became difficult to go on refusing. On the whole I thought it worthwhile to go there for a day or two on my way back. I do not suppose that any discussions will take place about West Irian or Indonesia. Possibly the matter might be mentioned.

I think you might write a letter to our Ambassador at Djakarta explaining all this. A telegram is not necessary.

## 11. Talks with the Soviet Ambassador<sup>1</sup>

The Soviet Ambassador<sup>2</sup> came to see me tonight at 10.00 p.m. I had fixed this time as I was not free earlier. He is leaving for Moscow on the night of 1st/2nd June.

1. He read out to me a message he had received from his Government. This was about the meeting of some Committee of the UN to consider revision of the Charter. Apparently this Committee is meeting on the 3rd June in New York. The Soviet Government, two years ago, had opposed the appointment of this Committee. Nevertheless they proposed to send a representative to this meeting on the 3rd June to explain their viewpoint and how they were not in favour of any revision of the Charter.

I was asked what our views were. I said that we had ourselves been of opinion that the revision of the Charter should not be undertaken at this stage. The time was not appropriate for it. But I did not quite know what the latest developments were. I said that we would convey the message of the Soviet Government to Shri Krishna Menon who was in New York now. I further suggested that the Soviet Government might ask their Representative<sup>3</sup> at the UN to meet Shri Krishna Menon and discuss this matter with him.

I have asked the Soviet Ambassador to see you tomorrow and give you a copy of the message of his Government (he did not have a copy for me). When you get this, you might send a message to Shri Krishna Menon telling him of this and that we have suggested that the Soviet Representative might meet him.

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, and Foreign Secretary, 31 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. Mikhail A. Menshikov.

3. Arkady A. Sobelov.

2. The Soviet Ambassador asked me about direct air communication between Moscow and Delhi. He suggested that some delegation might go to Moscow or come from Moscow to discuss this matter. We could easily go to Moscow from Delhi in one of our Constellations either via Kabul or by the other route which the Soviet themselves would follow. This other route apparently avoids Pakistan and Afghanistan and goes via China and Central Asia.

I told him that I was generally in favour of the establishment of this direct air route, but this would have to be worked out carefully. Probably he will speak to you about this tomorrow.

3. He spoke about the Bhilai Steel Plant. The Soviet Chief Engineer was in Delhi and the Ambassador gave me a paper, which is attached and which apparently came from the Chief Engineer. He told me that this was quite informal.

You will see that in this paper there is some complaint about the slowness of the work and that the contractors have not got enough workers. He suggested that 50,000 persons should arrive there very soon. This appears to be a big order.

You might send a copy of this note to Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister for Steel, Mines & Fuel.

4. The Ambassador had just come back from Kashmir. He said that during the lunch with the Yuvaraj,<sup>4</sup> the Yuvaraj had talked about his wish to go to the Soviet Union in response to the invitation he had received. The Ambassador apparently did not know about this invitation. I told him that this had come to us more than once for the Yuvaraj.<sup>5</sup> He could not go last year because he had already spent much time abroad in Europe. He had no objection to his going, but probably it would be difficult for him to go during the next three months or so. Subsequently it would depend on circumstances and developments.

5. He mentioned the Youth Festival in Moscow<sup>6</sup> and said that of course they would like as many people as possible to go from a big and important country like India. He added that there would be no question of foreign exchange involved. Payment can be made in rupees here in Delhi for any expenditure undertaken in the Soviet Union. Apparently the idea was that they would give the roubles here in exchange for the rupees.

6. He asked me if there was any special matter I wanted him to convey to Moscow. I said that there was nothing special; but, on the other hand, there were

4. Karan Singh, Sadr-i-Riyasat, Jammu and Kashmir State.

5. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, p. 215.

6. This was the sixth World Youth and Students Festival held between 28 July and 12 August 1957 at Moscow.



many things I would like to discuss with them about the international situation. We were particularly exercised about the nuclear explosions.

7. I enquired from him also if by any chance they had any rice for export. He said normally they did not export rice. In fact they imported it. They would export other foodgrains, especially wheat. But he would enquire about rice and if there was any such thing, he would inform us.

## 12. To Raden Djuanda<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 5, 1957

My dear Prime Minister,<sup>2</sup>

Your Ambassador<sup>3</sup> in Delhi handed to me today your letter of May 27. I was happy to receive it, and I thank you for it. I am grateful for your good wishes and congratulations.

I have a vivid recollection of meeting you and of the talk we had when you came to India.<sup>4</sup> I am sure that under your regime, as in the previous one of Dr Ali Sastroamidjojo, there will be the closest cooperation between our countries for their mutual benefit and that we will also be helpful in the cooperation of Asian and African countries. The Bandung Conference, which was held at the initiative of Indonesia, has been a symbol of this Asian-African cooperation.

Unfortunately, during recent months, considerable strain has been put on this cooperation, more especially in Western Asia. I hope, however, that we shall all continue to labour for these countries of Asia and Africa to work together for their common good and for the peace of the world.

1. JN Collection.

2. Raden Djuanda (1911-1963); Indonesian politician; Minister of Transport and Public Works, Minister of Communications, 1947-48; Minister of Economic Affairs under M. Hatta; Director, State Planning Board, 1953-54; Minister of Finance, January-March 1957; Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, 9 April 1957 to 8 July 1959; First Minister and Minister of Finance, 1959-63.

3. Abdul Kadir.

4. Djuanda visited India in 1954 as Director-General of the State Planning Board.

You have all my sympathy in the difficult task that you have undertaken and the great problems that you face. We in India are also facing very difficult problems, chiefly because of our attempts at rapid economic growth. We are facing them with courage and have often even had to take measures in regard to taxation, which are not popular. All of us have to pay the necessary price for progress and growth.

In another eight days, I am leaving India for Europe. I shall spend a day at Damascus on the way, and then proceed to Scandinavian countries. I propose to pay brief visits to Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, and shall then go on to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting. On my return journey, I hope to visit Cairo and Khartoum. Altogether, I shall be away for a month.

I shall indeed be happy to meet you and to discuss so many matters of importance to us and to the world. The last year or two have seen great developments, some good and some not so desirable. In this rapidly changing world, it is desirable that we should keep in close touch with each other.

With all good wishes to you,

Sincerely yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 13. Cable to R.K. Nehru<sup>1</sup>

Your two telegrams 146 May 21st and 157 June 1st.

2. I have noted what Chou En-lai has said about Sino-American relations.<sup>2</sup> There is certainly increasing reference in American Press about recognizing

1. New Delhi, 5 June 1957. JN Collection.

2. Chou En-lai had told R.K. Nehru that US aim seemed to have changed from "encouraging attack on the mainland" to "plotting for the creation of two Chinas." This move was in response to the growing demand for the recognition of mainland China, claimed Chou En-lai. The Chinese Premier felt that China could count on the support of Asian and Arab countries in this matter but "in Europe there may be some who might feel that a solution could be found on the pattern of two Germanys."



two Chinas, but I do not think there is any present chance of US Government taking up this line. This will go counter to many of their policies and, as People's Government of China would not agree to this, it would bring no lessening of tension.

3. The situation in West Asia is extremely complex.<sup>3</sup> There are difficulties on account of dynastic rivalries between the kingly families of Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iraq. There were also, until recently, jealousies between the big powers, particularly England and France which were dominating these countries. A further complicating factor was brought in by the sudden discovery of vast oil resources in Saudi Arabia, Iraq and a number of minor sheikdoms. This gave huge incomes to a few feudal families and in an area where politics was not based on any fixed policy or principle, money began to play a very great part.

4. Oil also tied King Saud<sup>4</sup> with the United States. King Saud is violently anti-Israel. He is also somewhat anti-British because of dispute over small oil-bearing area in South-East Arabia. Both these factors, combined with his antipathy to Iraq, led him to line up with Egypt. Recent developments in connection with the sudden stoppage of Suez Canal by Egypt without previous consultation with him and the consequent loss of oil revenue greatly upset King Saud. During his recent visit to the USA, he was apparently won over to a considerable extent by the argument that the policy followed by Egypt might ultimately endanger his own throne apart from jeopardizing his oil revenue. There seems to have been some rapprochement in recent weeks between him and the Hashemite Royal families of Jordan and Iraq. King Saud has, however, not yet finally broken with Egypt.

5. In Iraq there is strong opposition to the present regime of Nuri El-Said<sup>5</sup> but this opposition is being sternly and forcibly repressed. Iraq is the most vocal champion of the Baghdad Pact and always seeks to prove her bona fides to the other Arab countries by violent denunciation of Israel and of French action in Algeria. British influence is still predominant in Iraq.

6. Lebanon is educationally and economically probably the most advanced country in that area. It has no natural resources and lives entirely by trade and tourism. With a population half Christian and half Muslim, Lebanon has always followed a line of moderation. Lately it has been more favourable to the American policy.

3. Chou En-lai said that "he was not clear about situation and prospects in Arab countries," and would welcome any information which could be given to him.

4. Saud ibn Abdul Aziz, King of Saudi Arabia.

5. Prime Minister of Iraq.

7. Syria is somewhat unstable politically and economically, but is making valiant efforts to follow a path of neutrality. It is particularly friendly to Egypt.

8. In Jordan, reasons for King Hussein's<sup>6</sup> action are not quite clear.<sup>7</sup> No doubt, there have been American pressure and promises of help which Jordan badly needs. Also, pressure from King Saud. It is obvious that King Hussein's regime is not popular, but there is no strong organized movement against it. Present position is by no means stable.

9. In all Arab countries, including Morocco and Tunisia, there is some jealousy of Egypt, which is played upon by Egypt's opponents.

6. King Hussein bin Talal (1935-1999); Jordanian King; educated at Amman, Harrow and the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst; proclaimed King, 11 August 1952; formal accession, 2 May 1953.

7. In Chou En-lai's view, Arab nationalism had suffered a setback because of "hasty and precipitate action on part of nationalist leadership in Jordan." By antagonizing the King the leaders had driven him into the hands of the USA. Also see *post*, p. 781.

## 14. Establishment of a Soviet Consulate in Chennai<sup>1</sup>

I agree with you. The Commerce and Industry Ministry have given what I consider adequate reasons for our agreeing to the establishment of a Soviet Consulate or Consulate-General in Madras.<sup>2</sup> Apart from this, we are receiving substantial aid in various ways from the Soviet Government. It would be unusual and hardly justifiable for us to refuse the Soviet Government's request.<sup>3</sup> Such a refusal must necessarily produce adverse reactions in the Soviet Union, which could affect political and economic policies in regard to India.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 11 June 1957. JN Collection.

2. Subimal Dutt in his note stated that India "could not justifiably refuse" this request without causing needless offence to the Soviet Government.

3. B.N. Mullik, Director, Intelligence Bureau objected to the Soviet proposal noting that this request had been made soon after the formation of a communist government in Kerala and as the communists had decided to intensify their activities in Andhra Pradesh with the object of capturing the government at the next elections, he did not consider it advisable to let the USSR have a base of operations in South India.



2. There is no doubt that they do make large purchases in South India running into crores of rupees. They have a right to send their people to make these purchases all over South India. The fact that they have a Consulate in Madras, does not add very much to that right, except that they might function in a somewhat bigger way.

3. On the whole, we have found that the Soviet Embassy is cautious in its behaviour in India, much more so than some other Embassies. If they wish to do anything that we dislike, there are other ways of doing it than through their official agencies. In any event, if risk there is, we have to take that risk. I see no justification whatever for our refusing their request which, on the face of it, is legitimate and justifiable.

## 15. To Louis St Laurent<sup>1</sup>

London

6th July, 1957

My dear Mr St Laurent,<sup>2</sup>

Mr John Diefenbaker<sup>3</sup> handed me your letter of June 19. I need not say how happy and grateful I was to receive it.

It is not for me to comment on political changes in other countries, but, even apart from politics, I was unhappy at the fact that you were no longer Prime Minister of Canada and that our long association on the official plane had come to an end. I have valued that association and your friendship very greatly and, if I may say so, have been much influenced by it. I earnestly hope that I might have other opportunities of meeting you in the future.

Now that you are free of the burden of Prime Ministership, perhaps you would sometime care to travel to other places in the world. You will always be very welcome in India not only to me and my daughter Indira, but to many others

1. JN Collection.

2. Louis St Laurent resigned as Prime Minister of Canada on 21 June 1957 after the Liberal Party lost its majority in the Canadian Parliament following elections in early 1957.

3. Leader of the Progressive Conservatives, and the new Prime Minister of Canada, Diefenbaker met Nehru in London during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

also. During my last visit to Ottawa in December, I invited your daughter to come there. I hope it will be possible for her to do so.

I have met Mr Diefenbaker separately on two or three occasions and have also, of course, been seeing him daily in the Conference. We have had friendly talks and I have much appreciated his approach.

With affectionate regards and all my good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 16. The Future of Cyprus<sup>1</sup>

The Greek Ambassador in Cairo came to see me there and spoke to me on the Cyprus issue. He conveyed a message to me from Archbishop Makarios.<sup>2</sup> The Archbishop had met me at the Bandung Conference. I remember meeting a Greek Church dignitary, but I did not remember that this was the famous Makarios.

When I was in London, there was some talk about the Cyprus issue by a member of the British Government. I do not exactly know what they intend doing, but they told me that they were tired of holding on to Cyprus and they would be glad to get rid of it. But they could not possibly agree to handing it over to Greece. They thought, I think, in terms of independence. That would be good, even though it is hedged in by special safeguards or even some measure of autonomy for the Turkish area. What would be really bad is a partition of the Island. This would mean perpetual conflict.

Archbishop Makarios and the Greeks consider any proposal for a partition of Cyprus as fatal and I am inclined to agree with them.

I think that you might send for the UK High Commissioner<sup>3</sup> and tell him that the Greek Ambassador met me in Cairo and talked to me about Cyprus.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 15 July 1957. JN Collection.

2. Archbishop and Ethnarch of Cyprus; supported struggle for self-determination of Cypriots; exiled in 1956; returned to Cyprus, March 1959.

3. Malcolm MacDonald.



You might also give him a brief summary<sup>4</sup> of the note that has been given to me. You need not say anything about the invitation to Shri Krishna Menon to visit Cyprus.

I do not myself think it desirable for Shri Krishna Menon to visit Cyprus. You can show these papers to him on his return here.

4. In his note dated 11 July, Makarios maintained that the issue of Cyprus was "primarily and basically a question between the Cypriots and British rulers," and that it must be resolved bilaterally. Makarios said that one step forward would be for the British to permit him to return to Cyprus to enable him to conduct "difficult negotiations" with the British on behalf of the Cypriot people.

## 17. People of Indian Descent in Malaya<sup>1</sup>

Shri B. Malik<sup>2</sup> came to see me this afternoon. He gave me a note, which I enclose, and pointed out certain difficulties that might arise in regard to the people of Indian descent in Malaya registering themselves. As he has already spoken to you about this matter, I need not repeat what he said. I am not myself quite clear about it, although, broadly speaking, I understand his point.

2. He suggests, as you know, that we should make a reference to the UK Government about our Nationality Act. This matter will have to be carefully considered by us. I think that you should ask our Law Minister<sup>3</sup> to look into it and give us his opinion. Also Shri Krishna Menon should see these papers and give his opinion. It may ultimately be necessary to refer this subject to the Cabinet.

3. I do not know if you have got the White Paper of the UK Government on Constitutional proposals for the Federation of Malaya. Shri Malik gave me his copy, which I am sending you together with some other papers and his note.

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 17 July 1957. JN Collection.

2. Bidhubhushan Malik (b. 1895); advocate, Allahabad High Court, 1924; member, Judicial Committee, Banaras State, 1941; special counsel, Income Tax Department, 1942; Judge, Allahabad High Court, March 1944; Indian Representative to the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Commission, 1956.

3. Asoke Kumar Sen.

4. There is no chance of there being any amendment in the British Parliament. In fact, the second reading is already over; so I am told.

5. You might, therefore, have a talk with the Law Secretary<sup>4</sup> on the subject and ask him to place this matter before the Law Minister. We should like an early opinion. Later, Shri Krishna Menon should see these papers.

4. K. V. K. Sundaram.

## 18. Israel's Outlook<sup>1</sup>

The tendency of Israel to look more towards the East has been evident for some time.<sup>2</sup> In London I met the Israeli Ambassador<sup>3</sup> as well as Dr Goldstein.<sup>4</sup> Both emphasized this. They have begun to feel that their lining up with Western imperialist powers makes it increasingly difficult for them to come to terms with Eastern countries. This is certainly a good development. I do not know how far it will take them.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, 17 July 1957. JN Collection.

2. According to a clipping of the *Jerusalem Post Reporter*, sent by the Israeli Prime Minister, Ben-Gurion, to K.M. Panikkar, India's Ambassador in Paris, Ben-Gurion had urged Israeli students to take up the study of Asian philosophy which, according to him, was important in the framework of Israel's relations with the Asian countries. Panikkar wrote to Pillai: "I think it shows an attitude of mind on the part of Israel which we should encourage even if we are not proceeding now with any proposal for exchanging diplomatic representatives."

3. Eliahu Elath, Israel's Ambassador to the UK.

4. Israel Goldstein (b. 1896); Rabbi Emeritus; President, Jewish Conciliation Board of America, 1929-; Jewish National Fund for America, 1933-43; Zionist Organization of America, 1944-66; Chairman, World Confederation of Zionists, 1946-; Treasurer, Jewish Agency, 1947-49; President, American Jewish Congress, 1951-58.



19. To C.S. Jha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 30, 1957

My dear Jha,<sup>2</sup>

You have already been informed that I intend visiting Japan early in October. We shall travel by Air-India International, starting from Delhi or Calcutta on the 3rd October and reaching Tokyo on the 4th late afternoon. Possibly, the winter timings may be somewhat different from what they are now. In any event, we should reach there sometime on the 4th afternoon or evening.

I intend staying there seven clear days, that is to say, from the 5th to the 11th, both days inclusive, leaving on the 12th. My time of departure, etc., will depend on the Air-India flight. So, I cannot be quite precise at present.

On my way back, I want to spend a day or so at Hong Kong. I do not intend visiting any other place.

Indira will accompany me, and there will be two or three others. The party will thus be a fairly small one.

As for my programme in Japan, this is entirely for you to fix in consultation with the Japanese Government. I have no special views on this subject. But, I might mention that I should like to pay a visit to the elephant Indira, which we sent from here to Tokyo.

Some Japanese have suggested that I should go to see Hiroshima. I have no objection to doing so, but this is for the Japanese Government to decide.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Indian Ambassador in Tokyo.

## 20. Opening of an Embassy in Chile<sup>1</sup>

I have already spoken to you on the telephone about the visit of the Chilean Ambassador<sup>2</sup> to me this morning. He was much upset at our delay in opening our Embassy in Chile. I told him that we had given our word to the Foreign Minister of Chile when he came here<sup>3</sup> and we shall abide by it.

2. I think this should be expedited.

3. He gave me some newspaper cuttings about the arrival as Pakistan Ambassador of Princess Abida Sultan.<sup>4</sup> These are enclosed.

4. I am very reluctant to add to our foreign commitments at the present moment because of our foreign exchange difficulty. I feel, however, that this is unavoidable, not only because we have made a promise which has to be kept, but also because we can no longer neglect South America in view of all kinds of problems coming up before the Security Council of the United Nations.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 31 July 1957. JN Collection.

2. Miguel Serrano Fernandez.

3. Osvaldo Sainte Marie arrived in New Delhi on 13 April on a three-day visit.

4. (1913-2002); eldest daughter of Nawab Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal; migrated to Pakistan, 1950; Ambassador to Brazil and Chile, 1957-59.



## 21. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 31, 1957

My dear Nan,

I have seen your letter of July 24th to N.R. Pillai. In this, you refer to your meeting the Israeli Ambassador<sup>2</sup> in London.

You know that I had a fairly long talk with Ambassador Elath<sup>3</sup> in London. I also met the President<sup>4</sup> of the Zionists Association (I forget his name) there, who had come from the United States. I discussed the question of Israel and Arab-Israeli relations with both of them and explained our viewpoint fully. I was glad to learn from them of the desire of Israel to try to lessen tension with the Arab countries and their desire to reach some kind of an understanding with them. It was obvious that the present moment was not suitable for any real approach to be made. Nevertheless, they wanted me to convey this desire of theirs to President Nasser. I did so. Nasser's reaction was as I expected. He said that, as things were, it was not possible to do anything at all. But, he did not rule out some developments in the future, which might possibly prove helpful. You may informally tell Elath of this.

As for our exchanging diplomatic missions with Israel, I had explained that too quite fully to Ambassador Elath and others. I do not think this is feasible at present. Apart from other reasons, just at present, we have put a stop, because of

1. JN Collection.

2. Mrs Pandit stated that Eliahu Elath had assured her that "Israel wished to live in peace with her neighbours." Israel, Elath claimed, was determined to follow a policy of reconciliation and reduction of tensions with the Arab countries. Elath felt that if Nehru could convey this message to President Nasser, "it would lead to a lowering of tensions." To further facilitate this process, Elath suggested the opening of an Indian Embassy in Israel. This, he said, would work out for the good of the Middle East as a whole and would have considerable influence on the desired rapprochement between Israel and the Arab countries.

3. Eliahu Elath (b. 1903); Israeli diplomat; immigrated from USSR to Palestine, 1925; in charge, Middle East department of Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1934; Jewish Agency observer to San Francisco Conference, 1945; Director of Jewish Agency in Washington; Ambassador to the USA, 1948-1950; Minister to the UK, 1950-1952, and Ambassador, 1952-59; Adviser, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1959-61.

4. Israel Goldstein.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

exchange and the like difficulties, to the opening of other missions. But this, of course, is a temporary reason. The question of our opening a mission in Israel has to be governed by broader considerations. We keep these in view.

Love,  
Jawahar



## V. DISARMAMENT

1. Nuclear and Thermonuclear Tests<sup>1</sup>

I think that K.P.S. Menon<sup>2</sup> might refer to the widespread concern in India about the deteriorating international situation and more especially the continuation of nuclear and thermonuclear tests. I referred to this matter in my public speech today.<sup>3</sup> The President is going to refer to it also on the 13th. Every country possessing nuclear and thermonuclear weapons says something about stopping explosions if others do so. Soviets have said so repeatedly, but nobody takes the initiative. We can quite understand that it is difficult for one country to stop these tests unilaterally, though such a move would have a great effect and would compel the others to do likewise. But, in any event, some one country can propose to others formally that these be stopped by all. No one has done that yet.

2. In our opinion, compromise proposals for the limitation of these explosions or for their registration will never rid the world of their harmful effects or open the way to the abandonment of these weapons of mass destruction. In fact, such regularization of these tests tends to make thermonuclear war legitimate and having some sanction behind it.

3. Our Ambassador need not convey any special message from us, but in the course of his talk, he may tell them how we feel about it. He may refer further to a statement I made in the Lok Sabha in April 1954<sup>4</sup> for the consideration of a proposal for a "Standstill Agreement" to suspend these explosions.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 10 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. Menon, India's Ambassador in Moscow, cabled Subimal Dutt on 8 May stating that as he was going to meet the Soviet leader N.A. Bulganin soon, whether there was anything special to say to him.

3. See *ante*, pp. 10-11, 13-15.

4. For Nehru's speech in the Lok Sabha on 2 April 1954, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, pp.

## 2. Resolution for the Lok Sabha<sup>1</sup>

This House views with anxiety and concern the continued development and production of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of mass destruction which if employed in any armed conflict, would spell the destruction of mankind and civilization.

2. This House expresses its more immediate and grave concern about the present menace arising from the harmful and unpredictable effects of radiation consequent on the continuing explosions of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons for test purposes which are carried out by the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom.

3. This House regrets and deplores that despite the declared intentions of all nations not to embark upon war and in the face of the mounting opinion and anxiety in the world, and in regard to the grave and growing menace of these tests of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, to the present and the future of mankind, the great powers concerned have not abandoned their programmes of such test explosions which have already proved injurious to populations in lands both far and near to the location of such tests and dangerously pollute the world's air and water and threaten the present and future generations with known and unknown risks and consequences.

4. This House further expresses its opinion that the proposals at present canvassed for the so-called Limitation and Registration of these tests will not help to rid the world of the dreadful consequences of radiation to present and future generations, nor pave the way to the abandonment of these weapons of mass destruction. On the other hand, such regularization, would tend to make thermonuclear war seem more legitimate and to appear to have the sanction of the world community.

5. This House earnestly appeals to each and all of the three great powers concerned, at least, to suspend without further delay their programmes for the explosions and for test purposes of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons pending agreement on their discontinuance and the abandonment of the production and stockpiling of such weapons.

6. This House considers that if any or all the powers concerned take the initiative or agree to the suspension of their test explosions, a substantial

1. Nehru's draft, 18 May 1957. JN Collection. Nehru sent this draft to S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, on the same day. The Lok Sabha passed this resolution without any changes on 22 May 1957, and the Rajya Sabha did so two days later with amendments.



contribution would be made to rid the world of the fear which has led to the present armaments race and open the way for the lowering of tensions, and progress towards disarmament, international cooperation and peace.

### 3. Concern at Nuclear Explosions<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Deputy Speaker,<sup>2</sup> on many previous occasions, honourable Members sitting opposite have complained about our foreign policy and complained chiefly because they said that we acted as knight errands going out into the far corners of the world and taking upon ourselves the burdens of other countries. Today I was happy to find that what we have done in the past on many occasions was referred to with some degree of appreciation. It took some time perhaps for the facts to sink into the minds of honourable Members on the opposite side.

Some of those who used to criticize us, today spoke in appreciation of what we have been doing. At the same time we are called upon to do something which we were warned previously not to do.<sup>3</sup>

Some honourable Members have sent their amendments and have spoken on this motion. What is this? Mere sentiments. Stand up and do the right; check others from doing evil; prevent others doing that. Be knight errands, hold the world by your broad shoulders. Now I do not quite understand these two contradictory approaches to this problem.

Some Members have said that in this long resolution<sup>4</sup> there is no condemnation; not a word of condemnation. Now, that gives me a clue as to what this wonderful action was that was demanded. The action presumably was strong language of condemnation. That in the mind of some honourable Members has become the biggest action they can indulge in – strong language.

This is too serious a matter to be dealt with in this way. It is true that this resolution expresses sentiments, in moderate, temperate language, nevertheless

1. 22 May 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. I, Second Series, 10 May 1957 to 22 May 1957, cols. 1567-1575. Extracts.

2. Hukam Singh.

3. By this time the Speaker was in the chair.

4. See the previous item for text of the resolution.

it expresses them powerfully and strongly. And it is no small matter for this Parliament of India to express its sentiments in a formal resolution.

An honourable Member in an amendment says that this resolution be sent on by post or telegram, or whatever it be, to some other Parliaments, notably to the three great powers which possess these hydrogen and atomic bombs. Now, I submit, Sir, that the passage of this resolution in this House is something much more for the world, not only for our country, but the world, than sending it in an envelope to some other House. I know it has sometimes been the practice of some Parliaments to send resolutions like this to other Parliaments. If I may say so with all respect, Sir, I do not want this practice to be adopted by this House. We pass resolutions and it is for the world to read them and they do read and take notice of them, because we do not pretend, we should not pretend, to do something that is beyond our capacity and power.

Honourable Members have said: you must go and check the cold war, you must do this, you must do that. I was a little surprised with all this, as if, this House, or this country—let us be clear about it—has it in its power to go about managing the affairs of the world, to put an end to the cold war, of checking aggression in Egypt or somewhere else or interfering, or condemning or checking what has happened in Hungary, as if we can do all this. Surely, the first thing for us to realize is how far we can go, and how far we cannot go and not to indulge in talk or in resolutions or in some kind of action which is utterly beyond our capacity. If we have attained some respect in the eyes of other countries of the world, it is because we have spoken with some sense of responsibility, with some sense of, not condemning, but trying to win over the other people, certainly expressing our opinion with firmness but we have always tried not to condemn. And I want to tell the honourable Member who accused us of not condemning, that this is our deliberate, well thought out policy not to condemn. Of course, the mere expression of an opinion is condemnation of a contrary opinion; that is another thing. We may express our opinion strongly, whether here or elsewhere in the United Nations. That is a different matter. But the whole point is this, that when you are dealing with a situation like this, cold war, etc., where parties to that cold war indulge in the strongest language against each other, the moment you enter that sphere of strong language and condemnation, you cease to have any real effect. Immediately, whether you wish it or not, you are parties to the cold war, this way or that way. And the approach to reason, the calm approach to reason or to the emotions of the other party is lost. Of course, if I may say so, not that I pretend to act up to it, but it may be said to be, to a small extent, the Gandhian approach. I do not presume to be capable or to be worthy of following Gandhiji in his policy entirely. But anyhow we have all learnt something from him.



But apart from the Gandhian or any approach, may I say this? And when I say Gandhian approach, the honourable Member talked about satyagraha as if satyagraha was something, shall I say, some action devoid of the motives behind it, devoid of the complex of circumstances, devoid of the voice and temper of the person indulging in it. I say if satyagraha is to be talked about, satyagraha should be understood. Satyagraha is not going to prison or breaking people's heads—certainly not—or indulging in strong language or condemnation. That is not satyagraha. It is entirely opposed to the spirit of satyagraha. Merely abstention from using weapons is neither satyagraha nor peace. Satyagraha ultimately is the approach of the mind, the friendly approach of the mind, the peaceful approach of the mind, the approach to win over the other party. However, I cannot go into this question now.

But, I do submit that in this particular matter, if we go about saying things or doing things which we cannot give effect to, we do not do any credit to ourselves or to the cause we seek to serve. Honourable Members often say "Hold a conference." Am I to summon the leaders of the USA, the USSR and UK and other countries to come to Delhi and tell them what to do? Surely, Mr Speaker, to this House I should have thought that such a proposition would have appeared rather unreasonable—I use very, very mild language. That is not the way. If someone summoned me like that saying "I will tell what to do", he will get a curt answer from me, however big the country may be. And for me to summon the great leaders of great countries—whether I like them or not is another matter—would be presumptuous in the extreme. And nobody would come. Conferences are not held in this way—saying that the Prime Minister thinks it worthwhile to summon the leaders and Prime Ministers and Heads of States and tell them how they should behave! It is neither diplomacy nor politics of anything. I cannot understand this—"Summon a conference, whether anybody comes to it or not, you go on summoning." I suppose honourable Members opposite have got some idea in their heads of some type of conference to which they have got accustomed to attend. But this is a different matter. And even if a conference is held, it will be a different type of conference, and it will be of persons in conflict with each other. It is not asking a few friends to come and having a jamboree about it. Therefore, if we want to be effective, in so far as we can be effective—I do not claim to say that we can be ultimately effective; it is a very difficult thing to presume; one tries to do one's best—how are we to proceed? If we were, in a measure, effective, say in the Korean affair or in the Indo-China affair—I think we were, in a measure, effective in helping to bring about peace—it was not through a conference, it was not through powerful speeches; it was through quiet, long, continued hard work, conducted in all modesty, without any shouting, without any publicity. Therefore, we managed to achieve some

result. Therefore, we cannot consider this matter which has raised, as the House knows well, strong feelings all over the world, lightly.

I think, as honourable Members realize, the basis of it is fear. Fear, overwhelming fear of the other party is some extraordinary thing: these countries which possess hydrogen bombs talking about, we are prepared to give it up if the other party gives it up and nobody gives it up. Wide proposals are put forward; a chain of test explosions is taking place while the proposal is being considered. I am not criticizing or condemning even that, although I dislike it intensely. I am merely venturing to point out how unrealistic all this business is. The reality is, overwhelming fear that the other party might go ahead, that if we hold our hand even for one day or a month, the other party may go ahead and so not allow the other party to go ahead.

How to deal with the situation? By a command issued from New Delhi? By passing resolutions of condemnation everywhere? I submit that is not the way. We have to proceed as strongly but as cautiously as possible in this matter. This is not the first time that we have taken up this. The Mover of this Resolution reminded this House how three years ago, I think, in 1954, I ventured to speak on this subject in this House and put forward a proposal in all humility, about the suspension of these tests. At that time, that proposal was rather treated with a certain measure of levity by other countries, by other people that we come into the field and make these proposals not understanding the great issues at stake. Later, this matter was discussed in the Disarmament Sub-Committee of the United Nations. A long statement was made by us about disarmament generally and more particularly about these matters. It is a big statement. Here it is. That was referred to the Disarmament Commission. We have been pegging away at this matter, not merely in the broad sense of talking about peace and goodwill among men—that is good—or at public meetings—it does not help by itself—pegging away as precisely, as scientifically, with practical proposals: not vaguely, not by condemning—that is no good—not merely by talking about peace and goodwill, which are very desirable. That also does not help in solving the problem. We have put forward every time, whether it was Indo-China, whether it was any place, practical suggestions and proposals; whether it was Egypt or any other place, we have always tried to avoid condemnation. The honourable Member has brought in the case of Hungary. Now, that is not at issue, but I should like again to repeat—in Hungary what happened? The particular occasion to which he probably refers is when the matter came up before the United Nations. The Secretary General had been asked to enquire and report. The Secretary General came and said that he was not ready at that time to report. Thereupon some countries, more particularly our neighbour country, immediately brought up a



resolution of condemnation.<sup>5</sup> We said: "You must wait for the report of the Secretary General and then we can deal with the matter..."

Talking about a certain resolution brought forward by Pakistan especially and some other countries condemning, we said that at that stage when the Secretary General said he could not report, we should wait for his report. As a matter of fact, if you wish to read what has been said there and in this House,<sup>6</sup> we expressed our strong disapproval at the things that occurred in Budapest and the rest of Hungary, at the killing and the use of tanks and the suppression of what I called in this House a strong national uprising. But again, in that matter too, we were up against a highly difficult and explosive situation which some of us thought might, in the course of days, perhaps blow up into a world war. It is easy enough to express one's opinion, but when one is confronted with such a situation, one has to think first of all of avoiding this huge blow-up and then do anything else. However, that is not the point dealt with here.

My submission to the House is that in this resolution we should confine ourselves to what has been said. In a sense, of course, the resolution itself is disapproval, otherwise we would not ask for it, but if you condemn you close the eyes of other people, and people immediately begin to think this person or this country is ganging up against us, and we enter, whether we wish it or not, into that thick atmosphere of cold war in the mind of the other, and reason does not count there.

The honourable Member said something about a no-war declaration by us in regard to Pakistan, in regard to other countries, that we should make it unilaterally. I should like to inform the honourable Member—he is new to the House, and that is why he does not know—that we have made it unilaterally, not once but many times, and in writing, in this House. We have stated it perfectly clearly that we will not go to war with Pakistan, we will not use our defence forces against Pakistan on any account unless we are attacked, when certainly we will have to defend ourselves, and we will defend ourselves. I go a step further and say that that is our general policy, and it is on that we try to base our defence forces....

V. Raju: When I raised the question of a no-war declaration, I also meant that it carries with it the responsibility to condemn aggression elsewhere also.

5. The UN General Assembly adopted on 8-9 November 1956, a resolution co-sponsored by Pakistan, (along with Italy, the Irish Republic, Peru and Cuba) which called for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, sought the entry of UN observers into Hungary and the holding of free elections under the auspices of the UN. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 35, pp.459-460.
6. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 35, pp. 346-351.

Mere passing of a no-war declaration without the duty of condemning aggression elsewhere would be totally negative; that is what I would say.

I do not understand the connection between the two. Whether condemnation is desirable or not may be considered on merits, but I venture to say that in the murky atmosphere of today—at any time, but especially in the murky atmosphere of today—this kind of condemnation of other countries does not convince them of their wrong-doing. In fact, I may say we deal with Pakistan and we have disapproved a great many things that Pakistan has done, but so far as I am concerned, I have tried to restrain myself as much as I can in regard to condemnation of Pakistan's activities.

Now, there are just one or two other matters. I wish to make one thing clear with regard to the criticism, which is made in these amendments, "What is this? This is only a pious sentiment. What are you going to do about it?" Well, what is suggested to be done, if I may say so, may also be termed a pious sentiment. What more is it? Shouting loudly does not help. It may be an impious sentiment, if you like. Ours is a pious sentiment, it may become an impious sentiment, but sentiment all the same. It is said that we should call a conference together; well, it may be some kind of action, but, I have pointed out that conferences are not called in this way, and if they are called, they are not likely to have any response. It is not done in this way.

Therefore, I do submit that we should pass this resolution as it is without bringing in other factors. For instance, I believe, in some amendments, something is said about the Commonwealth; it is said that we should break our contact with the Commonwealth. As to whether it is desirable or not, I do not think it is desirable—I have stated it in the House—for a variety of reasons. It does not come in my way or in the way of my policy or any policy; it helps me to further our policies in various ways. But whether it is desirable or not, it is certainly absolutely undesirable to tack it up with this thing. Immediately, you bring in other issues. You bring in another mentality here and elsewhere. And your appeal is lost, because this new mentality is created. So, I submit that all these other amendments, these attempts to tack on things, really take away from this resolution the dignity of this resolution which goes from this House to the world and undoubtedly to those great powers which are most concerned, as well as other powers.

I submit, therefore, that this resolution should be passed as it is.



#### 4. Interpreting India's Posture<sup>1</sup>

Shri P.K. Banerjee's<sup>2</sup> reference to what I said, is correct. This had nothing to do with our proposal in the Note Verbale,<sup>3</sup> which still represents our position. What I had been asked at the time in London, was for me or someone on our behalf to be invited at that stage to deal with the particular issues which were being discussed.<sup>4</sup> I indicated that it was for the big nuclear powers to come to an agreement on that particular matter.<sup>5</sup>

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 25 July 1957. File No. 5(9)-UN-II/57. MEA.
2. Purnendu Kumar Banerjee (b. 1917); joined the IFS, 1948; served at the Indian High Commission, Ottawa, 1949-52; First Secretary, Permanent Mission to the UN, 1951-52, 1952-54; second alternate delegate of India, ICSC, Laos, 1954-55; Under Secretary, MEA, 1955-56; Deputy Secretary, 1956-57; served at Dhaka, 1958-59, and Tokyo, 1959-61; Counsellor, Beijing, 1961-63; Counsellor/Minister, Washington, from 1964.
3. This note, submitted to the UN, on 21 May 1957 requested the sub-committee on disarmament "to consider immediately extending of invitations to representatives of concerned governments to be available at discussions....for explaining the proposals which they have admitted and to answer questions seeking clarifications of those proposals."
4. This refers to Nehru's interview to CBS on 3 July 1957. See *ante*, pp. 619-628, for text of the interview.
5. John M. Teakles, Counsellor in the Canadian High Commission had asked Banerjee if Nehru's statement to CBS, "could be interpreted as a change in India's proposal" of 21 May. Banerjee noted on 23 July that in his view there was no inconsistency in India's position. He stated: "Our suggestion to participate in the Disarmament Commission was motivated by the desire to see that a proper atmosphere is maintained...and the stalemate is broken. Information received in the first week of June indicated that the big powers were very near coming to an agreement with regard to the first stage of the disarmament talks. Therefore, it was only natural that Prime Minister suggested that such an atmosphere should be maintained at a time when the major powers are discussing and very near to some agreement."

## VI. OTHER MATTERS

### 1. To M.D.D. Gilder<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
1 May, 1957

My dear Gilder,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of April 25, 1957. From this letter it is not clear as to when you would like to invite the King of Saudi Arabia for a meeting of your Institute. It is obvious that King Saud cannot leave his country in the near future. The situation in the Middle East is and will continue to be very difficult and critical.

I must confess that I do not view with enthusiasm the prospect of King Saud coming to this country. For whatever purpose he may come, he will have necessarily to be treated as a Royal guest and very elaborate ceremonies will have to be arranged. As you know, he was in India not long ago and we had some experience of these intricate ceremonies.<sup>3</sup>

While we are not opposed to his coming here, I would certainly suggest to you and your other organizers that it would be better not to invite him in the near future for a meeting of the kind you suggest. That would merely add to our many burdens.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Mancherna Dhanjibhai Dorabji Gilder (1882-1979); honorary physician in several prominent hospitals in Mumbai, including the King Edward VII Memorial Hospital; Lecturer in Medicine, Seth G.S. Medical College, Mumbai; Minister, Public Health and Medicine, and Public Works Department, Government of Bombay, 1950; President, International Commission for the Prevention of Alcoholism, 1957.

3. In November-December 1955.



## 2. To Suraj N. Gupta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

May 13, 1957

Dear Professor Gupta,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of April 26, which I have forwarded to the Ministry dealing with such matters.

I am glad to learn of your desire to serve in India. It has always been a matter of regret to me that eminent Indian scientists should deprive us of their services. It is obvious that conditions in India are very different from those of the United States and that India cannot compete with the United States in terms of privileges she can offer. Apart from these inherent difficulties we have to face in regard to our resources, we are passing through a critical period of our existence when we have to carry very great burdens.

It is true, I think, that our young scientists have not found it easy in the past in getting suitable posts in India and in settling down to do good scientific work here. That is regrettable and we are trying to remedy that. All this is partly caused by our rapid development in numerous fields of activity and sometimes are unable to keep pace with this very development.

I cannot indicate what suitable openings there might be for you in the near future. But I am sure that some such suitable opening should be found for you. The chief inducement and excitement we can offer to any Indian is to participate in the tremendous adventure of building up a new India.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Suraj Narayan Gupta, was at this time Professor of Physics, at the Wayne State University, USA.

### 3. Representation of India's Policies by Non-officials<sup>1</sup>

I am rather apprehensive of Dr Amiya Chakravarty's<sup>2</sup> interpretation of India's policy.<sup>3</sup> On the cultural field he is good. But I am not at all clear that he himself has any real understanding of our policy.

Some two or three years back I had a number of complaints about what he was saying in America and it was stated that this was not favourable to India. Although the complaints came from more or less reliable people, I cannot definitely say if they were correct.

I have not met Dr Chakravarty for some time and I do not know how he has developed since then in regard to political matters. You might consult the Defence Minister who might know better.<sup>4</sup> I have no objection to some financial help being given to him, though I am not at all sure that he will be particularly effective in that area. What the help should be it is for you to determine.

1. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 16 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. Amiya Chakravarty was Secretary to Rabindranath Tagore, 1926-33; he also taught at Santiniketan for several years and since 1953 had been teaching in Boston, USA.

3. Subimal Dutt noted that Chakravarty had sought a grant from the MEA for "out of pocket" expenses for a visit to Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Wondering whether "in our present difficulty about foreign exchange we should take on this liability," Dutt, however, noted that Chakravarty could be "trusted to expound our policy correctly to foreign audiences," and that Chakravarty's services could be utilized for this purpose.

4. Krishna Menon noted on 18 May that Chakravarty had a proven understanding of India's policy, but recommended against his "being given permission to represent himself as speaking on behalf of the government." Krishna Menon agreed with Dutt that while the Government was willing to supplement Chakravarty's resources for his visit, "they could take no more than that limited financial responsibility."



#### 4. Utilizing Specialized Talents<sup>1</sup>

I do not think we need concern ourselves with taking Shri Rahul<sup>2</sup> into the Foreign Service. But the whole point is this that a man who is spoken of so very highly by Justice Douglas,<sup>3</sup> and that too from personal knowledge, should not be appointed by us for some worthwhile work suited to his capacities, simply because of some technical objections. I do not know Rahul, but presuming that what Justice Douglas says is correct, then no rule should come in the way of our utilizing the services of such a person who, Justice Douglas says, is "one of the finest souls I have met East or West". That is high compliment indeed.

2. I think the proper course is for us to send for him here and to meet him and find out, as far as we can, what his capacities are and how best we can use him. The Government of India is not too rich in persons with specialized knowledge and it would be unfortunate for us not to take advantage of a man who has that specialized knowledge and is, at the same time, supposed to be very good as a human being. I am sure ways and means can be found for this. Thus, he can very well be what might be called a Cultural Attache in one of our Missions in particular areas where his knowledge will come in useful.

3. I think, therefore, that we should ask him to come over here, preferably, of course, before we leave for Europe and while you are here. We need not make any commitment, but we shall then be able to judge him for ourselves.

4. You might also enquire from the NEFA authorities as to what happened about Rahul when his name was considered by them.

5. I am writing to Justice Douglas, copy enclosed.<sup>4</sup>

1. Note to the Secretary General, MEA, 21 May 1957. JN Collection.

2. Perhaps Nehru was referring to Ram Rahul, Professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and author of several books on Central Asia.

3. William O. Douglas, Judge in the Supreme Court of the USA.

4. Apologizing for the delay in replying Justice Douglas's letters of September 18, 1956 and April 29, 1957 Nehru wrote that the first letter, which had been sent for enquiry, to the Government of the North East Frontier Agency had taken some time. Nehru added: "apparently at one time he (Rahul) was interviewed by them for our special Frontier Service."

## 5. To Mrs M.A. Rauf<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 27, 1957

My dear Mrs Rauf,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 13th May. I need not tell you how much concerned we have been about your husband's health.<sup>3</sup> You have enough burdens to carry. At present I do not wish you to trouble yourself about minor matters.

So far as hospital and other medical bills are concerned, they will be paid directly by the Mission. You need not trouble yourself about them.

I do not think it will be fair to Dr Rauf for him to be asked to do any kind of work, even light work, before he recovers fully. Even after his recovery, it would be desirable for him to rest and to come away from Canada for a while. I had suggested some time ago that when he was well enough to travel, he might go back to India, spending some days in London for a check up.<sup>4</sup> Anyhow, for the present, he has to remain in hospital in Ottawa. What he will do afterwards can be settled later.

I understand that Dr Rauf has earned five months' leave on full pay and about seven and a half months' leave on half average pay. Thus he has a considerable time at his disposal which he can utilize as leave. It would not be proper for him, I think, to rush back to work as soon as he leaves hospital.

I suggest, therefore, that he should remain in hospital as long as the doctors so advise. When he is allowed to travel he should come back to India.

I know that your husband is likely to worry because he is not working, but there really is no cause for worry. Leave is due to him, he takes that leave. Part

1. JN Collection.

2. Maksood Jahan, wife of M.A. Rauf, India's High Commissioner in Ottawa.

3. In the last week of April 1957, Rauf had a stroke and was diagnosed by doctors to be suffering from meningitis. Nehru cabled to M.A. Raschid, a Minister in the Government of Myanmar, on 7 May, that Rauf "had been unconscious for several days and his life was despaired of." While Rauf had recovered after a few days, there was a grave danger to his eyesight, Nehru stated. "I need not tell you how sad I feel at this tragic occurrence to an old friend and colleague for whom all of us have great affection and respect," added Nehru.

4. Nehru cabled to Vijayalakshmi Pandit on 7 May that the Indian High Commission in London, "should give every assistance in this matter" when Rauf stopped over in London on his way back to India. Nehru added, "The case is a very sad one and we want to be as helpful as possible."



of it he spends in Canada and the rest of it later in India or elsewhere. After that, he goes back to work. That is quite normal.

I need not tell you that we shall give every help to him and to you. While Dr Rauf is in hospital, he will be on what is called local leave, that is, he continues to be High Commissioner, but on leave.

Please convey my good wishes to your husband and, above all, tell him that I do not want him to worry at all.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Nehru wrote to Rauf on 28 May, "I am happy to have a letter (dated 24 May) from you after all that you have gone through." Nehru advised Rauf "not to hurry things" and urged him to follow the doctors' advice. The main thing was that he should get well.

## 6. To M.K. Kidwai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 11, 1957

My dear Kidwai,<sup>2</sup>

Nawab Ahmad Sayeed Khan<sup>3</sup> of Chhatari is going on a Haj pilgrimage. He is leaving tomorrow and he met me today.

He had previously told me of some property of his (I think it is a house) at Mecca. This house was taken over by the Saudi Government, and compensation is due to him. I gather that this compensation is likely to be paid to him fairly soon.

1. JN Collection.

2. Mustafa Kamil Kidwai (b. 1908); judicial officer, Uttar Pradesh Judicial Service, 1934-46; Under Secretary and Assistant Legal Remembrancer, UP, 1946-47; Deputy Secretary and Deputy Legal Remembrancer, UP, 1948-51; Consul-General, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, 1951-54; Charge d'affaires and Minister, Jeddah, 1955-56; Ambassador, 1957-60.

3. Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-60.

The Nawab Sahib wants to give, out of this compensation, a sum of rupees fifty thousand to the University that is being established at Mecca. I think this is a very good idea, and I have expressed my pleasure at the Nawab Sahib making this gift for a worthy job.

We are in difficulties about the Haj pilgrims. As usual, we gave ample notice to them to register their names for arrangements to be made, and we said that this should be done by April. Allowing for extra persons, we made arrangements for some more than those who had applied for. But, far greater numbers have come to Bombay or are coming, and we get daily telegrams and telephone messages from them, suggesting that they might be crowded in with the others in the pilgrim ships that are sailing. This would be against our rules and we would anyhow be reluctant to do so. But, there is another very important reason, which influences us now. This is the extensive flu epidemic that has hit Bombay hard as well as many other cities and areas in India. The life of Bombay was practically paralyzed for some days because of the large number of flu cases. We think it is far too risky for us to overcrowd the pilgrim ships in view of this flu epidemic. That will be bad for the pilgrims, and it may be bad for Saudi Arabia at the other end. Therefore, we have regretfully decided not to permit any relaxation of the rules in this matter, except in some individual cases where families are separated.

I am informing you of this, so that you may know the conditions on this side in regard to pilgrims.

All good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. Sending Non-official Delegations Abroad<sup>1</sup>

I agree that no question of general principle is involved in this matter. We cannot obviously say that, as a matter of principle, we must not give financial assistance to a non-official organization to send its representatives abroad. On the other

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 17 July 1957. JN Collection.



hand, we have always to be cautious in this matter. Otherwise, innumerable demands will come to us. At present, there is the further question of financial stringency, which comes in the way of our sending delegations abroad.

Thus, each case must necessarily be considered on its merits. These merits would deal with:

- (i) The sponsors of the conference.
- (ii) The importance of the conference.
- (iii) The subjects to be dealt with in the conference.
- (iv) The importance of the non-official organization in India which seeks help for this purpose.

Normally, all-India organizations will naturally be preferred to provincial ones.

Many international conferences are being held in various parts of the world which are to some extent important and deserving of attention. On the other hand, there are many others, which are apparently meant for propaganda purposes only of some political creed or ideology. These latter cannot be encouraged by us.

On the whole, I would be inclined to favour, if other conditions are satisfied, women's organizations of India being encouraged, more than others. In such cases, however, as on the merits we agree to giving some help, we should be assured that proper representatives are sent.

As I have said above, for the present, because of financial difficulties, we have to be particularly careful.

## 8. The Headquarters of the IAEA<sup>1</sup>

I had not heard of any such rumour as mentioned in the attached telegram.<sup>2</sup> Dr Bhabha<sup>3</sup> is here and you can refer to him.

I am sure, however, that we should stick to Vienna and, after reference to Dr Bhabha, we may inform our representative in Vienna that so far as we are concerned, we shall certainly try our best to ensure that the headquarters of the Atomic Energy Agency should be in Vienna.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 22 July 1957. File No. 5(15)-UN-II/56, MEA.
2. M.S. Mehta, India's Ambassador in Berne and concurrently in Vienna, cabled on 18 July that Dr Heimmerle, Chief of the Political Department in the Austrian foreign office, had expressed his concern at the strong rumours about revision of the UN decision to have the headquarters of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna owing to some technical difficulties which the Austrian Government were unable to overcome. Dr Heimmerle urged the Government of India to do their best to ensure that there would be no change in the decision already taken to establish the IAEA headquarters in Vienna.
3. Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, Government of India.

## 9. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 23, 1957

Nan dear,

I have been here now just over a week. It seems however as if I returned long ago. There has been much to do and difficult problems to face. Apart from our normal difficulties, there is a possibility of widespread strikes here involving Posts & Telegraph and possibly other Services also. And yet, the most important problem facing us is that of foreign exchange. The response in London was

1. JN Collection.



very disappointing and we expect little from the US. We shall have to manage somehow.

I have sent you today a message for Harold Macmillan.<sup>2</sup> This is about the dates for him to visit Delhi. Our Congress Session will be held this year in Assam on the 15th January onwards upto the 20th. This means that I must go to Assam on the 14th. That is, I shall be in Delhi upto the 14th January morning. I hope this will suit Macmillan.

I had a letter from Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands.<sup>3</sup> In this he said that you must have told me about his conference. You did tell me something about it, but I hardly remember what it was.

I hope you have taken in hand the examination of India House with a view to economy and greater efficiency. This matter was raised in Parliament again today on the demands for grants for the External Affairs Ministry. Several members referred to it. Sushila Nayyar, in the course of her speech, said that some of the subordinate staff of India House told her that they had little work to do, that in fact they did their work in an hour or so.

I think that you should take each department separately. I suggest that you might invite groups of persons from the Department of all grades and invite them to make suggestions. That is, suggestions should be invited from the subordinate staff also for economy and efficiency. Normally we ignore them in this matter and decide from the top. The decision has to come from the top of course. But it is always a good thing to create a sensation of consultation and cooperation. Also, sometimes quite good suggestions come.

Quite a large number of visitors are coming here from September onwards. These include Marshal Tito, President Soekarno, King of Iraq, King of Afghanistan, President of North Vietnam, President of South Vietnam, Prime Ministers of Czechoslovakia, Norway, Sweden, Ghana and the Sudan.

It is my intention to go for a week to Japan early in October stopping for a day at Hong Kong en route.

Love,  
Jawahar

2. Nehru wrote to Macmillan that because of the forthcoming Congress Session in Guwahati, it would be preferable if the British Prime Minister could visit India some time between 6 and 13 January 1958. Macmillan had wanted to visit India on his way to Australia and New Zealand.
3. (1911-2004); Count Bernhard of Lippe-Biesterfeld; Prince Consort to Queen Juliana of the Netherlands; fought in the Second World War; helped found the World Wildlife Fund; first President, WWF, 1961; helped found the Rotary International.

## 10. To the Students of Chilwell Training School<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 29, 1957

My dear children,<sup>2</sup>

Your teacher, Mr McKinlay,<sup>3</sup> has sent me your letters and your sketches. Thank you for them. I am glad to know that you have been trying to find out about India. India is a big country, but it is much smaller than Australia. We have, however, a much bigger population.

There is great variety in India from north to south. In the north, as you know, there are the great Himalaya mountains. Some of the peaks of these mountains are the highest in the world. There are big glaciers. In these mountains, of course, it is very cold, but in the south it is warmer and sometimes even very hot. So we have in India flowers and fruits and vegetation of cold and temperate climates, as well as of sub-tropical climates.

My good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Of the Chilwell Training School, Geelong, Victoria, Australia.

3. Brian J. McKinlay.



## LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS





1<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

5 May, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

I feel some embarrassment in writing to you after a long interval. I have been in the habit of writing to the Chief Ministers every fortnight, but during the last few months, I have not been able to adhere to this practice. My last letter<sup>2</sup> was, I think, dated January 23, that is, two and a half months ago. I have no particular excuse to offer for this delay except, of course, that we have all been very busy with elections and after. But that is not an adequate excuse, for we are normally always rather heavily occupied and yet important work has to be done. I suppose that the real reason for my not writing for all this time was disinclination to do so or rather because I could not develop the mood to do so. Also, when once there is a gap period, it becomes progressively more difficult to bridge that gap.

2. Even now I feel no particular enthusiasm in writing. That of course is my fault and perhaps it reflects a certain tiredness of mind.<sup>3</sup> But I must pick up old threads again and continue this practice, even though my performance might not be very satisfactory. I feel it is essential for us to keep in some personal touch with each other, not only by letter but by occasional meeting. Official correspondence takes place in its normal course. But that is not enough when we have to deal not only with particular problems but also with the unsubstantial but very important stuff that brings minds together, enlivens them and leads to

1. File Nos. 25(30)/56-57-PMS. These letters have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.) *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, (New Delhi, 1988), pp. 483-491, 499-517. These letters were sent to the Chief Ministers of all States, including the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State. Apart from the letters printed in this section, Nehru also wrote two other letters to Chief Ministers on specific matters. See *ante*, pp. 99-102 and p. 323.
2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 36, pp. 688-691.
3. Sri Prakasa, Governor of Bombay, wrote to Nehru on 23 May, "I read copies of your letters to Chief Ministers that are sent to me, with great interest and profit.... Your last letter [of 5 May] was in a sad vein and made painful reading.... To read your words that clearly showed fatigue, was distressful." Sri Prakasa added, "I have a definite feeling that you are allowing yourself to continue to overwork. This is not good. Nature will levy its toll, and you are 67.... You, however, are very necessary for us for a long time to come, and you must, for the sake of us all, take some care of yourself." For other references to Sri Prakasa's letter of 23 May to Nehru, see *post*, p. 806.

cooperative effort. Nothing appears to me to be more necessary in this troubled world of ours and in this changing and developing India than to have such a union of minds, even though there might be differences, and an attempt to give such service as we can to the building up of this country of ours. The very fact that an ever-increasing number of problems confront us is witness to our growth and development. A country that is static and stagnant has few problems because in that case one overwhelming problem of stagnation and poverty covers everything. As our responsibilities grow, our burdens are heavier, and the only real satisfaction that we can have is that we are putting our utmost endeavour to meet those responsibilities and carry those burdens.

3. What am I to write to you after these many weeks which have seen so much in India and the world? The elections took place and we all talked about this great democratic experiment and our vast and unprecedented electorate. I suppose that there was much to give us satisfaction about the magnitude of this undertaking. And yet, there were so many aspects of these elections which were displeasing that on the whole I felt depressed. This has nothing to do with winning or losing an election but rather the emergence of certain trends which seemed to me to disclose some essential weaknesses in our body politic. Democratic elections seldom bring out the best in people taking part in them. The desire to win an election overcomes many a scruple and standards fall. The larger vision gives place to narrow and parochial outlooks, and ideals are sometimes sacrificed for the expediency of the moment. We have seen in these elections, casteism often triumphant, communalism throwing its weight about, and in some places violence. We have seen also narrower and temporary questions taking the place of the basic issues before the country. We have seen in fact a certain immaturity in our public life as well as a certain lack of integrity. These are bad signs for the future, whether we win or lose an election. I have always said that the primary and basic need for us in India is that of an emotional integration of the country. Our old and historic failing has been disunity and the tendency to think along smaller group lines, forgetting the larger good of the country and the people. There have always been two tendencies at work in this country, one towards unity and the other towards disruption. A certain basic unity there has been and this has saved us in the past, even when we were politically divided. But together with this there has been this lack of consciousness of political and social cohesion. It may be that the caste system was responsible for this lack of cohesion. We attained a substantial measure of political unity and we thought that this would rapidly lead to other forms of unity and cohesion. These elections, and what has gone before and after, have shown that we are still far from achieving that national cohesion. What is particularly distressing to me is a certain tendency to violence and intolerance.



4. I am not thinking in terms of parties, but rather of the picture of the country as a whole, as it emerged during these general elections. That picture is not a pleasing one, and it has brought out, as democracy often does, both strength and the failings of our people, and indeed of ourselves. I am not distinguishing between some of us and some others. Looking at the world as it is today, there was probably no period when it was more essential for a country to have this sense of national cohesion and integrity of purpose. We live in a disintegrating world, at the edge of a possible catastrophe of vast dimensions. It is in this perspective that we have to look at things and judge of our own problems. Fate and circumstance have brought additional responsibilities to India and, whether we like it or not, we play a fairly important role in world affairs. How can we do that adequately without that cohesion and strength of purpose which is so essential both for our internal development and our external policies?

5. And yet, if we look round to various countries which have recently attained freedom or, indeed, others also, India compares very favourably with them, both in regard to our stability and the progress we have made in these last ten years. The record is a creditable one, and this is increasingly recognized by other countries of the world. To some extent, the very success that we have achieved has led to some jealousy and apprehension in the minds of other countries. We have made it clear repeatedly that we claim no leadership in Asia or elsewhere, and that we would rather not get entangled in world affairs. We want quietly to work out our own destiny, with no other ambitions. But, circumstance or some unseen fate inevitably draw us into these world affairs, and we cannot resist that pull. The very objectives that we have set before us impel us in that direction. Indeed, it is not for any country to lead an isolated life.

6. In the world situation today, the countries of Western Asia continue to produce crisis after crisis. These relatively small countries are not left at peace to work out their own destiny and, because of the misfortune of oil and other reasons, great powers make them their playthings. In Jordan, extraordinary developments have been taking place recently.<sup>4</sup> Apparently, all is quiet there now. But, it is obvious that this peace is not the peace of a living democratic community, but rather of a people suppressed from above. It seems clear to me that the problems of the Middle Eastern countries will not be solved so long as

4. The conflict between the left-wing Arab Front and the royalist elements, following the dismissal of Suleiman el-Nabulsi's government by King Hussein on 10 April 1957 was resolved by the installation of a right-wing government on 25 April which proclaimed martial law, dissolved all political parties, and removed from the civil services supporters of opposition groups.

these countries are pushed about by the great powers in furtherance of world policies.

7. An issue that has now become of vital importance and is attracting world attention is that of nuclear tests. It is extraordinary that while everyone agrees that a war in which thermonuclear weapons are used will be almost fatal for mankind, yet the great powers continue these tests and stockpiling their atomic and hydrogen bombs. The Soviet Union has proclaimed that these tests must stop and, indeed, that nuclear war should be banned and yet, within a few days recently, there were many such tests in the Soviet Union itself.<sup>5</sup> The United States have announced a series of tests,<sup>6</sup> and the United Kingdom intends to carry out a major hydrogen bomb<sup>7</sup> test near the Marshall Islands, in spite of widespread protest. There appears to be no logic or reason about all this, only fear and suspicion and hatred. The world will not solve its problems if these are the governing motives of peoples or governments. Einstein, who started these tremendous developments in science leading to the hydrogen bomb, said once that the only way to control nuclear force was to control the mind and heart of man.

8. The Kashmir question continues to be with us. A few days ago, Dr Jarring, representative of the Security Council, gave his report<sup>8</sup> which you must have read. This report is not entirely satisfactory from our point of view, and there are some statements in it which have rather surprised us.<sup>9</sup> But, the report does bring out certain aspects of this question, which had been deliberately slurred over in the past in the Security Council and elsewhere. It might, therefore, be considered an advance on the previous position, in so far as we are concerned.

9. Meanwhile, Pakistan presents a picture of ever-increasing armed forces, supplied chiefly by the United States of America and, at the same time, ever more deterioration in its political and economic set up. We have wished well to

5. The Soviet Union conducted five tests between 3 and 16 April 1957.

6. These were carried out from 28 May to 7 October 1957.

7. It took place on 16 May 1957.

8. In pursuance of the UN Security Council resolution of 21 February, Gunnar Jarring visited India and Pakistan from 14 March to 29 April 1957. In his report submitted to the UN Security Council on 30 April 1957, he stated that "the parties were still desirous of finding a solution." He recognized that the holding of a plebiscite "could lead to grave problems" and India would not agree to it till Pakistan vacated aggression and stated that the UNCIP resolutions could no longer be implemented because of the "changing pattern of power relations in West and South Asia." Jarring concluded that implementation of international agreements of an ad hoc character, if not speedily achieved, could become progressively more difficult as the "situation they were to cope with tended to change."

9. See *ante*, p. 411.



Pakistan, because it is to our advantage that it should be a prosperous and independent country. But, its independence appears to grow less and its prosperity as far off as ever. The country does not appear to take root in some kind of healthy nationalism. It is still a prey to clan rivalries, and the people seem to have little say in the matter. They are roused from time to time by some religious cry or on the Kashmir issue. The two nation theory, which gave rise to Pakistan, has, I believe, prevented it from developing these healthy roots. Religion is to some extent a binding factor. But religion cannot take the place of a nationalist sentiment. By adhering to the two nation theory, Pakistan deliberately tried to make religion as its basis and thus reverted to a medieval conception, which is difficult to understand today. Other Islamic countries in Western and Eastern Asia or Africa have their strong nationalisms. They may sympathize with Islam elsewhere, but their politics are governed by nationalist and economic motives. The old cry of Pan-Islam was always rather artificial, and it never took root. It is still less likely to take root in the world of today where nationalism has shown how strong it is.

10. Because of this two nation theory and other reasons, the disruptive forces in Pakistan continue to grow. They led to the vast migrations from East Pakistan and to the lack of cohesion between East and West Pakistan. Perhaps, it is to remedy this basic defect that the Pakistan Assembly recently decided to have joint electorates all over the country. But the old spectre of the two nation theory is not so easily exorcized, and there is trouble ahead in Pakistan on this issue.

11. It is in the combination of political and economic backwardness and instability and an imposed military power, which does not grow out of the strength of the country, that danger lies. We can only hope that the danger will pass and that Pakistan will develop along normal lines and realize that the kind of policy of hatred and violence that they have followed can bring no good. But all this involves basic changes in the feudal and clan politics of Pakistan.

12. Our chief problem now as ever is the problem of our development, the Second Five Year Plan and all that goes with it. We are up against many difficulties. We shall have to face them and overcome them. It is interesting to compare our problems with those of China. Even though our political and economic structures are different, the problems are much the same. Oddly enough, we find China facing almost the same kind of difficulty as we have in India, sometimes to an even greater degree. In China there has been a shortfall in agricultural production, a shortage of raw materials and a financial unbalance. In their attempt to build up a strong industrial base, in which they are succeeding to some extent, they have ignored transport and communications as well as agriculture. Their Five Year Plan, which started off well, ran into many difficulties,

chiefly because of the failure on the agricultural front. Industrialization in China, as in India, depends considerably on the expansion of agricultural production. China has had thus to face the problems of slowing down capital construction and industrialization if it could not increase its production. In its attempt at rapid advance, quality had suffered. Light industry had also suffered, as raw materials had been diverted to construction in heavy industry. Their planning had proved to be defective and unbalanced.

13. In spite of their rigidity of doctrine, the Chinese are trying to meet these difficulties by a more flexible approach and by giving incentives to agriculture. After extending agrarian cooperatives all over China with extreme rapidity they have tried to convert them into collectives. Now they have relaxed and allowed the peasants a free market in non-staple foods and the product of subsidiary occupation, apart from helping them in other ways also. Even in regard to intellectuals, there has been a measure of relaxation and freedom. Chairman Mao described this new policy as one of "Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend."<sup>10</sup> The intellectuals were given higher salaries and were encouraged to think and write more freely. But there were strict limitations to this freedom which might be called a controlled freedom.

14. One very interesting development is the drive for birth control and family planning. When I was in China two or three years ago, I enquired about this subject. I was told that they attached no importance to family planning and they had plenty of work for every person. Evidently they have changed their minds completely now and there is a widespread campaign for birth control all over China.

15. I had the good fortune to attend the recent meeting of the Development Commissioners' Conference at Mussoorie.<sup>11</sup> As I have often said, I regard the community development programme as not only of high importance but of revolutionary significance in India. It is gradually changing the face of rural India and I have no doubt that it will lay the foundations of a new structure. A recent Evaluation Committee's report<sup>12</sup> has pointed out many defects and failings. That is only natural and we should always keep our eyes open and learn from our own mistakes. But we have laid solid foundations for progress in these rural areas and we have to build on them.

10. Mao Tse-tung had made these remarks while addressing the Supreme State Council of China on 27 February 1957.

11. For Nehru's speech at the conference of the development commissioners of the community development programme at Mussoorie on 29 April, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 37, pp. 202-204.

12. See *ante*, p. 59.



16. The new Parliament will meet soon in Delhi for a brief session, in the course of which the Budget will be introduced.

17. I am going to Ceylon for three days on the 17th of this month. Next month I expect to go to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. On my way there, I intend visiting the Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

II

New Delhi  
12 June, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

In another two days' time, I shall be speeding away westward.<sup>1</sup> My first halt will be in the heart of the Middle Eastern region, which has become such a seat of trouble during the past year or so. I shall spend part of a day and a night at Damascus and proceed the next day to Copenhagen.

2. The events in what we call rather erroneously the Middle East, have been strange, and there is almost an element of the stories of the Arabian Nights in them. Intrigue and counter-intrigue, the transfer of allegiance, kings functioning as of old regardless of what their people think, martial law and, over and above all this, pressures and threats from outside. I shall not endeavour to describe or analyze this drama that is taking place there with its plots and counter-plots. I cannot give you any special information which you may not have already obtained. None of these countries of Western Asia has any great stability. Politically and economically, they are backward. Lebanon is probably the most advanced in regard to standards of life and education. Iraq may put up a brave

1. Nehru visited Syria, Sudan, Egypt, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands and UK between 15 June and 14 July 1957.

show, but no one doubts that the Government is an imposed one<sup>2</sup> and has little popular backing. In spite of all her difficulties, Egypt is still the strongest of these Arab countries and has made some progress in land reforms and other matters. There is something of the revolution still about her. She has survived grave perils, and this is evidence of some basic strength. There will be elections in Egypt soon.<sup>3</sup> But, according to our standards, the elections will be rather peculiar as only one party can stand.

3. Recently, there have been some signs of Egypt and the United Kingdom coming a little closer to each other.<sup>4</sup> Both countries had begun to realize that their estrangement was not profitable to either. I do not suggest that they are going to become friends. But there is likely to be a toning down of their conflict. Behind this Middle Eastern scene, there has been some rivalry between two friends—the United Kingdom and the United States. I rather doubt if the United Kingdom views the Eisenhower Doctrine as applied to the Middle Eastern countries with enthusiasm.

4. In spite of the ever-growing feeling and agitation against nuclear and thermonuclear tests, there have been further such explosions by the UK, USSR, and the USA. For England this was the first hydrogen bomb explosion and this has produced a sense of elation among many people in the United Kingdom who feel that now they are in the front rank of the great powers. In spite of all this, the volume of world opinion against these explosions has grown greatly<sup>5</sup> and I feel that it must produce results before very long. If these results are delayed, we might well have a fourth exalted member of possessors of the hydrogen bomb. This is likely to be France. The more this spreads, the more difficult it will become to control it.

5. It is a happy sign that scientists in all countries are protesting against these test explosions and, speaking with authority, are telling us of the disastrous consequences not only on the living but those yet to be born. It is terrible to think that with all this tremendous weight of scientific opinion and the certainty

2. The nationalist pro-Arab groups were opposing the pro-West policies of the Iraqi Government which included grant of oil concessions and membership of the Baghdad Pact. In 1954, the Iraqi Government dissolved political parties and in May 1956 imposed martial law.
3. The first general elections were held in Egypt on 3 July with 2,528 candidates contesting 350 seats in the National Assembly.
4. On 13 May, Macmillan announced in the House of Commons that the British Government would no longer advise British shipowners to refrain from using the Suez Canal.
5. For instance, appeals for suspension of nuclear tests were made by Japanese political parties and intellectuals, Pope Pius XII and Albert Schweitzer.



now that each explosion leads ultimately to the death or worse of large numbers of persons, yet these explosions continue and each country puts the blame on the other.

6. In a sense this has become connected with the proposals for disarmament. The latest proposals made by the Soviet Union have been a near approach to what the Western Powers have themselves put forward. For the first time there appears to have been a hopeful response to them from the United States though we cannot be very optimistic about the future. Oddly enough, it appears now that the United States is somewhat inclined to an agreement, however limited it might be, on disarmament. It is England and France that are more reluctant. Everyone recognizes, I think, that the Soviet Union is earnest about disarmament, whatever its motives might be. One of the conditions put forward by the Western Powers for disarmament is the unification of Germany, although it has been made quite clear that there is no chance at all of this happening so long as adequate progress is not made in regard to disarmament.

7. As I write, news comes of the defeat of the Liberal Party in the general elections in Canada. This means the retirement from office of Prime Minister St Laurent, who has played a wise and soothing part not only in the Commonwealth but also in world affairs. During the past few years Canada has emerged as a great power because of her great industrial growth and also her military capacity, especially in regard to the latest developments in atomic energy and aircraft. The new Government in Canada is likely to be a conservative one and possibly the role of Canada in future may be less liberal than it has been. I am sorry, for personal reasons apart from public, for the defeat of Mr St Laurent, who is a fine, upright and conscientious man, who took to politics late in life and is therefore unlike the average politician.

8. We have our own troubles in India and we have been discussing them fully during the past few weeks. It is interesting to see that in China, which has a different form of government and economy, some of the troubles are remarkably like ours, both in the economic and administrative spheres. The Chinese Communist Party has started a drive against itself in a sense and has invited all sections of the people to help it in carrying out this drive. This is called the "rectification" drive.<sup>6</sup> Bureaucracy, which has grown tremendously there, is criticized for its isolation from the people and its armchair leadership. Some ministers there have complained that the party interferes with their work and authority. Party workers who become administrators, develop a subjective or

6. The campaign was launched on 30 April 1957 by the Communist Party Central Committee to rectify by methods of "discussion and persuasion" the bureaucratic methods of certain communist officials who tended to show callousness in their dealings with the people.

doctrinaire approach and often do not possess the specialized knowledge necessary for their work. The Secretary General<sup>7</sup> of the Communist Party of China complained in a speech of how conceit, self-complacency, commandism, routine-mindedness, loss of contact with the subordinates and the masses, and many other difficulties have arisen among the higher ranks of officials and cadres.

9. There is a tendency also in China towards less rigidity of thought and a remark by Chairman Mao has become famous. This was "letting all flowers blossom and all schools of thought contend." This has resulted in some relaxation of the old cultural controls.

10. The student problem is presenting difficulties and thousands of students from peasant families who have graduated from the middle schools are demanding admission to the higher schools. They are reluctant to go back to the villages and, as in India, their aim is to improve their status by becoming white-collar workers. Students of higher institutions have also been affected by the new trend and there have been many cases of indiscipline and refusal to attend political classes. This tendency has been noticed among industrial workers and others who demand improvement in living standards and greater freedom. There is little doubt that the events in Poland and Hungary last year influenced many people in China. There were even some demonstrations staged by the Chinese students in support of the Hungarian students.

11. It is stated that the economic difficulties last year in China were due to defective planning and lack of coordination between the various units of administration. Officials and cadres were all intent and bent on over-fulfilment of the plan without paying much attention to the actual conditions. There was over-emphasis on capital expenditure with the result that the whole plan and the economy were upset. Instructions have now been issued to officials and cadres that these methods of what is called "commandism" must stop and peasants and others must be consulted in all matters so as to develop a greater sense of unity and increase production.

12. The principal stress in China today is on unity and peaceful methods, as opposed to the class struggle. Even the rectification drive,<sup>8</sup> it is said, should be carried out "gently as a breeze or mildly as a rain." A little incident, which is rather amusing, may interest you. Shakuntala was recently staged in Peking. The Counsellor of the Indian Embassy fell into the unused orchestra pit which had been covered only with a cloth. No one was hurt. But later, Premier Chou En-lai, in the course of his speech, said that this was a case of bureaucracy or

7. Deng Xiaoping, Secretary General of the Communist Party of China, 1953-69.

8. See *ante*, pp. 691-692.



defective leadership, on the part of the Director of the theatre, which must be rectified.

13. There has recently been a meeting<sup>9</sup> of the Baghdad Pact in Karachi. Fairly lengthy reports have come out in the newspapers, which have the impress of truth on them, even though they have been denied. At this meeting, Pakistan and Iraq wanted to bring in Kashmir and other issues like Israel and Cyprus. The United Kingdom and the US opposed this move and insisted on confining the Baghdad Pact to their drive against communism. It is said that there were even hot words exchanged. Pakistan also talked a great deal about subversive attempts by India in East Pakistan. In the final communique, there is some reference to subversive movements, though no country is named. At this Baghdad Pact meeting, the UK and the USA generally stood together, but there was an undercurrent of rivalry between them also.

14. I have written to you recently<sup>10</sup> about the food situation and the general drive towards economy and avoidance of all waste. In the final analysis, our Five Year Plan depends upon our agricultural production and principally on food and food prices. Food prices affect other prices, and these can well upset all our planning if we cannot keep them down. At the meeting of the National Development Council, there was a proposal, which was generally accepted, about giving some kind of price support to foodgrains and announcement of a floor price for them.

15. We have given a great deal of thought to this question and found that it was not quite so simple as it appeared. At a time when prices are fairly high and no one is particularly afraid of prices coming down too much in the near future, there is not much point in giving an assurance of a fixed price. If that price is fixed too low, then it has no meaning and provides no incentive. If it is fixed rather high, then it may be dangerous for our economy in future. At the same time, we have felt that some kind of an assurance should be given to the grower that Government would step in effectively to prevent prices from falling below reasonable levels.

16. As for incentives to the farmer, it is felt that the best form of incentives should not be subsidies on the price of foodgrains but rather in the form of making fertilizers, seeds, manure, etc., available at reasonable prices. We can also consider reducing irrigation rates. These are really subsidies for production. Merely maintaining high prices need not necessarily result in greater production.

9. The Ministerial Council of the Baghdad Pact countries which met from 3 to 6 June 1957 spoke of the serious threat of communist subversion in their area inspired from outside.

10. See *ante*, pp. 99-102.

Indeed, there is some possibility of high prices even leading to lower production, because many farmers may not exert themselves as much as they might otherwise do. Our object should be to encourage people to produce more intensively and to relate our help to yield per acre. We might give bonuses for extra production. Unfortunately, many of our policies have really been drags on production, such as sales tax on fertilizers, or even in these days of rather high prices on the foodgrains sold in our fair price shops.

17. Fertilizers are good and, no doubt, we should use them and they produce results. But it is not very safe to pay too much attention to chemical fertilizers and forget local manures, compost, etc. The best results are obtained by a mixture of the two, or even by good local manures. If we do not take care of this now, we may have to pay the penalty later when perhaps the soil may produce less.

18. We have in fact to start and carry through a vigorous Grow More Food campaign and this must be directed specially to more intensive cultivation. Such a campaign must not remain at the top, but should reach the village and the individual farmer. With the help of the community blocks and the national extension service, each farmer should be tackled and each family should have its quota fixed. Whether it is a farmer or an industrial worker, I am quite sure that they respond to the right approach. They are eager to understand and learn and once they know that something is for their good, they try to follow that path. To some extent, this may be done by the normal means of propaganda, lectures, leaflets, etc., but the real approach is to the individual. The district is much too big as a unit. The block to some extent is a unit, but the real unit should be the village with an approach to each farmer.

19. It has always surprised me how much intelligence a farmer or an industrial worker shows when his own subjects are tackled. Indeed, he is interested in other things too. He asks questions and follows the answers closely. I wish that our Five Year Plan propaganda and more especially our Grow More Food campaign could be carried out in a way to rouse the active interest of the farmer.

20. In the course of our discussions at the National Development Council, much was said about the non-use of existing irrigation facilities, like tubewells or even a canal system. This is bad at any time, but peculiarly so when we are hungering for more production and food. Wherever this has occurred, there should be an immediate and full enquiry as to what comes in the way. If the rates are high, then these should be reduced, because otherwise we suffer double loss. There is no point in having irrigation works if we do not profit by them fully.

21. I would again presume to remind you of the extreme need for economy not only in our governmental apparatus, but also in our personal expenditure because we set an example to others. There are so many minor items of



expenditure, like telephones and telegrams and travelling about, which can easily be reduced without harm to anyone. Some travelling bills have struck me as extraordinarily high. In our work, probably one of the best ways to ensure economy as well as efficiency is avoidance of delays and quick disposal of business. Another matter to be borne in mind is the stoppage of all harassment of the people by the official machinery.

22. I shall be away from India for one full month, busy with various kinds of activities, but my mind will be here, and I shall hope that when I come back, I shall be able to throw myself in the great task in which all of us are engaged with greater vigour and perhaps a little fresher mind.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### III

New Delhi  
15 July, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

I have just today returned to Delhi after a full month abroad. It is difficult to keep in intimate touch with developments in India while touring in foreign countries, more especially when such touring involves continuous and heavy engagements. Some information naturally reaches me from India and I try to keep in touch with major developments. But I hesitate to form any definite opinions about such developments, not having the full background before me, and I refrain from sending any directions. I say so because I have read in the Indian press that I have sent some directions about current matters. This is not true. I did not do so, even though I was much interested in them.

2. I was naturally full of the impressions I was gathering from day to day. I wish I could have taken down some notes about these impressions and about the various activities and policies of the countries I visited. But this was not possible because of my heavy programmes which took up almost every minute of the day till I returned drowsy and sleepy for a brief night's rest. I have, therefore, to rely on a multitude of mixed and overlapping impressions and it is a little difficult

to disentangle them. I feel, however, that it might interest you to hear from me about these various impressions, some important and others rather trivial, even though what I write is apt to be disjointed. I hasten, therefore, to put down what I have in mind immediately after my return before the problems of India fill my mind.

3. I have had occasion to visit some part of Europe almost every year since we attained independence and, of course, I have visited some other countries also. Some countries, like England, have been visited by me repeatedly during these past nine years or so.

4. The major impression I gathered is one of unceasing activity and progress made in construction and in the living standards of the people. It is a little difficult to remember that eleven years ago the Second World War ended leaving large parts of Europe in a state of utter devastation. The ruined cities, which had often been reduced to a mass of rubble, have risen again, ports which had been destroyed are busier and bigger than ever, broken down factories have been renovated and new ones constructed, great thoroughfares and highways have been built in cities and the countryside, and life continues its even course but at a much more accelerated pace. Everywhere there are signs of ever-rising standards of life for the common people.

5. It is intriguing to compare this busy and peaceful life of Europe with the political conflicts and fears of impending war. Yet both are real, though I believe that there is a marked relaxation in the political sphere, and war, though still an overhanging danger, is not thought of so much as a present one.

6. This contrast between politics and developing economies is perhaps more in evidence in France than elsewhere because in France politics are in a complete mess and difficult for an outsider to understand. Governments come and go with unfailing regularity.<sup>1</sup> The Algerian struggle goes on with its tragedy and its tremendous drain on France, apart from the crisis of conscience that is evident among the intellectual classes of France. But in spite of all this production in France is at an all-time high level, wages are high and social security measures are also very considerable.

7. In Italy also politics are in a state of disrepair.<sup>2</sup> But economic conditions generally are said to be good and production is high. Even South Italy, which

1. After the resignation on 21 May of Guy Mollet after holding office for 16 months, a ministerial crisis ensued till Maurice Bourges-Maunoury succeeded in forming a government on 11 June 1957.

2. On 6 May, Antonio Segni's coalition government resigned after the Social Democratic Party withdrew support. Adone Zoli (Christian Democrat) formed the government on 20 May 1957.



was previously much neglected, is better off today. In England there can be no doubt that in spite of the disasters it has suffered in the recent past and the gradual fading out of large parts of her empire, internal living conditions are good and the standards of the common people high. In Western Germany it is well known that production increased at a great pace and not only have the ruined cities been built up again, but many millions of refugees, chiefly from East European countries, have been rehabilitated. There is no unemployment in most of these West European countries.

8. In the Soviet Union progress on the economic plane and in regard to living standards has been continuous, though even now it has not reached the standard of the West European countries. In regard to the countries of Eastern Europe like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc., I do not know enough to express an opinion. It is clear, however, that they have passed through grave economic difficulties, partly due to too great a stress being laid on rapid industrialization at the cost of agriculture. As is well known, there have been many stresses and strains both in the political and the economic fields in these countries and inner changes are taking place in all of them. These are most evident in Poland. Hungary, and especially the city of Budapest, had a terrible experience last year and its economy was broken up and much destruction caused in the city. Outwardly there has been a remarkable recovery there, chiefly due to large-scale aid from the Soviet Union. But the inner ferment continues. In Poland, I remember with great surprise the great rebuilding that had been done in the ruined city of Warsaw and elsewhere.

9. I have recently visited the Scandinavian countries<sup>3</sup> and I have been much impressed by them. In all of them there is a well-established and long-standing democratic tradition, and Sweden has been blessed by peace ever since the time of Napoleon. Standards are very high, more especially in Sweden. People in all these countries are very likeable and are in close contact with each other. Finland stands somewhat apart and yet is closely connected. It went through a very difficult time when it was invaded by the Soviet armies in the course of the last great war. Having suffered much themselves during the war they had to pay a heavy indemnity and part with a part of their territory in Karelia. The way the people of Finland met these heavy demands upon them with courage and sacrifice is remarkable. They paid their indemnity in good time. As for the people of that part of Karelia which was transferred to the Soviet Union, I am told that every single inhabitant of that particular area numbering several hundred thousands marched into Finland on the appointed day, leaving the transferred territory

3. Nehru visited Denmark from 15 to 18 June, Finland from 18 to 20 June, Norway from 20 to 22 June, and Sweden from 22 to 25 June 1957.

without a population. That was an extraordinary instance of discipline and love of their homeland.

10. Recently the relations between Finland and Russia have improved and some small adjustments of territory have taken place in favour of Finland.<sup>4</sup> The country is full of forests and lakes. Indeed, it is supposed to have one hundred thousand lakes. The climate is very severe and the so-called summer brief and fleeting. The people are tough and athletic and they have carried off a large number of the gold medals in the World Olympic Games.<sup>5</sup>

11. In all the Scandinavian countries, while industry has developed considerably, it is the peasant farmer that still is the dominant feature on the landscape. They are known for their cooperative movement and the high standards in animal husbandry and in the production of dairy products.

12. Sweden is probably (in common perhaps with Switzerland) the most prosperous country in Europe. Living standards of the people are very high and every kind of social security measure has been introduced. Indeed, the problems of Sweden are what are called those of too much prosperity. They do not quite know what more to do in regard to social advance. And yet I was told that crime was on the increase in Sweden, especially juvenile delinquency. There was some complaint also of an excessive consumption of alcohol which probably led both to the increase in juvenile delinquency as well as road accidents. Another alarming contrast is in Switzerland which, in spite of its high standards for the common people, is supposed to have the highest rate of suicide in Europe. Whether this is due to excessive cold and a severe climate or to some other causes I do not know.

13. Thus, the overall impression of Europe, whether West or East, is one of continuing progress, hard work and ever higher standards of living. It is painful to compare these standards with the poverty of India and other like countries in the East. While we make slow progress, these European countries are probably increasing the gap between our standards and theirs. This is, in the main, due to the use of scientific methods and higher industrial and agricultural techniques. Also, of course, to the hard work of disciplined communities. I think we must realize that people in Europe work much harder and in a more disciplined way than we in India. In effect, therefore, it is the progressive industrialization that has led to these higher standards. A time has been reached, however, and this is most evident in the United States of America, when the utilization of leisure is

4. The joint communiques of 2 February and 12 June 1957 recalled the good neighbourly relations that had existed between the two countries, recognized the economic importance of the Salma Canal to Finland and granted Finland the right of free transit through it.

5. In the Olympic Games held at Melbourne in 1956, Finland won 3 gold medals.



becoming a major problem. Probably in the course of a few years in the United States the hours of work will progressively decrease as higher techniques are employed. There may be only a four-day week of work and three days every week of leisure. The progress in this direction in Europe is slower, but it points the same way. Possibly, it is this lack of proper adjustment of leisure hours that leads to many maladjustments in society. In Europe, far more than in the United States, there is a deeper cultural and even perhaps a spiritual background which holds the social fabric together.

14. Looking at this broad picture of Europe, East and West, the major ideological differences and conflicts seem to be less important than is imagined. There are marked differences, of course. But by and large these various countries and their peoples move in the same direction and probably these ideological differences will gradually tone down. The welfare state and good living standards for everybody are accepted objectives and they are being progressively reached, mainly through industrial techniques. The recent changes in the Soviet Union would lead one to think that the process of liberalization and greater individual freedom will continue. On the other hand, there is the process of greater socialization in Western European countries. Thus the gap between the two is likely to be lessened.

15. As evidence of higher standards, more especially in Western Europe, one sees the vast number of cars on the roads. Every successive year that I have visited Europe I have noticed this number increasing till the roads, both in the city and in the rural areas, are full of them. Major problems of road traffic arise and road accidents become more and more frequent, even though there is far more road sense in these countries than in India. The new road building programmes in all these countries are on a spacious scale. One sees both in the city as well as in the countryside broad double track roads for motor traffic with a patch of greenery in between. Then there are separate tracks for bicycles and footpaths for pedestrians. The only countries where very broad roads have been built in excess of the actual traffic is Russia. They have planned for the future. In the West European countries it is the traffic that has always exceeded the capacities of the roads and an attempt is made to keep pace with it with all kinds of devices.

16. Another fact that impresses one is the enormous amount of construction work that is going on everywhere. Not only in Europe, but even in Cairo I noticed big buildings being put up and new and broad avenues laid out. Egypt appears to have good architects and town planners and even during the past few years I have noticed greater improvements in the city of Cairo. Buildings go up with great rapidity and I am told that in Egypt the cost of construction compares favourably with other countries.

17. Another major impression which I gathered was of the increasing prevalence of the English language. It is by far now the most important language used for international purposes and in many countries it is a compulsory second language, often in addition to others. In view of our language controversy in India, it is interesting to observe that there are sometimes four compulsory second languages in some countries, i.e., English, German, French and sometimes another. No one appears to object to this and they take all these in a bunch in the secondary stage, in addition sometimes to classical languages.

18. Europe has beautiful cities, many of them with particular individualities which are a mixture of history, tradition, architecture, etc. London is known to most of us and is attractive in its own way, though far from beautiful. Paris has a peculiar charm and in addition has always been known to have an intellectual ferment. Rome, Venice and Florence have each their particular grace and charm as well as historical tradition. Prague and Budapest are also among the beautiful cities of Europe. From the architectural point of view, however, I am inclined to think that two of the most beautiful cities of Europe are Leningrad and Stockholm. Both have the great advantage, like Venice, of waterways running inside the city. Leningrad owes its beauty chiefly to Peter the Great and subsequent builders. Stockholm is a remarkably successful combination of the old and the new. To see it from the air or even from the ground is to feast one's eyes on beauty.

19. Nearly all these great cities have vast parks and gardens attached to them or in their midst. It struck me powerfully how we in India lack these parks. The great city of Bombay has practically no open space except the beach. There are the Hanging Gardens and one or two minor gardens. Calcutta has the Maidan. I wish that our city planners in India thought more of laying out parks which have become so essential to the life of a great city.

20. One possible advantage of visiting other countries and meeting all types of persons there is to see one's own country from a distance and in some perspective and to contrast it with the others. It is always difficult to judge of conditions or customs to which we have been used and which we take for granted. From a distance they do not appear so obvious and sometimes may compare very unfavourably with others. We are all the products of our own environment, our thinking, traditions and history and it is a good thing that there is so much variety in the world. But variety need not mean the adherence to out-of-date customs and ways of life which come in the way of a good life for our people. I have naturally observed much in foreign countries which I do not particularly like, but I have also seen much which is superior to our own way of life and from which we can learn much with profit. This applies to our social conditions as well as to political. It is disheartening to observe how much of our energy has



been spent and wasted over rather trivial controversies which naturally show up our immaturity in that respect.

21. Coming to broader problems, the first relates to disarmament. There can be little doubt that there is today a widespread sentiment all over the world calling for progress towards disarmament and, more particularly, in regard to atomic tests and explosions. Even governments are being forced to move in that direction and it is possible that some results might be achieved. But fear and suspicion still dominate the world. The country which thinks itself more powerful wants to retain that superior position, even though it is fairly clear that this will give little advantage if there is mutual destruction of all. In England there is a certain satisfaction that they also belong to the inner circle of the hydrogen bomb-makers. In France there is the expectation of making such a bomb in future. Still I think that something good, however small for the present, will emerge out of these discussions on disarmament.

22. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference<sup>6</sup> produced nothing exciting. In fact it was rather a dull affair. Differences of viewpoints become more marked and the attempt to find phrases to satisfy everybody becomes progressively more difficult. The chief event of the Conference was, of course, the participation of Dr Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana. I have invited him to visit India and I hope he will be able to do so before long.

23. On my return I paid brief visits to Cairo and Khartoum.<sup>7</sup> In Cairo I had long talks with President Nasser and his colleagues. The more I see of President Nasser the more impressed I am by his integrity and straightforwardness. In the intricate politics of the Middle Eastern countries he stands out as an outstanding figure representing the vital nationalism of Egypt and to some extent of the Arab countries. Our relations with Egypt are of the friendliest. Recently some of the Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and Jordan have fallen away from Egypt. I think they are already realizing that this is not to their advantage. The people of these countries certainly do not approve of the recent policies pursued by their governments and thus a hiatus is created between the governments and the people. In Egypt, though obviously there is no democracy as we know it, President Nasser and his Government undoubtedly represent their people and they are trying to move gradually towards a democratic set-up.

24. In Sudan the people were simple and likeable. They are new to the world of international affairs and sometimes are a little confused as to what path they should pursue.

6. Held in London from 26 June to 5 July 1957.

7. From 10 to 14 July 1957.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

25. I have mentioned above that there is a certain feeling of relaxation from tension visible in Europe. This I believe is so, but I do not wish to convey an exaggerated impression of this. Perhaps it is more a hope than an actuality, for the old problems and tensions are still there and the hydrogen bomb continues to cast its malevolent shadow over peoples thinking and action. Armed posts and military alliances face each other, and have spread their baneful effects over the Middle Eastern regions.

26. I should like to add that wherever I went I found a great and growing interest in India and appreciation of the progress our country is making.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



11  
MISCELLANEOUS





# 1. To Harindranath Chattopadhyaya<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

1 May 1957

My dear Harin,<sup>2</sup>

I am sorry for not having acknowledged your letters. I could have written to you straightaway telling you that it was very difficult for me to write any kind of a preface or foreword for your book.<sup>3</sup> I do not write such prefaces and for a book of this type, it would be peculiarly difficult for me to do so. I did not write, however, because I wanted to read the book before I wrote to you. This has taken me some time, as I have been terribly busy.

I have now read the book and this has produced rather mixed feelings in me. Some parts of it are very good, some other parts I did not appreciate so much.

But quite apart from my reactions to the book, it just is beyond me to write a preface for a book of this kind. I find it exceedingly difficult to write about the Buddha or Gandhiji.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 9/2/57-PMS.

2. (1898-1990); poet, playwright, actor and filmmaker; author of more than twenty-five books in English; independent member of Lok Sabha from Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh, at this time.

3. *Siddharth, Man of Peace*, a collection of plays on the Buddha.

## 2. To C.M. Trivedi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

May 7, 1957

My dear Trivedi,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 6th May.<sup>3</sup> You may be leaving the Governorship, but surely you cannot be allowed to retire and cultivate your garden patch. Some time or other we must think of how else you can continue to serve the big causes that we have at heart.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Governor, Andhra Pradesh, 1952-57. Later he served as member, Planning Commission, 1957-63.

3. Informing Nehru of his intention to demit office on 1 July, Trivedi stated: "I have been Governor for too long and also overstayed here by at least two and a half years." He added that he was not going to thank Nehru for all his "support, advice and encouragement during the long period of over 10 ½ years... but will do so a little nearer to the time of my leaving the post."

## 3. To K.K. Datta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

May 9, 1957

Dear Dr Datta,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 6th May. I am honoured by the invitation to me to accept the General Presidentship of the Indian History Congress for its next

1. JN Collection.

2. Professor of History, Patna College, Bihar, 1944-58; President, Indian History Congress, 1958.



annual session.<sup>3</sup> For a variety of reasons, however, I am sorry I cannot accept this invitation. The principal reason is that I am overburdened with work and I cannot add to it. Also, I do not know where I might be in December. Another reason is that I think it not quite appropriate for a person like me, who is not a trained historian, to preside over a conference of specialists. I think this is a bad practice, which should not be encouraged.

Except for the Science Congress, with which I have been associated for a large number of years, I do not accept the Presidentship or any other kind of office of these specialist organizations. Even in the Science Congress, I could not possibly accept the Presidentship now. I did that many years ago.<sup>4</sup> All I do is to try to attend it for a brief while or to inaugurate it.

My work has grown so much that I try to save myself, in so far as I can, from additional commitments. I am grateful to you, however, for your kind invitation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The twentieth session of the Indian History Congress was held at Vallabh Vidyanagar, in Gujarat, in December 1957.

4. Nehru was elected President of the thirty-fourth session of the Indian Science Congress in 1947.

#### 4. To Madan Atal<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 16, 1957

My dear Madan,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 16 May.

I should have liked to know much more about the use to which the Atal family

1. JN Collection.

2. (1887-1957); a physician and cousin of Kamala Nehru, Dr Atal accompanied her to Europe during her last illness. In the thirties he went to Spain and China a part of Indian medical missions. At this time Atal was unwell. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 35, pp. 226-227. Atal died in Beijing on 1 December 1957.

house<sup>3</sup> could be put. The broad object is no doubt good, but this has to be worked out more carefully. I find that, in India, we have good intentions and start bravely in many matters, and then we relax and little is done.

As for the proposed committee and the Vice-President being on it, I do not think there is any bar about the Vice-President being a trustee. I am not, however, sure of conventions in this matter. But, apart from this, I do not think it is suitable to invite Dr Radhakrishnan for such a trust. It would not be proper to trouble him over it.

I would repeat that it is not enough to have broad ideas on this subject. There must be a precise statement of what is to be done and how it is to be done.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

3. Perhaps the reference is to the house in which the Atal family lived in Sitaram Bazar in Old Delhi. It was this house and Haksar ki Haveli, another house in its neighbourhood, which hosted the wedding of Jawaharlal and Kamala in 1916.

## 5. Polish Edition of Gandhiji's Autobiography<sup>1</sup>

I am glad to learn that Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography is going to appear in a Polish translation. I have been asked to write a preface to this Polish edition. I have always found it difficult to write about Mahatma Gandhi. He was too big a man and he had too great and intimate an influence upon me as on innumerable others in India, for me to write about him objectively. Even to think of him brings a multitude of thoughts to my mind.

It was difficult for many of us to understand him fully; how much more difficult must it be for European readers to do so. His two dominant characteristics were, I think, the search for truth and fearlessness. These characteristics led him into many ways, which the great majority of people do not tread. Most of us are

1. Preface, New Delhi, 28 May 1957. File No. 2(11/4)/56-66-PMS.



impelled by circumstances to compromise with truth, most of us are afraid of the consequences of some action which we might otherwise approve of.

Uncompromising as he was in matters of principle, he was very human, and this humanity made him flexible in his approach to human beings. He was no distant person to be admired and respected and perhaps feared. He had an amazing quality of attracting people, even those who differed from him, and by giving them of his affection, he drew their affection towards him. He was a living example demonstrating that goodness brings out goodness in others, that affection draws out affection and that gentleness even tames those who are rough and crude and violent.

His consuming passion was how to raise the common man in India, the hundreds of millions of them, and he judged everything by its effect on these millions. For him peace was not a distant ideal to be aimed at but something to be lived and acted upon from day to day. He believed that however good the end aimed at might be, it would cease to be good if the means employed were also not good. To him, therefore, the means and methods were all important.

He wrote much in spite of a very busy life, and sometimes one has glimpses of the rare quality of this man from what he wrote. But I do not think that his writings give one the full impression of his personality, with its charm and wisdom and friendly approach to all. The unique thing about this man was that a saintly character became a leader of great mass movements which he controlled not only by his wisdom but also by political sagacity. Thus, step by step, he built up the common folk of India and made them shed their fear. He became the Father of the Nation, as he is lovingly called. And yet, the basic message he gave was not for his people only, but for others also.

## 6. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 28, 1957

My dear Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter of May 23, which I have read with considerable interest. Your proposal has some virtue in it.<sup>2</sup> But, no proposal meant for normal times is always suitable for abnormal times.

We have a rule in Government for people to retire at the age of 55. We have had practically to put that aside for scientific, technical and like personnel, because we just cannot spare them. We have people serving us over sixty, because they are considered worthwhile.

It is true that there is a great deal of jealousy,<sup>3</sup> but I doubt very much if any Congressman wants Maulana Azad or Pantji to retire.

As for some training in behaviour,<sup>4</sup> I entirely agree with you. How exactly to do it, is another matter. This necessity for training specially applies to people going abroad.

I think there is room for simplifying the pomp and ceremony that surrounds the President, Governors, Ministers, etc. It is true that an individual can remain unattached by it, but that is an individual matter.<sup>5</sup> The other aspect of it is the

1. JN Collection.

2. Sri Prakasa, Governor of Bombay, thought the only way to revamp the Congress party was to adopt a convention that all Congressmen above 60 years should retire from active public life paving the way for those between 40 and 60. The new set taking the charge of offices would have opportunities to learn work while elders were still around and available for consultation. This convention, Sri Prakasa said, would also make the organization attractive once again for young people to join. See also *ante*, p. 779.

3. The method suggested by him, Sri Prakasa said, would serve to mollify the feeling of jealousy among: party colleagues not holding offices; erstwhile opponents and dispossessed vested interests; and young people feeling deprived of chances to rise.

4. Observing that many holders of high office in India gave the impression of being "very proud, arrogant, stand-offish and cynical", Sri Prakasa suggested that all persons taking the oath of office should be supplied with instructions as regards their conduct towards fellow beings.

5. Sri Prakasa argued that "a certain amount of show becomes necessary" due to the requirements of these offices. He suggested that their occupants should try to be untouched themselves, "like a lotus leaf in water" even if they were "in the midst of apparent splendour."



example that individual sets to others and also, of course, the question of expense when we make a call for austerity. I have been discussing this with the President so far as Rashtrapati Bhavan is concerned.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

## 7. The Leadership of Mahatma Gandhi<sup>1</sup>

I have always found it difficult to write about Mahatma Gandhi. To write about the meeting of two great minds like Gandhi and Romain Rolland is still more difficult. For several decades I served under Gandhi's leadership and I was powerfully influenced and moulded by him. That period was one of historic significance for India and perhaps, to some extent, for the rest of the world. Those of us who were associated with Gandhi during these momentous years cannot easily form a clear and objective opinion of this period or of the great man under whose shadow we lived. When I think of Gandhi, my mind is filled with emotion and innumerable pictures come up before me. How then can I write about him?

1. Written on 1 June 1957 as a foreword to the ninth volume in the series *Cahiere Romain Rolland* which the Romain Rolland Fund intended to publish in 1957 under the title *Cahiere Gandhi-Romain Rolland*. JN Collection.

The Romain Rolland Fund decided, in the meantime, to commemorate the tenth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's death by publishing a new edition of Romain Rolland's *Inde Journal* (1915-1943). They also postponed the publication of *Cahiere Gandhi-Romain Rolland* to the Gandhi centenary. Madame Romain Rolland sought permission to use the above foreword for the *Inde Journal* and Nehru had no objection (11 November 1957). The publishers had proposed to use the foreword again in *Cahiere Gandhi-Romain Rolland* when it was to be published in 1969. However, when this volume, titled *Gandhi Et Romain Rolland* now numbered nineteenth in the series, came out in 1969, the foreword was inadvertently left out. On the suggestion of Madame Romain Rolland, it was included in the English edition, titled *Romain Rolland And Gandhi Correspondence (Letters, Diary Extracts, Articles, Etc.)*, brought out by the Publications Division, Government of India, in 1976.

Yet I have gladly agreed to say a few words as an introduction to this ninth volume of the *Cahiere Romain Rolland* which contains Romain Rolland's letters and writings about Mahatma Gandhi. In the turmoil and agonies of the world today, I think that Gandhiji's message has a peculiar significance for all of us, whether we live in Asia, Europe or America. We live under the shadow of nuclear and thermonuclear bombs and the dreadful news of test explosions of these bombs come to us frequently. We realize that even these explosions are doing injury to mankind. The conscience of man is shocked at this crime against humanity, and yet nothing effective can be done to stop it. And so we drift to disaster without a sense of direction or purpose.

Among the many remarkable qualities of Gandhiji the two most outstanding were, I think, the absence of fear and freedom from hatred. Today fear and hatred grip the world. I cannot imagine a worse companionship for an individual or a nation than that of fear and hatred. The older generation was filled with them and the younger grows up under their shadow.

Gandhiji trained and moulded the Indian people for half a century. We did not get rid of our main failings, but we learnt much from him and something of that teaching remains. It has become a part of the Indian tradition and the heritage of our race. Our people quarrel with each other sometimes, but I think that, on the whole, they are singularly free from hatred.

I had the privilege of meeting Romain Rolland on several occasions at Villeneuve thirty years ago.<sup>2</sup> I was greatly impressed by him and, though he was so different from Gandhi, I sensed a certain communion of spirit between the two. These two men with different backgrounds and experiences met on a higher level and recognized each other. Perhaps in this correspondence we can to some extent sense this community of spirit of two great men. I hope that this publication will give some people glimpses into their minds and help to lighten the burden all of us carry in this present-day turbulent world of ours.

2. Nehru wrote in his *Autobiography* that from Geneva, where he had to stay for some months owing to Kamala Nehru's treatment there, "we went on a pilgrimage many a time (the first time with a letter of introduction from Gandhiji) to the Villa Olga at Villeneuve, to see Romain Rolland.



8. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

June 6, 1957

Nan dear,

I have just received your note of June 3. A day or two ago, I saw in the newspapers that you were not well and I was worried. If you have got the new flu, then this is something which is spreading fast all over Delhi as well as many cities of India. The newspapers are full of it. Fortunately, it has not attacked New Delhi yet, and we, in the Prime Minister's House, are still tolerably healthy. Bombay has had a big dose of it. Schools are closed there and in Delhi.

The only thing to do, as far as I can make out, is to take full rest, and I hope you will do so. They call this flu a mild type. What that means, I don't quite know. There is a threat that this might be followed by a more severe type later.

You will be receiving from me quite a number of letters and notes and copies of circulars. Almost all our thinking here has been channelled in the direction of food and economy. We are in a bad plight and it is likely to grow worse during the next few months. As a matter of fact, we have been taking some measures about imports and other matters ever since the beginning of this year. But, they have produced little result thus far. It is true that results in such matters take some time in coming. T.T. Krishnamachari produced a budget which hurts many people, and yet there was no help for it. Now, this hurt is going to continue in other ways, and none of us is going to escape.

N.R. Pillai left today and will be with you, I suppose, tomorrow or perhaps the day after. I have told him to discuss my programme in London with you and fix up whatever you and he think proper.

I am afraid we are in for a hard time in India. Even the world situation, with some favourable symptoms, does not please me at all. This year, 1957, is going to be a difficult one.

Look after yourself and take rest.

Love,  
Jawahar

1. JN Collection.

## 9. To H.N. Mukherjee<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 9, 1957

My dear Hiren,<sup>2</sup>

I have had your letter with me for some time. If you found it a little difficult to write it, I find it no easier to reply to it. But I want to tell you that I liked reading it and it led me to a chain of thoughts and emotions. Where they lead to, I do not quite know. Thoughts have a way of going into unexpected channels.

You are a sensitive person and you must pay the price for that, as all of us do. I suppose I am also to some extent sensitive, though life hardens one.

You ask me about your writing about Gandhiji.<sup>3</sup> I think you should do so. Indeed, I would like you to do so. I do not think I could attempt any kind of a long account or appraisal of Gandhiji's work. I have occasionally referred to him, in speech and writing, but such references have been brief. I have often been asked to write about him and I have consistently avoided doing so, except for brief messages of no importance.

I find that whenever I think of him, I get emotionally worked up, and that is no mood for proper writing. If I was a poet, which I am not, perhaps that mood might help.

You are also an emotional person, but if you feel the urge to write about him, you should certainly give in to that urge. It sometimes comes to me as a bit of a shock how far the present generation has moved away from Gandhiji's day and how little most of us understand him or can enter into the spirit of the twenties or the thirties. Even those who swear by Gandhiji and are supposed to be his fervent followers and disciples, appear to me to have learnt literally some small part of his message and missed the spirit. How much more so those who did not come into intimate contact with him?

Sometimes I have looked into his own writings or his letters to me. They have carried me back to another world and I have realized how far we had moved

1. JN Collection.

2. CPI member of Lok Sabha from West Bengal.

3. "It is time, isn't it?" asked Mukherjee, to make attempts "reverent and yet critical" to evaluate Gandhiji's works. He observed in his letter of 2 June, "We are largely what he (Gandhiji) made of us, and we are not much of a compliment to him." A re-reading of *Young India*, 1919-22, had recalled to him "things of the spirit which we forget—whether professed disciples of Gandhiji or no."



away from it. Of course, we had to move, because the world moves and things are not what they were. Sometimes indeed I have read my own old letters to him and these have also produced strange sensations.

Has anybody in India ever written what might be called a good biography? I do not know of any such book. Usually such books are records of somebody's public activities and full of eulogy. A few criticize bitterly. Neither appears to approach the subject in the proper frame of mind or with the requisite ability.

You accuse me of limiting myself to being merely the Congress Party leader.<sup>4</sup> It is difficult for me to judge myself or my activities. Perhaps you are right to some extent, but I do not myself understand what people mean by saying that I should leave party and become, what is called, a national leader. Does that not ultimately mean starting a new party and be limited by that? We have had many great men in the past who, rebelling against the caste system or something else, ended merely by starting a new *sampradaya*. To the multitude of our gods and goddesses and of our sects, they added a few more.

Jayaprakash Narayan has frequently summoned me to this national leadership, that is, to get together men of goodwill from all groups and parties and march ahead. Exactly where one is going to march to and in what manner and by what methods is not made clear. It appears to be thought that if people of goodwill just got together in a room, all would be well. As Jayaprakash, for whom I have always had a good deal of affection, is entirely opposed to both my domestic and foreign policies, I do not quite know how both of us together will chalk out a common path. If that is so between us two, what of a larger crowd?

We are all, I suppose, rather lonely persons, sometimes doubting what we ourselves say or do.<sup>5</sup> Anyhow, I am going abroad in a few days. I shall certainly visit Norway, though I fear there will be no time to go to the fjords.<sup>6</sup> I visited

4. Mukherjee asked why Nehru, in his effort to remake India, did not demand "proudly and yet with understanding", the active and welcome cooperation of all together. He wondered why Nehru should limit himself to being a merely Congress party leader, "when your role, is as you know yourself, is different?" Mukherjee also said that while Congress thought had become "abysmally huandrum", Nehru often said "things provocative of thought and significant, but you can't always call people to order, and sometimes even you are stale."
5. "I am a lonely person, with no political or other authority", Mukherjee wrote. "Don't mind me saying things I have no right to say."
6. Mukherjee wrote that he found the fjords "so enchanting" during his visit to Norway in 1931.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

these Norwegian fjords in 1910, just after I had taken my Degree at Cambridge. That was, I suppose, before you were born.

Write to me when you have the urge to do so.<sup>7</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Mukherjee also made some other observations in his letter. Referring to Dr S.N. Sen's advice "that the historian must not have the slightest preconceptions", he pointed out that a 'detached' historian like Toynbee had not taken long "to show his back to India and then talk, sedately, about the Middle East in the most searingly prejudiced spirit." Yet, Mukherjee added, "we talk so much about this 'impartiality' business that something.... shame-faced has crept into our 1857 celebrations." He reminded Nehru, "you once told me, quoting somebody, that a real good historian must be angry and partial." Mukherjee also asked, "how many worry about the veil we have drawn even on the past history of Congress?"

### 10. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
10 June 1957

My dear Morarji,<sup>2</sup>

I am writing to you in connection with our talk this morning about the Hindustani Prachar Sabha's request for a grant from the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. I am putting down here the result of our talk as far as I can remember it.

We agreed that it was desirable to help the Hindustani Prachar Sabha to do its work. Further that it would be desirable to have a building for this purpose. The land has already been obtained by them from the Bombay Government at your instance.

This institute of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha would have a library, a hall, a reading room, office rooms and some research rooms. It should not have any

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister for Commerce and Industry at this time and a former Chief Minister of Bombay.



shops as had been suggested. Indeed, probably it is not permissible under municipal laws to have shops there. But even apart from this, it is not considered desirable by us to associate shops with an institute of this kind, just for the purpose of some income.

This will no doubt reduce the cost of the structure as envisaged by the Hindustani Prachar Sabha in their application. In putting up this structure, it might be desirable to put up the essential parts of it first and later, if necessary, to add to them. At present, apart from finance, there is great difficulty in regard to cement and steel. In fact orders have been issued that no cement or steel will be issued. So I do not know when it will be possible to begin this building.

Two particular points were mentioned at the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi trustees' meeting.<sup>3</sup> One was the future administration of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha and the second was how much the Nidhi should contribute.

As regards the first point, you were of opinion, and I agreed with you, that it would be desirable to have a representative of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi on the Board of Trustees or Managing Committee of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. Also a representative of the Bombay Government. This would bring in some element of continuity in it and keep both the Nidhi and the Bombay Government in touch with its work.

As for the amount of contribution to be made by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, we thought that Rs 5 lakhs would be a suitable figure. We suggested further that about Rs 3 ½ lakhs should be spent on the building and about Rs 50,000/- for the library. The rest should be kept in reserve for future use.

As far as I remember, the Hindustani Prachar Sabha have collected already Rs 70,000/-. This would give a reserve of Rs 170,000/-. This may be used later for additions to the building or for other expenses.

You said that when you go to Bombay in a few days' time, you will meet Perinbehn Captain<sup>4</sup> and discuss this with her.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Devadas Gandhi.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps you might see him before you go to Bombay.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Held on 8 June 1957.

4. (1888-1958); granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji; took part in the freedom struggle and suffered imprisonment on several occasions; General Secretary of Hindustani Prachar Sabha, 1935, and Gandhi Seva Sangh, 1958.

5. Editor, *The Hindustan Times*.

## 11. To John Foster Dulles<sup>1</sup>

[London]  
1st July, 1957

Dear Mr Dulles,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of June 17th has followed me to London and I have read it with great interest. It was very good of you indeed to write to me over this little human incident. I hope that your granddaughter enjoyed the feel of the rug<sup>3</sup> in her stockinged feet. In India the old custom is to take off one's shoes when one walks on rugs or carpets, but I am afraid this custom, like many others, is seldom followed now.

With all good wishes to you,

Sincerely yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, USA.
3. Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi, during their visit to the USA in December 1956, had presented a rug to the Dullesees as a souvenir.

## 12. To G.P. Hutheesing<sup>1</sup>

[London]  
5 July 1957

My dear Raja,<sup>2</sup>

I had your letter about Ajit<sup>3</sup> a few days ago. He has been here and I have had several talks with him. In a sense he has been admitted to the MIT, but there is

1. JN Collection.
2. Writer and industrialist and the husband of Nehru's sister Krishna.
3. Younger son of Krishna and G.P. Hutheesing; graduated from Cambridge University; MBA, Columbia University; investment banker for over thirty years; founder, International Capital Partners, an investment management firm in the US.



a certain risk that after learning the result of his recent examination at Cambridge they might not agree to his going there. I suppose you ought to know this more or less definitely within ten days or a fortnight, as Ajit has already written to them about it.

On the whole I think that he should go to the MIT if that is possible. There is a difficulty about foreign exchange and we have been applying this rule rather strictly. The only way to get over it is on the basis of his having been admitted previously, i.e., that this is no new commitment.

I have had a letter from Beti.<sup>4</sup> Tell her that I have received her note about Rossellini. That letter and note appear to be the products of extreme excitement which, of course, is neither helpful to clear thinking nor clear action. As I have previously written to her on this subject, I am not writing again.

I have also received a telegram, which Beti sent me in regard to certain sentences in Hungary. In such matters we proceed informally as it does little good to make public protests. We have taken such steps as we could.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

4. Nehru's younger sister Krishna was affectionately called by this name.

### 13. To Narendra Mehta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 15, 1957

Dear Narendra Mehta,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of July 10 on my return to Delhi today from my foreign tour. I have read it with interest and, to some extent, I can understand your feeling in this matter.

But I do not understand what you mean by my ceasing to belong to the entire Indian people by confining myself to a party or group in power. It is true that I

1. JN Collection.

2. Of Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA.

happen to be Prime Minister and belong to the party in power. I would gladly function in any other capacity if thereby I could serve my people better. The time may come when I may do so. But your whole argument appears to be that I can serve my country by wandering about rather aimlessly, trying to inspire the people. The logic of this is not clear to me. I do wander about to some extent and meet large numbers of people, young and old. For my part, I have continued to function as of old, though, inevitably, everyone of us has to adapt himself to changing conditions. Each one must have a function in order to justify himself. A function need not be an office, but it cannot be merely wandering about in order to inspire. The inspiration and the realization of the function comes through work. We struggled for independence, and that was a function. We struggle now to realize that independence and the content of social progress. It is easy to escape from responsibility and talk in vague generalities. It is much more difficult to grapple with the problems that confront us, instead of losing oneself in vague appeals.

There is plenty of room and opportunity for any individual to work for the betterment of India and the Indian people. The inspiration must come from within him if it is to be worthwhile.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 14. To J.H. Adam<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 17, 1957

Dear Mr Adam,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of the 15th July with which you have sent me a printed circular. I agree with you that this circular is in very bad taste.

You must have observed that in all our references to what happened in 1857 we have deliberately avoided mention of atrocities and the like. I cannot guarantee

1. JN Collection.

2. Managing Director, Orient Longmans (Private) Ltd., Kolkata.



what any individual might do. But I do think that the effort made by us has been largely successful. Whenever occasion offers itself, I shall again express my disapproval of any hate propaganda.

Meanwhile I am asking my Secretary to write to the people who have issued this printed circular to tell them of my disapproval.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Nehru directed his Private Secretary to write to the persons sponsoring the 1857 Centenary Souvenir and tell them that the Prime Minister had noticed with deep regret the kind of picture they had given at the top of their brochure which showed people hanging from trees or being bayoneted. "I do not think this is a proper way of celebrating this Centenary," stated Nehru.

## 15. To Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 18, 1957

My dear Maulana,

You will remember speaking to me about Colonel Jiwan Singh<sup>2</sup> who is said to have a Home on the Bengal-Pakistan border.<sup>3</sup> I had previously helped him a great deal and so have the Ministry of Rehabilitation in spite of rather adverse reports from the Bengal Government.

I have now had an enquiry made by an officer of the Rehabilitation Ministry who went to Colonel Jiwan Singh's Home. A long report has been sent to me by this officer. This report is not at all favourable to Colonel Jiwan Singh's activities which are really personal in character and have little of public interest in them. There are no accounts for the large sums he has received. He has apparently acquired twelve acres of land which he uses for farming, has a jeep, a dairy unit, etc. He has only five boys in his so-called Home.<sup>4</sup> One of these is working as his secretary and another looking after a coal retail shop.

I am enclosing this report. I shall be grateful if you will kindly return it to me after you have read it.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Jiwan Singh was with Mahatma Gandhi at Noakhali. He later worked in the border areas between West Bengal and East Pakistan, especially in regard to the displaced Muslims.

3. On 16 May, Azad told Nehru that Jiwan Singh had written to him that he was in difficulties after Nehru had stopped helping him and that "he would have to put an end to his work of rehabilitating Muslim refugees." Nehru said that he had helped Jiwan Singh "a great deal" and he did not know how the money was being utilized. Azad defended the work done by Jiwan Singh and concurred with Nehru that the West Bengal Government did not like Jiwan Singh. "In this matter", according to Azad, "the West Bengal Government had not been fair to these Muslim refugees." On being asked by Azad whether the Rehabilitation Ministry could help Jiwan Singh, Nehru undertook to enquire from the Minister. The same day Nehru asked Mehr Chand Khanna to have a personal enquiry made about the work being done by Jiwan Singh.

4. Jiwan Singh had named his institution as Gandhi Cultural Home.

5. On 18 July, Nehru also wrote to R.S. Dhotre, Secretary, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, conveying to him the findings of the enquiry made by the Rehabilitation Ministry. Jiwan Singh had requested for financial help from the Nidhi. Nehru told Dhotre, "In the circumstances, I do not think any question of helping him from the Nidhi arises."



## 16. To Algurai Shastri<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 18, 1957

My dear Algurai,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 15th July has reached me today.

I had previously read the Foreword of Maulana Azad in the book *Eighteen Fiftyseven*.<sup>3</sup> I saw nothing in it to which I could object. It is a scholarly Foreword giving his appreciation on historical lines, as indeed the whole book does. It is not a question of anyone agreeing with it or not agreeing. You have quoted what I have said in my book.<sup>4</sup> My book of course was not a scholar's history. But, in any event, I see no basic conflict between the two. The main question which historians have considered is as to whether this revolt was previously organized or not. On this there may be two opinions. No one doubts that it became a national uprising at a certain stage and produced a number of heroes. No one doubts also about the atrocities committed by the British forces.

As for what Sardar Panikkar<sup>5</sup> has written in an article, that represents his views with which one may agree or not agree. There are some things which he has said with which I do not agree and there are many with which I do agree. We allow free expression of opinion.

As for cow slaughter and beef eating, I do not think he has expressed himself happily; but his point is that a very large number of people all over the world indulge in this and we cannot condemn them merely because of this.

In any event, I do not see why we should object to opinions which we do not

1. JN Collection.

2. General Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament.

3. In his Foreword to this book written by S.N. Sen, Azad stated that the uprising was not the result of careful planning nor "were there any master-minds behind it." He noted that the uprising was a result of the "distaste" the Indian people had developed for the Company's rule in the hundred years preceding the revolt.

4. Nehru wrote in *Discovery of India* that the revolt in 1857 had been secretly and well organized but a premature outburst rather upset the plan of the leaders. He stated that it was much more than a military mutiny and assumed the character of a popular rebellion of the masses. Nehru wrote that the revolt strained British rule to the utmost, adding that it brought out the inherent weakness of the old regime in India, "which was making its last despairing effort to drive out foreign rule."

5. India's Ambassador to France at this time.

like being expressed. We are not a totalitarian state and we give full freedom of expression of opinion.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 17. To Jayaprakash Narayan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 18, 1957

My dear Jayaprakash,

I have received your letter of the 14th July on my return from Europe. You have addressed me as "Dear Sir". I hope you will permit me to continue to address you as I have done previously. I do not remember, though perhaps I may have a short memory, of ever having allowed my personal relations with anyone to be affected because of differences of opinion, however strong these latter might be. I see no reason why I should do so in your case, even though you may feel otherwise. And so, I shall continue to address you as before and to have affection for you.

I do not know how any reference to our correspondence<sup>2</sup> got into the press. So far as I remember, there was only a brief reference to my having written to you. I had taken good care that my letter should not be seen by unauthorized persons.

I am writing to you because I must. Not to send you any kind of a reply would be improper and might lead you to think that I did not want to reply to it. At the same time, I must confess that I do not quite know how to reply. We appear to have moved from the region of calm argument to another and more undesirable sphere. Perhaps I am a guilty party, though it was never my intention to indulge in what you refer to as "outright abuse."

It is true that I expressed my views strongly and criticized what I considered your views equally strongly and pointed out how far apart we were both in

1. JN Collection.

2. The reference is to Jayaprakash Narayan's letter of 1 March 1957 to Nehru and Nehru's reply dated 3 April 1957. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 37, pp. 366-374.



regard to domestic issues and international issues. I ventured to call you "woolly minded". I would not personally call that a term of abuse. We all of us are supposed to suffer from this from time to time, certainly I do.

I do not know how you have got the impression that I did not wish to meet you. I have always welcomed meeting you and shall always do so, however much we may differ. What I had said was that your recent statements had shown such a very wide gap in our thinking that there was little likelihood of this being bridged easily. I hope that I am not wholly incapable of understanding a viewpoint which is opposed to mine, even though I disagree with it thoroughly. I confess, however, that at times I fail to understand what you are reported to have said. I had usually to go by press reports; but even your letter did not help me to understand your line of thought. The fault may have been mine. I am sorry if I have put any words into your mouth which you have not uttered. I think you will find that others beside me were also a little confused about your utterances. Even some of your colleagues expressed their difficulty in understanding your thought.

It would serve little purpose for me to argue with you in this letter about various domestic or international policies to which you have referred in your letter. Apart from differences of opinion on these issues, there is evidently a lack of even a tolerant approach. You have compared our Government to a totalitarian one and have expressed the view that Acton would have included our Government in his famous statement of absolute power corrupting. I have heard many criticisms of our Government and I have no doubt that there is a good deal of justification for criticism. We have made many mistakes; but I had not heard from anyone yet the statement that our Government was a totalitarian one or could be put on the same basis in regard to absolute power. Apart from this, I had laboured under the impression that the opposition in India was fairly strong and had functioned effectively.

You have referred in your letter to allegations in Bihar and Orissa about Sri Babu<sup>3</sup> and Mahtab.<sup>4</sup> I was not aware of these allegations though I have had many complaints from Bihar. In view of what you have said, I am drawing the attention of the Congress President to this matter. You will appreciate, however, that in the state of affairs existing in Bihar, all kinds of allegations and counter-allegations are made, many of which have no substance whatever.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

3. Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar.

4. Harekrushna Mahtab, Chief Minister of Orissa.

## 18. To Krishna Kripalani<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 28, 1957

My dear Krishna,<sup>2</sup>  
Your letter of the 26th July.

I really do not know how I can help you or Shanti Srivastava<sup>3</sup> in this matter. All I can suggest is that not too much attention should be paid to these wild threats which you have received.

I do not know if I have met Shanti Srivastava. Anyhow, I cannot remember her. But, of course, I know Sadiq Ali<sup>4</sup> very well and have always liked him. If Sadiq Ali and Shanti want to marry, they should do so and have our good wishes.

I hope you do not mind my informing the police of this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Secretary, Sahitya Akademi, 1954-71.

3. (1912-2004); wife of Sadiq Ali; Executive Secretary, Indian Council for Africa; Member of the Indian Delegation to the thirty-ninth session of the UN General Assembly; Member of UN Committee on elimination of Racial Discrimination from 1980.

4. (1910-2001); freedom fighter and Congressman from Rajasthan; Member, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1958-70; General Secretary, AICC, 1958-62, 1966-67 and 1968; Governor, Maharashtra, 1977-80; Lt. Governor, Pondicherry, April-July 1981; Governor, Tamil Nadu, 1980-82.



## 19. To Harsha Hutheesing<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 28, 1957

My dear Harsha,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 19th July reached me a few days ago. You have touched upon so many subjects of importance that any kind of an adequate reply would take too much time. I have, therefore, to reply to you rather briefly.

I remember well the talk I had with you last December at midnight in New York. That talk really did not touch, so far as I remember, any of the subjects you have mentioned in your letter.

Probably you and I differ in our approach in some matters. But some things that you say in your letter as representing my viewpoint, are not correct. Also, you are naturally approaching these subjects from a theoretical and idealistic point of view, being largely cut off from the realities in India.

So far as I am concerned, I believe in democracy and individual freedom. The whole basis of our planning has been that. But individual freedom for whom?<sup>3</sup> Only for a few persons or for many? The stark fact in India is of the lack of freedom of the vast numbers of our people who face poverty. There is no greater limitations to a person's freedom than poverty and all the ills that it brings. My own views in regard to India and on life generally received a tremendous shock when the reality of India's poverty came up before me.

The question thus becomes one of fighting this poverty and giving higher standards and more freedom to our people. Opinions may differ as to the policies to be pursued. But everyone has to agree that that is the major problem. Indeed there is no choice in this matter, because the problem always tends to overwhelm everything else. It certainly will overwhelm such individual freedom a few of us possess unless some other steps are taken, and taken with some rapidity, so as to avoid social catastrophe.

Those steps must lead to the production of wealth and its equitable distribution. The prosperous countries of today are the industrialized countries. We have

1. JN Collection.

2. Elder son of Krishna and G.P. Hutheesing. He was at Princeton at this time.

3. Harsha argued that the trend of government policy was in the direction of an increasing control over society at the cost of individual freedom. He contended that the stress on heavy industry and policy measures, like heavy taxation, did not foster a belief in democratic principles.

thus to develop our industries as well as of course agriculture, which continues to be our primary occupation.

When we have to face a problem with so many facets and when our resources are so limited, we have necessarily to channel our resources, so that they might produce the best results. Otherwise a great part of them is wasted. That is planning.

Thus, for instance, if we are short of steel or cement, are we to allow most of these to be used in building palaces or pleasure houses or use them to better advantage, either in industry or in housing?

Planning means a balancing of the various sectors of our economy, so that there might be a balanced growth. We may not succeed in this, because there are many uncertain factors, but we try to do it and learn from experience and trial and error. There has to be a balance between industry and agriculture, between heavy industry and light industry and cottage industry.

No industry, except perhaps village industry, can advance with any speed unless we produce our own machines. We require, therefore, iron and steel and machine making industry. Otherwise we are dependent always on foreign sources and have to pay heavily for the commodities we get from them. Sometimes we cannot get them. As a consequence it becomes essential to build up iron and steel plants and to lay the foundations of machine building. There is no escape from this.

To say that this is against the principle of democracy, appears to me to be very near arrant nonsense, unless democracy is the privilege of a few and others are outside the pale. Indeed, as I have said above, we have no choice in this matter because the political and social urges that move the people will not accept any continuation of existing conditions. In the Western countries an economic revolution and growth took place long before what might be called a political revolution. They built up their economy and gained a measure of prosperity before political and social pressures became great. In India and like countries, political revolution has preceded the economic one and we have constantly to face the urges of millions of people who demand a better life. Are we to tell them that it is against democracy for them to require higher standards and they must remain more or less content with what they have got, because otherwise the leisure of a few would be affected? Even if we wanted to, we cannot do so, and we would be swept away.

You say, rightly, that people have a right to immediate economic gain. I agree. But there is no economic gain at all unless our production goes up. There is always an increasing population which swallows up any slight gain. Also there will be no progress at all unless there is some kind of a surplus to invest. While, therefore, we should try to give this immediate gain to some extent, we have



necessarily to keep part of this gain apart for investment for future progress. How to plan this is another matter and there may be short periods when we have to face difficulties. The crossing of the barrier of poverty to a self-productive economy is always a difficult business.

We have to work for immediate gains for the people as well as future gains.<sup>4</sup> In the First Five Year Plan, some immediate gains came. They will no doubt continue, though there might be a little gap. But we found that we were not even keeping pace with the growth of the population. Unemployment was, therefore, growing. We had, therefore, to increase the pace of production, investment, etc.

When you think of the people of India, who do you have in mind? There are many grades of people, a very small fringe of prosperous people at the top, a small number of semi-prosperous people and a vast number of people who live on a bare subsistence level. The goods that count for them are food, clothing, oil and one or two other things.

If democracy is to subsist in India, it has to be built from below and not something that is limited to a few at the top. If you want to see democracy growing in India, you should go to the villages of India, over five hundred thousand of them, and see how our community development programmes are making a difference to their lives and gradually freeing them from the curse and limitations of poverty. It is a slow process, but even now it is visible. The village panchayat is the basis of our democracy. So also the village cooperative.

You talk of the worth of an individual. I agree. But, which individual? And how many individuals in India live a life worth living? Does morality tell us that a few persons should live by the exploitation of vast numbers and at their expense? Is any social system which is based on such exploitation morally right?

Suppose there is a war. What happens to individual freedom then? Individual freedom is suppressed in a large measure so that the freedom itself may survive. If an individual then talks about individual rights at the expense of the nation's freedom, he would be given short shrift. We are not in the midst of a war of that type. But we have to face problems which requires something at least of that perseverance and determination and self-sacrifice which are sometimes evident in war. How did we attain our freedom in India? In order to obtain our freedom, we voluntarily sacrificed such limited freedom as we possessed and went to

4. Harsha maintained that when people were living on daily subsistence level wages, they had a right to immediate economic gain in the form of consumer goods, even if such gains be slight. What the government seemed to be doing was to sacrifice the possibility of present gains for greater gains in the future, and was, in fact, asking a generation to sacrifice itself without hope of gain so that following generations might reap the rewards of their sacrifice, claimed Harsha Hutheesing. He stated that such a demand was morally indefensible.

prison, apart from losing our property and breaking up our families and the rest. According to your argument, a person who functioned in this way, was not only not democratic but also a fool.

A government, you say, has no right to decide what an individual should do or not do.<sup>5</sup> I should like a government to interfere with my life as little as possible, provided of course I do not interfere with other people's lives. But, as a matter of fact, in every complex society, however democratic it might be, government interferes in many ways. Primary education as well as secondary education is largely determined by the government in every democratic country. There may be some odd schools, privately run, but the great majority of people have no choice and they go to these public schools run by governmental agency. Also there is compulsory education, compulsory learning of various subjects, languages, etc., in these schools. Is this objectionable, because some authority is limiting the freedom of the individual?

You talk about education and especially study abroad. Nobody comes in the way of education here except in so far as sometimes facilities are limited. As for study abroad, it means spending very hard earned foreign exchange. Are we to allow the country to go bankrupt simply to please a large number of people who want to go abroad for study? You may say that a large sum is not involved in this and you may be right. But I am putting the principle to you. We have to save our foreign exchange resources as far as we can and to apply them only to what are inescapable purposes until such time as we are in a better condition to afford such resources. How many young men and women today can get the education that may satisfy them? This does not depend on the wishes of the individual so much as the resources of the individual. The poor can hardly satisfy any want because they have not got the resources.

I am all in favour of people going abroad to get a wider outlook and for study. We have no desire to put any obstructions except perhaps temporary ones which are forced upon us by circumstances. But I have often found that the persons who go abroad for study end by being neither here nor there. They lose their roots and cannot find new ones, with the result that they are usually unhappy

5. Harsha thought the political effect of the present policy was to undermine democracy because the Government had arrogated to itself the right to decide what the individual should do and what he should not. This was exemplified in an official announcement regarding study abroad. He argued that it was not for the Government to decide where a person should study. According to him, the value of education abroad "is not only a better and juster appreciation of other people's ways", it also "brings about internal changes in the person concerned." Citing his own experiences in India and subsequently at Cambridge and Princeton, Harsha argued that he was a better man for it.



and frustrated when they come back to India and find that everything is not to their liking here.

Our policy does not believe the State to be superior to the individual.<sup>6</sup> But it does believe that every individual must be given a chance and that no one, in so far as possible, should do something which comes in the way of somebody else's chance. You have laid down certain propositions governing our policy which are not correct, and then you have tried to disprove them.

It may be that the pace of development might be a little slower or a little faster. That is a matter for consideration and argument. But what you have discussed is what you call the philosophy underlying our policy. Therein I think you are wrong. By our programme of heavy industry, it was not our intention to depress existing standards. It may possibly have a temporary effect not because of that policy but because of the failure of the harvest and floods, inflation in other countries and higher prices of machinery and all that. Defence is a terrible burden on us. This has nothing to do with our planning on economic policy. It is the consequence of Pakistan's policy and the very heavy arming of Pakistan by the United States.

We have no intention of lowering existing standards. In fact our policy is to raise them in so far as we can, but always keeping in view that we should lay the foundations of a better life for our people.<sup>7</sup> All the democratic freedom that we possess today is the fruit of the work and sacrifice of an earlier generation which went through difficult times and endured much suffering. They did so gladly. Every parent is prepared to stint himself for his child.

This is a hurriedly dictated and rather disjointed letter, and it has become longer than I had intended. I am glad you wrote to me. Do not hesitate to do so, though I may not always be able to reply to you.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

6. Harsha stated that Government policy seemed to be based on the principle that the State was in some ways greater than the sum of its parts, that is, greater than the number of individuals who composed it. This, he claimed, was a direct contradiction of the democratic principles and also in itself quite false.
7. Harsha concluded his letter with the hope that it would be possible to have a policy "which involve lower and more balanced development, which raises economic standards without sacrificing the principle of liberty and every individual's right to the pursuit of happiness as he sees it."





## GLOSSARY

acharya	teacher; professor
bhai	brother
chaprassi	peon; attendant
dalia/daliya	half-ground or coarsely pounded grains of wheat boiled with milk or water
giani/gyani	wise; learned; knowledgeable
hazrat	a honorific title denoting respect usually used for the prophets
jagir	a tract of land and its revenue usually given for services rendered
Jana-gana-mana	the opening words of the India's National Anthem
jayanti	birth anniversary
ji	an honorific; a suffix
kabari	a scrap merchant
kanungo	a revenue official
Magh mela	a fair held in India in the eleventh month of the Hindu lunar calendar, corresponding to January-February
maharana	Indian prince from Rajasthan
mandal	a circle; zone; territory
math	a monastery; a temple
patwari	village record-keeper
puṇnima	the full-moon day
Ram Rajya	just, equitable and ideal rule
rath	chariot

# SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

sammelan	a conference; meeting;
sampradaya	a community; sect
shanti	peace
shrimati	a title of respect used before the name of a woman in India



## NAME INDEX

(Biographical footnotes in this volume and in volumes in the first series are italicized and those in the second series are given in block letters.)

- Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act (1949), 342
- Abdul Aziz, 706
- Abdullah, Kamel Mustafa, 197 & fn, ———, S.M., (*Vol. 7, p. 308*), 197
- Acton, Lord, J.E.E.D., (VOL. 37, P. 29), 821
- Adam, J.H., 816
- Afghanistan, 590-591, 741, 744, 775  
———, Government of, 740-741, press in, 741
- Afghans, 6
- Africa, 25, 164-165, 455, 467, 470, 472, 551, 599, 604, 607, 617-618, 632 fn, 651-653, 671, 745, 782  
———, East, 449  
———, North, 633
- African Students' Association of India, 164
- After Nehru What?* (M.J. Kanetkar), 365 fn
- Aga Khan, the (Third), 8 & fn, 111 & fn
- Aguirre, Jorge Govantes Y, 412 & fn, 418
- Ahmed, Fakhruddin Ali, 262 & fn  
———, Syed Khalil, 300
- Air-India International, 753
- Akali Dal *see* Shiromani Akali Dal
- Akershus Castle (Oslo), 540 fn
- Alampur (Andhra Pradesh), 166
- Alexander I, Czar, 276
- Algeria, 461, 633, 645, 667, 671, 747, 792
- Ali, Mir Osman, (VOL. 1, P. 291), 492-493  
———, Sadiq, 822 & fn  
———, Saiyid Fazl, (VOL. 3, P. 31), 135, 138, 257-258, 260, 262-264, 266, 269, 271
- Aligarh (Uttar Pradesh), 204
- Aligarh Muslim University, 185, 191
- All India Congress Committee (AICC), 47, 48 fn, 75 & fn, 98-99, 101, 113-114, 144 fn, 177 fn, 195, 213, 321, 386, 397, 405 *see also* Indian National Congress  
———, meeting (New Delhi, 1-2 June 1957) of, 46 fn, 99, 100 & fn, 113 fn, 378, 380, 393  
———, resolution on economic situation (June 1957), 46-48  
———, resolution on food production, (June 1957), 113-114
- All India Hindu Mahasabha, 305 fn, 699
- All India Institute of Medical Sciences (New Delhi), 197 & fn, 198-199
- All India Muslim League, 228
- All India Radio, 70, 306 fn, 333-334, 422

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- All India Trade Union Congress, 299  
 All India Women's Conference, 191 & fn, 339  
 All Tribes Conference (Kohima), 270-271  
 Allahabad, 4, 191-192, 307, 333, 384, 391  
 ———, *Magh Mela* at, 333-334  
 Alvares, Peter, (*Vol. 11, p. 82*), 445  
 Ambala (Haryana), 231 fn, 236  
 Ambar Charkha, 339  
 Ambedkar, B.R., (*Vol. 5, p. 299*), 204, 339  
 Ambegaokar, K.G., (*VOL. 14 Pt. I, P. 34*), 330  
 American Bloc, 455, 475 fn, 488, 518, 583, 635, 667  
 American Jewish Congress, 752 & fn  
 Amritsar (Punjab), 236  
 Anand Swami, 209 fn, 216 fn  
 Anantnag (Jammu and Kashmir), 424 fn  
 Andaman Islands, 250 & fn  
 Andhra Pradesh, 51, 55, 107 fn, 120, 802 & fn  
 ———, Government of, 166-167, 281  
 Anthony, Frank, (*Vol. 15, p. 211*), 62, 65-66  
 Anti-Colonial League, 598 & fn  
 Anuradhapura (Sri Lanka), 709 & fn, 720  
 Apsara (atomic reactor, Trombay), 159, 536 fn  
 Aqaba, Gulf of, 590 & fn, 608  
 Arab countries, 470, 473, 526, 608, 621, 642, 647, 651-652, 685, 729, 747, 755, 786, 797  
 Arab League, 685, 735 & fn  
 Arabian Nights, 785  
 Archaeological Survey of India, 166, 167 fn  
 Arunachal Pradesh, 219, 250-254, 265, 267-268, 769  
 Arya Samaj, 90, 339  
 ———, (Delhi), 224  
 ———, (Punjab), 209 & fn, 213-214, 216 fn, 217 & fn, 218, 222-223, 227-228, 230, 236, 389, 436  
 Aryans, 5  
 Asansol (West Bengal), 131  
 Ashoka Hotel (New Delhi), 133, 134 & fn, 281, 285, 385  
 ———, Board of Directors, 133  
 Asia, 18, 25, 455, 467, 470, 472, 486, 500-502, 525-526, 528-529, 551, 572, 583, 586, 592, 594-595, 599, 604, 607, 617-618, 624-626, 651-653, 661-662, 669, 671, 675, 737-738, 745, 783  
 ———, Central, 480, 744  
 ———, East, 609-610  
 ———, South-East, 398, 524, 526, 555, 610, 612-614, 670  
 Asian-African Conference (Bandung, 1955), 457 fn, 473-474, 621, 721, 742, 745, 750  
 Asian Relations Conference (New Delhi, 1947), 675  
 Asoka, Emperor, 474 fn, 480, 546, 710 fn  
 Assam, 49, 55, 124, 135 fn, 137-139, 140 fn, 145-146, 152, 256, 260, 262-264, 270, 320, 738  
 ———, Cabinet of, 139 fn, 262, 270  
 ———, Congress Legislature Party in, 139 & fn-140  
 ———, Government of, 142-143, 145, 265, 269-271, 319-322, 338  
 ———, Legislative Assembly of, 270-271, 322 fn  
 ———, Press in, 262  
 Assam Oil Company, 135-137



- Assam Pradesh Congress Committee, 140, 144, 264  
 ———, Constructive Wing of, 319-320, 338 & fn, 340  
 Assam Railway, 123  
 Assam Rifles, 257-258, 260-261  
 Associated Press, 518, 530  
 Atal, Mrs, 284  
 Atal, Madan, 803 & *fn*  
 Atomic Energy, Department of (Government of India), 155 *fn*, 156-157, 160-162, 183 *fn*, 315  
 Atomic Energy Commission (Government of India), 156  
 Australia, 618 *fn*, 684, 776  
*Autobiography* (Jawaharlal Nehru), 736 *fn*, 808 *fn*  
 Awadh, 4-5  
 Ayyangar, M. Ananthasayanam, (VOL. 5, P. 81), 83 *fn*, 353 *fn*-354, 355 *fn*, 358 *fn*  
 Azad, A.K., (*Vol. I, p. 353*), 140, 177, 180-182, 185, 215, 224, 313, 318, 360 & *fn*, 396, 806, 818 & *fn*-819 & *fn*  
 Ba Swe, U, (VOL. 34, P. 216), 728  
 Baghdad Pact *see* Central Treaty Organization  
 Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, (*Vol. 9, p. 440*), 414, 424-425  
 Balmiki, K.L., 243 & *fn*  
 Bandaranaike, S.W.R.D., (VOL. 25, P. 506), 706 *fn*, 720, 726  
 Bandung Conference *see* Asian-African Conference  
 Banerjee, K.K., 335 *fn*  
 ———, Purnendu Kumar, 765 & *fn*  
 ———, Surendranath, (*Vol. 3, p. 241*), 358 & *fn*  
 Bangalore, 240  
 Bangiya *Sabdakosh* (Haricharan Bandyopadhyaya), 176 *fn*  
 Bara Hoti (Uttaranchal), 693 & *fn*  
 Barauni (Bihar), 136-137, 139, 142-143, 146, 269  
 Barrackpore (West Bengal), 4  
 Barua, Hem, 67 & *fn*, 68-69, 95  
 Beijing, 689, 692-693, 788  
 Belgaum (Karnataka), 304 & *fn*, 451  
 Bengal, 5  
 ———, East, 49  
 Ben-Gurion, David, (VOL. 33, P. 554), 752 *fn*  
 Bergman, Ingrid, 287 *fn*, 295 & *fn*  
 Bernhard, Prince, (of Netherlands), 775 & *fn*  
 Bevan, Aneurin, (VOL. 12, P. 161), 415, 423 & *fn*  
 Bhabha, Homi J., (*Vol. 13, p. 536*), 162, 183 & *fn*, 315, 516 & *fn*, 774  
 Bhakra Dam (Punjab), 702  
 Bhakra-Nangal, 13, 36  
 Bhandari, P.C., (*Vol. 15, p. 93*), 696 *fn*, 698 *fn*  
 Bharat Sevak Samaj, 237 *fn*-238, 320  
 Bhawe, Vinoba (Vinayak Narahari Bhawe), (VOL. 5, P. 74), 217, 225 *fn*, 429, 590  
 Bhilai Steel Plant (Chhattisgarh), 744  
 Bhonsle (Goan leader), 445  
 Bhooswami Sangh (Rajasthan), 247 *fn*  
 Bhopal (Madhya Pradesh), 106, 754 *fn*  
 ———, Nawab of, *see* Khan, Hamidullah  
 Big Four, 521  
 ———, Conference of, (Geneva, July 1955), 487  
 Bihar, 4, 17, 136 *fn*, 139, 160, 347 *fn*, 695, 821  
 ———, Government of, 324  
 Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee, 402 *fn*-403

# SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- , Pataskar Report, 403 & fn-404 & fn
- Billimoria, Najoo P.J., 298-299
- Bindra, Budhi Singh, 235
- Birla, Ghanshyamdas, (*Vol. 5, p. 135*), 393, 731
- Birlas, 393, 730
- Birmingham (UK), 651
- Blitz (Mumbai), 289
- Bodh Gaya (Bihar), 687
- Bohr, Niels Henrik, (*VOL. 15 Pt.I, P. 493*), 158, 479 fn
- Bombay city *see* Mumbai
- Bombay State, 23, 55, 77 fn, 107 fn, 124, 179, 298 fn, 779 fn
- , Government of, 190 fn, 205 fn, 245, 294, 445, 812
- , Police in, 292 fn-293, 298
- Bonnerjea, W.C., 358 fn
- Borkar, G., 186 fn
- Bourke-White, Margaret, 336 fn
- Brazil, 754 fn
- Britain *see* United Kingdom
- British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), 599 fn
- British Empire, 793
- British imperialism, 487, 511, 556
- British Medical Research Council, 162
- Broadlands (UK), 275
- Buckler, Dr, 195 fn
- Budapest, 763, 793, 796
- Buddha, Gautama, 11, 15, 503, 706, 708-710, 712, 715, 724, 801 & fn
- , Samadhi, 710
- Buddha Jayanti, 3, 82, 706-710, 711 fn, 720, 725
- Buddhism, 203-204, 456, 549, 555, 711, 724-725
- Budhwar, Mary, 200 fn
- Bulganin, N.A., (*VOL. 29, P. 206*), 276, 457, 624, 651, 757 fn
- Bunker, Ellsworth, 734 fn
- Bureau of Mines, 318
- Burma *see* Myanmar
- Burmah Oil Company, 135 fn
- Burmah Shell, 128 fn, 132 fn
- Cabinet (India), 44, 46 fn, 60-61, 109 fn, 116, 120, 132, 142 fn, 190, 197-198, 200 & fn, 201 fn, 202 & fn, 226 fn, 244, 306 fn, 311, 337, 344, 345 fn, 346 fn, 385, 405, 425 fn, 676 fn
- , Committee on Oil, 135
- , Defence Committee of, 257, 346, 440
- , Economic Committee of, 115 fn
- , Foreign Affairs Committee of, 445, 447
- Secretariat, 311-312
- Cahiere Romain Rolland*, 807 fn, 808
- Cairo, 685, 729, 732, 735, 750, 795, 797
- Calcutta *see* Kolkata
- Calcutta University, 398
- Cambodia, 611
- Cambridge, (Massachusetts, USA), 815 fn
- , (UK), 194, 812
- Cameron, James (Mark), 599 & fn
- Canada, 159, 276 fn, 601, 611, 630, 632, 635, 646, 733, 749, 770-771, 787
- , Government of, 632, 635, 787
- , Liberal Party of, 787
- Captain, Perinbehn, 813 & fn
- Carlill, Stephen Hope, 557 fn
- Cartier-Bresson, Henry, 336 fn
- Central Social Welfare Board, 339
- Central Statistical Organization, 50, 311
- Central Treaty Organization (CENTO,



- 1955), 462-463, 582, 608-609, 685, 789  
 Ceylon *see* Sri Lanka  
 Ceylonese Workers Congress, 705-706  
 Chacko, M.E., 411, 417, 419  
 Chakrata (Uttaranchal), 297, 301 *fn*  
 Chakravarty, Amiya, (*Vol. 6, p. 292*) 768 & *fn*  
 ———, Renu, (*VOL. 18, P. 335*), 68, 95  
 Chaliha, B.P., (*VOL. 10, P. 369*), 262  
 ———, Kuladhar, 322 *fn*  
 Chaman Lall, (*Vol. 3, p. 128*), 232, 306  
 Chanda, Asok K., (*VOL. 10, P. 365*), 319 *fn*, 320-322, 323 *fn*, 325, 338  
 Chandigarh, 217 *fn*  
 ——— Capital Project, 107  
 Chandrasekhar, Subrahmanyam, (*VOL. 37, P. 273*), 158 & *fn*  
 Charat Ram, Sumitra, 179 & *fn*  
 Chatterjee, N.C., (*VOL. 6, P. 51*), 305, 309 & *fn*, 310 *fn*  
 Chatterji, Suniti Kumar, 172 & *fn*, 173-174  
 Chattopadhyaya, Harindranath, 801 & *fn*  
 Chauhan, Nawab Singh, 107 & *fn*  
 Chavan, Y.B., (*VOL. 37, P. 243*), 77, 249 & *fn*, 304 *fn*, 348 *fn*  
 Chavara (Quilon), 161  
 Chennai, 168, 183, 748  
 ———, Guindy, 168 *fn*  
 Chequers (UK), 275  
 Chet Singh, Ranjit W., 200 *fn*  
 Chhatari (Uttar Pradesh), 447 *fn*, 771  
 ———, Nawab of, *see* Khan, Muhammad Ahmad Sayeed  
 Chiang Kai-shek, (*Vol. 10, p. 74*), 574, 674-675, 689  
 Chibber, S.L., 688 *fn*  
 Chile, 674-675, 754 & *fn*  
 Chilwell Training School (Australia), 776  
 China, 17-18, 20, 22, 27, 38, 97, 121, 187, 193 & *fn*, 385, 457, 555, 562, 573, 575, 585-586, 609-615, 617, 624-625, 636, 651, 653, 655-656, 670, 682-684, 689-693, 719, 721, 728-729, 744, 747, 783-784, 787-788  
 ———, agreement (29 April 1954) on trade and intercourse with the Tibet region of, 457 & *fn*  
 ———, five year plan of, 783  
 ———, Government of, 43, 187, 193, 457, 688, 690, 747  
 ———, Government (pre-1949) of, 674, 689  
 ———, Indian Embassy in, 193, 788  
 ———, India's border with, 693  
 Chitral, 740-741  
 Chou En-lai, (*VOL. 15 Pt. I, P. 118*), 193, 457, 612, 624-625, 689-690, 693, 728, 746 & *fn*, 747 *fn*, 748 *fn*, 788  
 Choudhury, Mahendra Mohan, 144 & *fn*  
 Chowdhury, Charu, 697 & *fn*  
 Christ, Jesus, 11  
 Christian civilization, 435  
 Christianity, 11, 546, 549, 556  
 Christiansborg Palace (Copenhagen), 477 *fn*  
 Coffee Board, 141 *fn*  
 Cold War, 460-463, 502-504, 544-545, 626, 713, 718, 760, 763  
 Colombia, 412-413, 416-417  
 Colombo, 468, 706, 709, 711  
 ———, Independence Square, 711 *fn*  
 ———, Municipal Council, 707  
 Colombo Plan, 632

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Columbia Broadcasting System, 619 fn, 641 fn
- Commonwealth of Nations, 467, 486, 524-526, 554, 557, 599-603, 618, 628, 630-631, 720, 740, 764, 787
- , Economic Committee of, 632
- Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference (London, 26 June-5 July 1957), 82, 524-525, 554, 604 fn, 609-610, 614 fn, 616, 627, 629 fn, 632-635, 646-647, 649 fn, 651, 668, 673, 676, 684, 723, 727, 729, 750, 797
- , Diefenbaker's Finance Plan, 668-669
- Communist Party of China, 691 fn, 692 fn, 787-788
- Communist Party of India, 141 fn, 379, 530, 585, 726
- Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 650
- Community Development Scheme, 43, 58-59, 114, 118, 523, 559, 628-629, 653, 656-657, 784
- , Report of the Programme Evaluation Committee on, 58-59, 84 & fn, 784
- Congress Working Committee, 74 & fn, 213, 365, 402 fn, 404 *see also* Indian National Congress
- Conservative Party (UK), 399
- Constituent Assembly (India), 303 fn
- Constitution of India, 3, 40, 204, 219, 229, 353, 357, 530, 558, 645
- , Article 80 of, 360 fn
- , Third Schedule of, 357 fn
- , Sixth Schedule of, 261, 266-267, 270
- Copenhagen (Denmark), 158 fn, 477 fn, 479 fn, 483, 499
- , Frederiksberg Municipality, 499 fn
- , University of, 158 fn
- Cousins, Margaret, 191 & *fn*
- Cousins, Norman, (VOL. 15 Pt. II, P. 36), 458 & fn
- Cuba, 411-412, 418
- Cunha, T.B., (VOL. 37, P. 237), 445
- Cyprus, 750-751, 789
- Czechoslovakia, 775, 793
- Daily Express*, 557
- Daily Mail*, 554
- Dalai Lama, (VOL. 16 Pt. II, P. 647), 173, 687
- Daman and Diu, 450
- Damascus, 469-470, 473-474, 729
- Damodar Valley, 13, 36
- Dandakaranya, 50
- Dange, S.A., (*Vol. 4, p. 564*), 16, 85, 90-91, 97
- Danielsen, Nils, 569 fn, 571 fn
- Danish-Indian Society, 499 fn, 504
- Daphtary, C.K., 164 fn
- Dar, Shyam Krishna, 331 fn
- Das, Banarasi, 384 fn, 404 fn-405 & *fn*
- , C.R., (*Vol. 1, p. 139*), 355 fn, 359
- , Sudhi Ranjan, 130 & *fn*
- Dasgupta, Hari, 287 fn, 293 fn-294 fn
- , Sonali, 287 & fn, 288, 289 fn-290, 292 & fn-293, 294 fn
- Das Kapital* (Karl Marx), 683
- Datta, K.K., (VOL. 31, P. 97), 802 & fn
- de Gaulle, Charles, 275 & *fn*
- Delhi, 3-5, 10, 17, 27, 31 fn, 134, 140, 156, 162-163 & fn, 170-171, 180, 221, 237, 240, 244, 277-279, 297, 469, 660, 675, 695, 707, 709, 735, 744, 753, 791, 809 *see also* New Delhi
- , Dujana House, 239
- , Jamna Bazaar, 238 fn-239



- , Ramlila Grounds, 3 fn  
 ———, Sitaram Bazar, 804 fn  
 ———, Master Plan for, 238  
 Delhi Development Provisional Authority, 244-246  
 Delhi Improvement Trust, 237 fn, 238-239, 245  
 Delhi Municipal Committee, 237  
 Delhi Municipal Corporation, 241  
 ——— Act (1957), 237 & fn  
 ——— Bill, 237, 242  
 Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, 200 fn, 237  
 Delhi Race Club, 240  
 Delhi Railway Station, 299  
 Delhi University, 57 fn, 198  
 Denmark, 82, 224, 477-479, 482-484, 489  
 Desai, Adi J., 175 fn  
 ———, C.C., (VOL. 7, P. 628), 695 fn, 696 fn, 698 fn, 700, 704 & fn  
 ———, M.J., (VOL. 4, P. 155), 694 fn, 698 fn  
 ———, Morarji, (*Vol. 13, p. 5*), 140, 249 fn, 298, 305 fn, 315, 517 fn, 812 & fn  
 Deshmukh, C.D., (*Vol. 15, p. 635*), 309  
 ———, P.S., (VOL. 5, P. 368), 117  
 Development Commissioners' Conference (Mussoorie, April 1957), 84 fn, 784  
 Dey, S.K., (VOL. 6, P. 96) 58, 429  
 Dhebar, U.N., (VOL. 17, P. 406), 75 fn, 226-227, 365-367, 392 & fn, 396-397, 402, 406, 821  
 Dhotre, R.S., 818 fn  
 Diefenbaker, John George, 276 fn, 618 & fn, 635, 646 fn, 668, 684, 749-750  
 ———, Olive Evangeline, 276 & fn  
 Din, Mansuriya, 306 fn, 335 fn  
 Diphu L'ka pass, 728  
*Discovery of India, The* (Jawaharlal Nehru), 819 fn  
 Diwakar, R.R., (VOL. 9, P. 96), 347  
 Dixon, Owen, (VOL. 14 Pt. II, P. 205), 496  
 Djakarta, 742-743  
 Djuanda, Raden, 745 & fn  
 Douglas, William O., (VOL. 15 Pt. II, P. 136), 769 & fn  
 Douglas-Home, Alexander, (VOL. 30, P. 455), 413 & fn  
 Dravida Kazagham, 727  
 Drees, Willem, 661 & fn, 662 fn, 664 fn  
 D'Souza, Jerome, (VOL. 2, P. 560), 722 & fn  
 ———, Laura, 445  
 Dulles, John Foster, (VOL. 1, P. 572), 421, 667, 814  
 "Dusri Sham" (Play by M. Mujeeb), 180 fn  
 Dutt, S.M., 270  
 ———, Subimal, (VOL. 7, P. 644), 133, 134 & fn-135, 287 fn, 290-291, 292 fn, 327, 422, 447 fn, 693, 735 fn, 748 fn, 757 fn, 768  
 East (Orient), 470, 562-563, 565, 718, 727, 752, 769, 794  
 East India Company, 184 fn, 819 fn  
 East Pakistan, 48-49, 104, 498, 533, 578, 644, 701, 783, 789, 818 fn *see also* Bengal, East  
 ———, India's border with, 136, 818  
 Eden, Anthony, (*Vol. 7, p. 105*), 524  
 Edinburgh, Duke of, 276 & fn  
 Egypt, 25, 111, 488, 552, 589, 607-608, 621, 641-642, 647, 668, 685-686, 725, 729, 741, 747-748, 760, 762, 786, 795, 797  
 ———, Government of, 520

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Egypt-Israel border, 460, 516, 646  
 Egyptian Red Cross, 742  
*Eighteen Fifty-Seven* (S.N. Sen), 4 fn, 819  
 Eighteen fifty-seven (1857), rising of, 3-5, 7-9, 14-15, 169 fn, 171, 817, 819  
 ———, centenary celebrations of, 812 fn, 817 fn  
*1857, a Pictorial Presentation*, (Publications Division), 4 fn  
 Einstein, Albert, (*Vol. 2, p. 280*), 11, 172, 720  
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., (*Vol. 14, p. 28*), 607, 622  
 ——— doctrine, 622, 725, 732, 786  
 Elath, Eliahu, 752 & fn, 755 & fn  
 Election Commission (India), 306 fn  
 Elizabeth II, Queen, 275 fn, 276 fn  
 England *see* United Kingdom  
 Erlander, Aina, 568 fn  
 ———, Tage Fritiof, 561 & fn, 563 fn  
 Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill (1 June 1957), 100 fn  
 Eurafica, 632 & fn  
 Europe, 20, 34, 86-87, 215, 219, 223, 227, 336, 343, 472, 484, 500, 516 fn, 524, 527-529, 551, 562, 572, 586, 592, 594-595, 604, 652, 654, 662, 664 fn, 669, 677, 679, 682, 684, 692, 738, 744, 746, 792, 794-796, 798  
 ———, East, 18, 562, 604-605, 793, 795  
 ———, West, 64, 607, 632, 793, 795  
 European Common Market *see* European Economic Community  
 European Economic Community, 557, 632 fn, 633 fn, 669  
 Evatt, Herbert, 460 fn  
 Family Planning Board, 193 fn, 339-340  
 Farouk (King of Egypt), 608  
 Fernandez, Miguel Serrano, 754 & fn  
 Fertilizer Corporation of India, 315  
 Fifield, Russell H., 456 & fn  
*Filmindia*, 293 & fn  
 Films Division, 290 fn, 294 fn  
 Finance Commission, 55-57  
 Finch, G.I., 315 & fn-316  
 Finland, 82, 223-224, 229, 250, 276, 504-506, 508 fn-509, 515-520, 584, 681, 793-794  
 ———, Government of, 229  
 Finnish Radio, 535  
 Fitzmaurice, Gerald Gray, 413 & fn  
 Fitzmaurice, William, 413  
 Five Year Plan, (First), 28, 46, 49, 84, 92, 113, 490, 522, 629-630, 655, 670, 825  
 ———, (Second), 12, 25-26, 46-49, 53-54, 58, 60-61, 76 fn, 81, 84, 92-93, 113, 116, 126, 148, 177, 222, 234, 337 fn, 380, 490, 522-524, 588, 629-631, 655, 670, 726, 729-730, 734, 783, 789-790  
 ———, (Third), 28, 48, 58, 121  
 Fletcher (of US State Department), 412  
 Florence, 796  
 Ford Foundation, 241, 244  
 Foreign Correspondents' Association (Copenhagen), 483  
 Forest Research Institute (Dehradun), 319  
 Formosa *see* Taiwan  
 France, 64, 86, 110, 461, 535, 551, 556, 580, 620, 632 fn-633, 645, 667, 733, 747, 786-787, 792, 797  
 ———, Government of, 467, 534, 556, 620  
 Franklin, Benjamin, 147 & fn  
 Frederick IX (King of Denmark), 477 fn, 499  
 Friends of India Society (Helsinki), 509 fn



- Gadre, Satya Sevak, 429 & fn, 450  
 Gaikwad, B.K., 203 & fn  
 Gaitonde, P.D., (VOL. 30, P. 384), 445 & fn  
 Gandhi, Devadas, (*Vol. 1, p. 260*), 813  
 ———, Indira, (*Vol. 1, p. 232*), 81, 274 & fn, 275 fn, 285 fn-286, 367, 384-385, 749, 814 fn  
 ———, Mahatma (Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi), 11, 14-15, 152, 194, 228, 354 fn, 382, 430-431, 470, 474-475, 479-481, 486, 500, 503, 510-512, 535, 538, 541, 545-547, 565-567, 593-594, 602, 652-653, 658, 697 fn, 709, 713, 715, 718, 737, 760, 801, 807 & fn-808, 810 & fn, 818 fn  
 ———, Maneklal Maganlal, 299 & fn  
 Gandhi Camp (Noakhali), 697  
 Gandhi Cultural Home (West Bengal-Bangladesh border), 818 fn  
 Gandhi Seva Sangh, 813 fn  
 Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, 812-813, 818 fn  
 Ganga Barrage Scheme, 700  
 Gangtok, 687  
 Garo Hills (Meghalaya), 320, 338 fn  
 Gauhati *see* Guwahati  
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, 1947), 558, 632-633, 669  
 General Budget (15 May 1957), 19, 26, 47 & fn, 79 fn, 81, 83, 94, 104, 126, 341, 368, 371, 524, 726, 809  
 General Elections (First, 1951-52), 306, 508  
 ———, (Second, 1957), 11, 49, 202, 225, 302 fn, 305 fn, 306 fn, 354, 366, 373-374, 380, 507, 780  
 Geneva Agreement (1954), 611, 613  
 Geological Survey of India (Dehradun), 313, 318-319  
 Gerhardsen, Einar Henry, 540 & fn, 542 fn, 547  
 Germany, 12, 37-38, 64, 67, 487, 491, 524, 581, 605  
 ———, East (German Democratic Republic), 121-122  
 ———, West (Federal Republic of Germany), 793  
 Ghana, 467, 598 fn, 601, 721, 775, 797  
 Ghose, Atulya, (VOL. 19, P. 418), 397  
 ———, B.C., (VOL. 32, P. 190), 84  
 Ghosh, Amalananda, (VOL. 31, P. 103), 167 fn  
 ———, J.C., (VOL. 3, P. 418), 318-319  
 Gilder, Mancherna Dhanjibhai Dorabji, 766 & fn  
 Giri, V.V., (*Vol. 4, p. 63*), 302 & fn  
*Glimpses of World History* (Jawaharlal Nehru), 664 fn  
 Gloucester, Duke of, 276 & fn  
 Goa, 22-23, 423, 429, 435, 446-449, 451, 461, 533-534, 555-556, 643, 734  
 ———, (Portuguese) Government of, 22, 435, 446, 449, 643  
 Goa Liberation Council, 447 fn  
 Goldstein, Israel, 752 & fn, 755 & fn  
 Goonetilleke, Oliver, 727 fn  
 Gopalan, A.K., (VOL. 15 Pt. II, P. 156), 141  
 Goray, N.G., (VOL. 29, P. 388), 22, 97, 448 & fn, 451 & fn  
 Goswami, A., 178-179  
 Government Hospitality Organization, 99 fn, 275 & fn, 279, 283  
 Greece, 750  
 Grewal, B.S., (VOL. 4, P. 202), 327-329  
 Grow-More-Food Campaigns, 113, 522, 790  
 Guell, Gonzalo, 412 & fn  
 Guildhall (London), 330  
 Gujarat, 249  
 Gulmarg (Jammu & Kashmir), 185  
 Gummeson, Gunnell, 590

- Gundevia, Y.D., (VOL. 1, P. 525), 328, 706 fn
- Gupta, Chandra Bhan, (VOL. 16 Pt. II, P. 124) 303, 404 fn
- , Ghanshyam Singh, (*Vol. 14, p. 102*), 223
- , Sadhan, 67 & fn
- , Suraj Narayan, 158 & fn, 767 & fn
- Guwahati, 140 fn, 142-143, 146, 269
- Gyatso, Tenzin, *see* Dalai Lama
- Hague, The, 661 fn
- , Treveszaal Hall, 661 fn, 664 fn
- Haj, 771
- Haksar, P.N., (VOL. 5, P. 179), 423
- , S.N., (VOL. 4, P. 504), 740 fn-741
- Hamarskjoeld, Dag, (VOL. 23, P. 511), 762-763
- Handleman, Howard, 620-621, 624-626, 628-629
- Hansen, Hans Christian, 477 & fn, 499
- Harijan Convention (Jalandhar, 4 August 1957), 234
- Harpsund Manor (Sweden), 561 fn, 563 fn
- Hasan, Muzaffar, 694 fn-695
- Health, Central Council of, 186
- Health in Independent India: A Decade of Progress* (G. Borkar), 186 fn
- Hearn, Lafcadio, 736 fn
- Helsinki, 504 fn, 509 fn, 516-517
- , Hotel Vaakuna, 516
- , University of, 517 fn
- High Altitude Observatory (Gulmarg), 185
- Himachal Pradesh, 36, 689
- Himalayas, 562, 776
- Hindi Raksha Samiti (Punjab), 214, 215 fn, 217 fn, 222 fn, 228 fn, 231 fn
- Hindu Mahasabha *see* All India Hindu Mahasabha
- Hindu Succession Act (1956), 212 & fn
- Hindu, The*, 345 fn
- Hinduism, 11, 549
- Hindustan Times, The*, 337 fn, 813 fn
- Hindustani Prachar Sabha, 812-813
- Hirakud Dam, 13
- Hiroshima, 615, 738, 753
- Hitler, Adolf, (*Vol. 5, p. 447*), 527 fn-528, 537
- Hogrijan (Assam), 135 fn
- Holland *see* Netherlands
- Hong Kong, 753, 775
- How to solve the Kashmir problem* (Akbar Khan), 704 fn
- Hpinaw Tract, 728
- Hungary, 91, 462, 550-551, 554, 587, 604, 619, 621, 625, 633, 637, 649, 667, 760, 762, 763 & fn, 788, 793, 815
- , Government of, 620
- , UN Report on, 554, 587, 619-620, 633, 649
- Huns, 5-6
- Husain, Azim, (VOL. 1, P. 471), 445
- , Zakir, (*Vol. 3, p. 67*), 302 fn, 347, 360 & fn
- Hussein bin Talal, 748 & fn, 781
- Hutheensing, Ajit, 814 & fn
- , G.P., (*Vol. 6, p. 207*), 814 & fn
- , Harsha, 823 & fn
- , Krishna, (*Vol. 1, p. 95*), 276 & fn, 290, 814 fn-815 & fn
- Hyderabad, (State), 492-493, 576-577, 637
- , Nizam of, *see* Ali, Mir Osman
- , (city), 165, 177 fn
- Hyderabad House (New Delhi), 273, 277, 281-282, 285



- Ibn Saud, (VOL. 18, P. 207), 488, 551  
fn
- Idgah (Delhi), 239
- Jengar, H.V.R., (VOL. 2, P. 192), 250
- Iliff, William A.B., (VOL. 33, P. 441),  
701 & fn, 702-703
- Imperial Defence College (London),  
328
- Independence, Indian, 35, 145, 171 fn,  
188, 381, 430, 557, 628
- India, Government of, 16, 23 fn, 44,  
47-48, 60, 61 fn, 62-63, 65, 76 fn,  
102, 125, 129 fn, 139 fn, 157, 161,  
181, 186-187, 255, 290-291, 293,  
296, 332-333, 337, 345, 420, 430,  
492, 530, 645, 701, 703 fn, 769 *see*  
*also* Cabinet and Ministry
- , government (pre-  
Independence) of, 62, 358, 522, 675,  
689-690
- , British rule in, 5-7, 9, 14
- , Muslim rule in, 8
- , Nationality Act of, 751
- , Press in, 519, 791
- India, North, 4-5, 14, 326
- , North-East, 256, 270, 431
- , North-West, 666
- , West, 666
- , South, 51, 81, 125, 209-210,  
229, 482, 546, 556, 645, 748 fn-749
- India House (London), 635 fn, 651,  
660, 775
- India Matri Bhumi* (film by Rossellini),  
287 fn
- India Office Library (London), 173
- Indian Administrative Service, 73 fn
- Indian Air Force, 305, 306 fn, 309-310,  
331-333, 441, 466, 494
- , Communications Squadron of,  
331
- Indian Army, 257-258, 264, 268, 430-  
431, 436, 466, 536, 557
- Indian Civil Service, 73 fn
- Indian Coffee Houses, 141 & fn
- Indian Foreign Service, 29, 769
- Indian History Congress, 802
- Indian Institute of Technology  
(Chennai), 168 & fn
- Indian National Congress, 11, 14, 31  
fn, 46, 48, 213, 225-226, 248, 306  
fn, 340, 358, 378-379, 430, 652, 723,  
811, 812 fn *see also* All India  
Congress Committee, Congress  
Working Committee and Youth  
Congress
- , Central Parliamentary Board  
of, 392-393, 404 fn
- , Constitution of, 377, 380-383
- , Guwahati Session (1958) of,  
320-321
- , High Command of, 225 fn, 226  
fn
- , Karachi Session (1931) of, 384
- , Parliamentary Party of, 277 fn,  
280 & fn, 370-371, 387-389, 676 fn
- Indian Navy, 466, 557
- Indian Red Cross, 741-742
- Indian School of Mines (Dhanbad),  
313-319
- Indian Science Congress, 742, 803
- , thirty-fourth session (New  
Delhi, January 1947) of, 803 fn
- Indian Statistical Institute (Kolkata),  
148, 317 fn
- Indian Temple Sculpture* (A. Goswami),  
178-179
- Indira (elephant), 753
- Indo-China, 478, 555, 611, 646, 675,  
761-762
- , International Commissions for  
Supervision and Control in, 460,  
479, 611-612, 675
- Indonesia, 456-457, 555, 671, 742-743,  
745

- , Government of, 456, 669  
 Indus river, 578  
 Industrial Exhibition (Allahabad), 333  
 Ingrid (Queen of Denmark), 477 fn  
*Ingrid Bergman: My Story* (I. Bergman), 295 fn, 296 fn  
 Intelligence Bureau, 270 fn, 748 fn  
 International Atomic Energy Agency, 160, 774 & fn  
 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 463-464, 669, 678, 701-703  
 International Club (Stockholm), 591 & fn  
 International Court of Justice, 23, 446, 449, 520, 590, 672, 725  
 International Geophysical Year (1 July 1957-31 December 1958), 185  
 International News Service, 620 fn  
 Iraq, 747, 775, 785, 789  
 Irwin Hospital *see* Lok Nayak Jai Prakash Narain Hospital  
 Islam, 11, 549, 783  
 Israel, 520, 589-590, 608, 621, 641-642, 647, 725, 747, 752, 755-756, 789  
 Isu Razi pass, 728  
 Italy, 294, 455 fn, 792  
 ———, South, 792  
  
 Jaffna (Sri Lanka), 727  
 Jain, Ajit Prasad, (VOL. 10, P. 200), 17 fn, 57 fn, 115 fn, 116-118, 250 fn, 319  
 Jalandhar, 234, 236  
 Jama Masjid (Delhi), 239  
 Jamia Millia Islamia (Delhi), 180 fn  
 Jammu and Kashmir, 12, 21, 23, 80, 409, 430, 439-440, 463, 492-493, 498, 531-533, 536, 548-550, 578-579, 626-627, 637-639, 673-674, 676, 684-685, 704 & fn, 724, 734, 741-742, 744, 789  
 ———, Constituent Assembly of, 497  
 ———, Constitution of, 497  
 ———, Government of, 638-639  
 ———, Legislative Assembly of, 497  
 ———, standstill agreement with India (1947), 494  
 Jamnagar (Gujarat), 249  
 Janet, 291  
 Janpath Hotel (New Delhi), 133  
 Japan, 12, 81, 96, 133-134, 653-654, 736 & fn, 737-739, 753, 775  
 ———, Government of, 753  
 Jarring, Gunnar, (VOL. 36, P. 401), 23, 411 & fn, 414, 418, 420-421, 492, 575-576, 724, 782 & fn  
 ———, Report (30 April 1957) of, 411 & fn, 414, 420, 530-531, 549, 782  
*Jerusalem Post Reporter*, 752 fn  
 Jha, C.S., (VOL. 28, P. 129), 753  
 Jhansi (Uttar Pradesh), 4  
 John, A.J., (VOL. 20, P. 232), 125 fn, 303, 324 fn  
 Jordan, 25, 725, 747, 748 & fn, 781, 797  
 ———, King of, *see* Hussein bin Talal  
 Jorhat (Assam), 322  
 Joseph C., 200 fn  
 Joseph, C.C., 200 fn  
 Joshi, Subhadra, (VOL. 19, P. 535), 239  
 Jullundur *see* Jalandhar  
 Junagadh (Gujarat), 492, 576-577, 637  
 Jung, Ali Yavar, (VOL. I, P. 588), 735 & fn, 742  
  
 Kabir, Humayun, (VOL. 18, P. 143), 110  
 Kabul, 744  
 Kadir, Abdul, 745 fn  
 Kaganovich, L., (VOL. 29, P. 214), 650 & fn



- Kairon, Partap Singh, (*Vol. 14, p. 75*), 209, 212, 215 & fn, 218, 221, 224, 230-231, 233, 235, 390  
 ———, Surinder Singh, 233 fn  
 Kakodkar, Purshottam, (VOL. 33, P. 420), 445-446  
 Kaladi (Kerala), 429 fn  
 Kalimpong, 688  
 Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital (Allahabad), 192  
 Kamaraj, K., *see* Nadar, K. Kamaraj  
 Kanetkar, M.J., 365 & fn  
 Kanniyakumari (Tamil Nadu), 12  
 Karachi, 696, 698, 703, 789  
 Karelia (Finland), 793  
 Karmarkar, D.P., (VOL. 22, P. 340), 163, 196 & fn, 197-198, 237 fn, 242, 245 & fn  
 Kashmir *see* Jammu and Kashmir  
 Kashmir University (Srinagar), 185  
 Kashmir Valley, 494  
 Kasliwal, N.C., (VOL. 20, P. 499), 388-389, 394  
 Kathmandu, 730  
 Katju, Kailas Nath, (*Vol. 1, p. 154*), 106  
 Kaur, Amrit, (*Vol. 11, p. 274*), 163 fn, 189 & fn, 195 & fn, 197 & fn, 199, 244  
 Kayastha Pathshala College (Allahabad), 334  
 Keers, Walter A., 336 fn  
 Kendrick, Alexander, 619 & fn, 620, 622, 625-627, 629  
 Kennedy, John F., 667 & fn  
 Kenya, 643  
 Kerala, 51, 71 fn, 74 & fn, 112, 129 fn, 131, 160, 307, 429 fn, 530, 558, 585, 643, 725-726, 748 fn  
 ———, Government of, 645, 725-726  
 ———, Legislative Assembly of, 74 fn  
 ——— Education Bill, 74 & fn  
 Keskar, B.V., (*Vol. 11, p. 15*), 70, 175  
 Khadi & Village Industries Board, 339, 446  
 Khan, Hamidullah, (VOL. 1, P. 585), 754 fn  
 ———, Liaquat Ali, (*Vol. 10, p. 356*), 409, 440 fn  
 ———, Mir Akbar Ali, (VOL. 32, P. 235), 177 & fn-178  
 ———, Mohammad Akbar, 440 & fn, 704 & fn  
 ———, Muhammad Ahmad Sayeed, (Vol. 4, p. 374), 771 & fn-772  
 ———, Saadat Ali, 739 fn  
 Khanna, Mehr Chand, (*Vol. 14, p. 577*), 300, 818 fn  
 Kharagpur (West Bengal), 164-165  
 Khartoum, 82, 729, 732, 797  
 Khemka, Sita Ram, 306 fn, 335 & fn  
 Khera, S.S., (VOL. 30, P. 486), 122, 318  
 Khrushchev, Nikita, (VOL. 29, P. 220), 276, 605, 624, 650 & fn-651  
 Kidwai, Mustafa Kamel, 771 & fn  
 Kishi, Nobusuke, 81 & fn, 133-134, 736 & fn  
 Kohima, 256, 270 fn  
 Kolkata, 4, 27, 67, 135-137, 171, 200 fn, 240, 348, 753, 796  
 ———, Maidan, 796  
 Korba (Chhattisgarh), 123  
 Korea, 460, 559, 611, 646, 761  
 Kothari, D.S., (VOL. 27, p. 284), 459 & fn  
 Kripalani, J.B., (*Vol. 1, p. 237*), 16, 20, 27, 29-31, 85, 87-89, 308  
 ———, Krishna, (*Vol. 6, p. 290*), 822  
 ———, Sucheta, (*Vol. 9, p. 469*), 290  
 Krishna (Hindu god), 89  
 Krishnamachari, T.T., (VOL. 7, P. 447), 26, 47 fn, 55, 76-81, 83 fn, 93-94, 98, 108-109, 128, 140, 182, 316, 317 fn, 329, 341, 343-344, 516, 524, 634, 726, 730 fn, 734, 809

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- , V.T., (*Vol. 10, p. 412*), 44, 46  
fn, 52, 253, 312 fn, 343
- Kristensen, Sigvald, 483 & *fn*
- Kuala Lumpur, 739 & *fn*
- Labour Party (UK), 399, 415, 423
- Ladakh (Jammu and Kashmir), 424
- Lady Hardinge Medical College (New Delhi), 163 & *fn*-164 & *fn*, 198
- Lahore, 696 & *fn*, 698
- Lakshmibai, Rani, (VOL. 3, P. 450), 4
- Lalit Kala Akademi, 178-179
- Lall, Arthur S., (VOL. 10, P. 209), 417  
fn, 420 *fn*
- Lange, Halvard Manthay, 540 & *fn*, 547
- Laos, 611, 733 & *fn*
- Latin America, 423, 592, 601, 618, 754
- League of Nations, 537
- Lebanon, 747, 785, 797
- Leningrad *see* St Petersburg
- Lhasa (Tibet), 688
- Lloyd, Selwyn, (VOL. 23, P. 532), 413  
fn, 604
- Locarno Pact (1925), 527 & *fn*
- Lok Nayak Jai Prakash Narain Hospital (Delhi), 198
- Lok Sabha (Lower House of Parliament), 3, 15 *fn*, 20-21, 30-31, 44-45, 62 *fn*, 83, 99, 109, 155 *fn*, 169-170, 302, 308, 341, 353-354, 396, 421, 757-758 & *fn*, 762
- Secretariat, 372
- London, 71, 78-79, 82, 296 *fn*, 438, 524, 554, 598 *fn*, 599 *fn*, 624, 634, 704-705, 750, 752, 774, 796, 809, 814
- , Kensington Palace Gardens, 659
- Louisiana (USA), 734
- Lozano, Alfred, (VOL. 8, P. 50), 416
- Lucknow, 3-4
- Ludhiana, 236
- Lushai Hills (Mizoram), 266
- Macao (China), 22
- MacDonald, Malcolm John, (VOL. 28, P. 334), 750 & *fn*
- Macmillan, Harold, (VOL. 28, P. 229), 79, 162, 438 *fn*, 641, 659-660, 676, 684, 775 & *fn*
- Madanapalli (Andhra Pradesh), 482 & *fn*
- Madhya Bharat, 4, 431
- Madhya Pradesh, 106 *fn*, 179
- Madras city *see* Chennai
- Madras State, 51, 55, 125, 127, 179, 727.
- , Government of, 161, 168, 297, 298 *fn*
- Mahabodhi Society of India, 205 & *fn*
- Mahajan, M.C., (VOL. 4, P. 263), 232
- Mahalanobis, P.C., (*Vol. 11, p. 293*), 50, 56, 121, 311 & *fn*, 312, 316 *fn*, 343 *fn*
- Maharashtra, 249 & *fn*
- , Marathi Press in, 304
- Mahtab, Hare Krushna, (*Vol. 9, p. 435*), 184, 821
- Makarios, Archbishop, 750 & *fn*, 751 *fn*
- Malaviya, Harsh Dev, 75 & *fn*
- , Keshav Deo, (*Vol. 1, p. 260*), 142 *fn*
- , Madan Mohan, (*Vol. 1, p. 127*), 355 *fn*, 359
- Malaya, Federation of, 493, 599, 721, 740, 751
- Constitutional Commission (1956), 751 *fn*
- Malik, Bidhubhushan, 751 & *fn*
- Malkote, G.S., (VOL. 18, P. 315), 177 & *fn*, 372
- Manavalakkurichi, 161



- Manchester Guardian*, 378 fn  
 Mangalore (Karnataka), 326  
 Manipur, 267-268  
 Manipuri Dance, 268  
 Mansholt, Sicco Leendert, 673 fn  
 Mao Tse-tung, (*Vol. 10, p. 75*), 97, 585, 625, 683, 692 & fn, 784, 788  
 Mar Thoma, Yuhanon, 201 & fn  
 Marathas, 8  
 Marie, Osvaldo Sainte, 754 & fn  
 Marx, Karl, (*Vol. 1, p. 140*), 37-38, 90-91, 683  
 Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 814-815  
 Mathai, M.O., (*Vol. 15, p. 385*), 197 & fn, 283 fn, 284 fn, 285 fn  
 Mathias, Mrs, 275 fn, 326  
 Mathrani, H.P., (*VOL. 26, P. 113*), 245-246  
 Mathur, H.C., 423 fn  
 Matthai, John, (*Vol. 15, p. 101*), 161  
 Matthen, C.P., 200 & fn  
 Mavalankar, G.V., (*VOL. 2, P. 614*), 353 fn, 358 fn  
 Mayer, Albert, (*VOL. 16 Pt. I, P. 54*), 242, 244-245  
 McKinlay, Brian J., 776 & fn  
 McMahon Line, 689-690, 693, 729  
 ———, Myanmar section of, 729  
 Mecca, 771-772  
 Medhi, Bisnuram, (*Vol. 8, p. 483*), 56 fn, 137-140, 144-146, 255, 259-263, 269-271, 319-321, 338 & fn  
 Meerut (Uttar Pradesh), 3, 14  
 Mehrotra, Lalji, (*VOL. 30, P. 479*), 729 fn  
 Mehta, Asoka, (*VOL. 11, P. 355*), 705, 723  
 ———, Balwantray G., (*Vol. 4, p. 10*), 402 fn-403  
 ———, G.L., (*Vol. 13, p. 548*), 411, 734  
 ———, Jivraj, (*Vol. 5, p. 363*), 56 fn, 198  
 ———, M.S., (*VOL. 12, P. 305*), 774 fn  
 ———, Narendra, 815  
 Menon, K.P.S., (*Vol. 15, p. 326*), 651 fn, 757 & fn  
 ———, Lakshmi N., (*VOL. 8, P. 299*), 420 & fn  
 ———, V.K. Krishna, (*Vol. 7, p. 15*), 78 fn-79, 257, 276, 288, 290-291, 378, 411, 418, 420, 423, 437 & fn, 438 & fn, 439, 441, 580, 659, 735 fn, 743-744, 751-752, 768 fn  
 Menshikov, Mikhail A., (*VOL. 29, P. 201*), 743 & fn-744  
 Menzies, Robert Gordon, (*VOL. 16 Pt. I, P. 366*), 618, 684  
 Messina Powers, 633  
 Middle Ages, 435  
 Middle East *see* West Asia  
 Mikir Hills (Assam), 338 fn  
*Milap*, 231  
 Ministry of, Commerce and Industry, 122, 129, 141, 314-315, 748  
 ———, Defence, 85, 140 fn, 264, 309, 441-442  
 ———, Education and Scientific Research, 175, 178-179, 313; Department of Scientific Research, 318-319  
 ———, External Affairs, 21, 29, 102 fn, 105, 242 fn, 264, 281, 283, 285-286, 289, 295, 300 fn, 308, 342, 346 fn, 397, 460 fn, 466, 728, 730, 768 fn, 775; Historical Division of, 728  
 ———, Finance, 45 fn, 52-53, 61 fn, 76 fn-77, 128, 133 fn, 157, 246, 325, 634 & fn; Economy Committee of, 98  
 ———, Food and Agriculture, 50, 116, 117 fn-118, 250

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- , Health, 59, 164, 186, 190, 244-246
- , Home Affairs, 83 fn, 204 fn, 241, 251, 264, 271, 277, 281, 294, 297, 298 fn, 327, 331, 333, 336, 338 fn, 346
- , Information and Broadcasting, 70, 290-291, 294
- , Law, 241
- , Production, 122
- , Rehabilitation, 300, 342, 818 & fn
- , Steel, Mines and Fuel, 122 fn, 124, 128, 132 fn, 313, 319; Department of Mining, 318
- , Works, Housing and Supply, 133 fn, 240, 286
- Minto (Lord), 8 fn-9
- Minto-Morley Reforms (1909), 8
- Mir Jafar, 9
- Mitra, A.K., 423
- Moller, Aksel, 499 & *fn*
- , Christian Frimodt, 482 & *fn*
- Mollet, Guy, (VOL. 32, P. 347), 646 fn
- Molotov, V.M., (VOL. 29, P. 201), 650
- Moran (Assam), 135 fn
- Morocco, 748
- Moscow, 468, 625, 744, 757 fn
- Mossadeq, Muhammed, (VOL. 23, P. 555), 608
- Motley, J.L., 664 fn
- Mountbatten, Edwina, (VOL. 3, P. 43), 598
- , Louis, (*Vol. 13, p. 276*), 385, 409, 598 & fn
- Mudaliar, A. Lakshmanaswami, (VOL. 21, P. 370), 199
- Muhammad (Prophet), 11
- Mughal Empire, 5, 7
- Mujeeb, Mohammad, (VOL. 4, P. 639), 180
- Mukerji, Dharendra Narain, 397 & *fn*
- Mukharji, G., 238 fn, 245 & fn-246
- Mukherjee, Saila Kumar, 395 & *fn*-396
- , H.N., (VOL. 18, P. 335), 266-267, 810 & fn, 811 fn, 812 fn
- , Subroto, (VOL. 23, P. 105), 437, 438 fn, 441
- Mullik, B.N., (VOL. 26, P. 480), 748 fn
- Mumbai, 287 fn, 292 fn, 294 fn, 445, 447
- , Hanging Gardens, 796
- , Taj Mahal Hotel, 290-292
- Musafir, Gurmukh Singh, (VOL. 21, P. 350), 236
- Muslim League *see* All India Muslim League
- Mussoorie (Uttaranchal), 784
- My Experiments with Truth* (M.K. Gandhi), 804
- Myanmar, 81 fn, 250, 398, 467, 690, 693, 728-729, 770 fn
- , Government of, 398
- , North, 266
- Mysore State, 51, 55, 246, 304, 324 fn
- Nadar, K. Kamaraj, (VOL. 17, P. 327), 125 fn
- Naga Hills, 255-264, 267, 270-271, 320, 431
- Naga Hills District (Nagaland), 255, 262 fn, 265-268
- Nagar Haveli, 23, 446, 449
- Nagarajam, G.N., 165-167
- Nagarjuna Sagar Project, 13
- Nagarjunakonda (Andhra Pradesh), 177
- Nagasaki, 738
- Nagy, Ferenc, (VOL. 35, P. 450), 620
- Nahorkatiya (Assam), 135 fn, 142
- Naidu, Padmaja, (*Vol. 2, p. 226*), 171 fn
- , Sarojini, (VOL. 10, P. 297), 191



- Namboodiripad, E.M.S., (*Vol. 8, p. 529*), 71, 72 fn, 74 fn, 129, 131, 307 fn, 558
- Namwan Tract, 728
- Nanda, Gulzarilal, (*Vol. 9, p. 309*), 46 fn, 53-54, 146 fn, 345 fn
- Naoroji, Dadabhai, (*Vol. 3, p. 241*), 354 fn, 813
- Napolean I, 275-276, 680, 793
- Narayan, Jayaprakash, (*Vol. 4, p. 305*), 225 fn, 403, 811, 820
- Narayanan, Edatata, 422 & fn
- Nasser, Gamel Abdel, (*VOL. 23, P. 50*), 82, 552, 668, 685-686, 755, 797
- Nasserism, 552
- Nath Pai, 422, 448 fn
- National Book Trust, 174
- National Chemical Laboratory (Pune), 315
- National Conference (Jammu and Kashmir), 493, 579
- National Council for Training in Vocational Trades, 146 fn
- National Development Council, 49, 55, 98-99, 195, 424, 789-790
- National Extension Service, 57-58, 114
- National Federation of Posts & Telegraph Employees, 73, 345 fn
- National Museum (New Delhi), 241
- Nayyar, Sushila, (*Vol. 6, p. 381*), 685, 775
- Nehru, B.K., (*Vol. 1, p. 283*), 634 & fn
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, 64 fn, 71 fn, 74 fn, 76 fn, 78 fn, 82 fn, 102, 107 fn, 125 fn, 128 fn, 142 fn, 158, 185 fn, 197 fn, 215 fn, 216 fn, 231 fn, 242 fn, 243 fn, 273 fn, 275 fn, 280 fn, 289 fn, 292 fn, 296 fn, 298 fn, 301 fn, 306 fn, 310 fn, 332, 341 fn, 342 fn, 345 fn, 346 fn, 423 fn, 429 fn, 447 fn, 469 fn, 475 fn, 479 fn, 482 fn, 484 fn, 516 fn, 542 fn, 563 fn, 571 fn, 606, 664 fn, 684, 687 fn, 709 fn, 720, 736 fn, 755 fn, 757 fn, 770 fn, 779 fn, 804 fn, 807 fn, 811 fn, 812 fn, 814 fn, 817 fn, 818 fn *see also* SUBJECT INDEX
- Nehru, Kamala, (*Vol. 1, p. 163*), 803 fn, 804 fn, 808 fn
- , Motilal, (*Vol. 1, p. 2*), 367, 384
- , R.K., (*Vol. 1, p. 336*), 691-693, 746 & fn
- Neogy, K.C., (*Vol. 13, p. 219*), 313
- Nepal, 468, 730
- , Government of, 731
- Netherlands, 224, 279, 336 & fn, 661, 662 & fn, 664 & fn, 666, 669, 682, 729, 742, 775
- , Government of, 668-669, 742
- New Delhi, 23 fn, 46 fn, 81 fn, 113 fn, 237 fn, 384, 809 *see also* Delhi
- , King Edward Road, 274
- , Queen Victoria Road, 274
- , Rajpath, 241
- , Roberts Lane, 283 fn
- , Teen Murti House, 273 fn
- , Vinay Nagar, 239
- New Delhi Municipal Committee, 237 fn
- New Guinea (South-West Pacific), 668-669, 671
- New York, 635, 743, 823
- New York Daily News*, 484, 486, 492
- New Zealand, 601
- Newsweek*, 579
- Neyveli (Tamil Nadu), 121, 123, 125 fn, 297-298, 314
- Neyveli Lignite Corporation Limited, 125 fn, 127, 314
- Nigeria, 467
- Nijalingappa S., (*VOL. 16 Pt.II, P. 202*), 304 & fn

- Nkrumah, Kwame, (VOL. 16 Pt. I, P. 540), 598 & fn, 797
- Noakhali (Bangladesh), 697, 818 fn
- Noman, Muhammad, 699
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 582
- North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) *see* Arunachal Pradesh
- North Pole, 662, 681
- North-West Frontier Province (Pakistan), 268
- Norway, 82, 224, 540-541, 542 fn, 547, 557-558, 560, 811
- , Press in, 547, 550
- , Fjords in, 811 & fn
- Nu, U, (VOL. 4, P. 452), 81, 728-729
- Nuclear Explosions and Their Effects* (D.S. Kothari), 459 fn
- Nuri-el-Said, (VOL. 25, P. 500), 747 & fn
- Observer* (London), 437, 489, 668
- Oil and Natural Gas Commission, 318-319
- Olympic Games (Melbourne, 1956), 794
- Omar, Mohammed, 741 fn
- Ootacamund *see* Udagamandalam
- Orient Longmans (Pvt.) Ltd. (Kolkata), 816 fn
- Orissa, 54-55, 120, 821
- Orkomies, Osmo, 517, 534
- Orthodox Syrian Church (Kottayam), 200 fn
- Oslo, 285 fn, 458 fn, 540, 547, 560
- Osmania University (Hyderabad), 177 fn
- Ottawa, 646, 669, 750
- Ottoman Empire, 488, 551, 606-607
- Pacific Islands, 707
- , Ocean, 10, 739
- Pai, A.V., (*Vol. 10, p. 44*), 298 fn
- Pakhtoonistan, 740
- Pakistan, 49, 72, 80, 173-174, 255, 345, 409-410, 419, 430-431, 434, 439-441, 463-465, 492-496, 498, 531-533, 539, 548-549, 554, 575-576, 578, 603, 622-623, 625, 627, 634, 637-638, 641, 644-645, 673-674, 684, 694-697, 699-702, 703 fn, 724, 730, 734, 744, 754, 763 & fn-764, 782-783, 789, 827
- , East, *see* East Pakistan
- , Government of, 694-695, 698, 701
- , High Commission in India of, 695
- , High Commission of India in, 741
- , Press in, 674
- , West, 498, 533, 783
- Pakistan Army, 434, 440, 494, 578, 637, 639, 674
- Pan Tzu-li, 693 & fn
- Panchsheel, 204 & fn, 456, 507, 586, 721
- Pandit, A.D., 240 fn
- , Vijayalakshmi, (*Vol. 1, p. 1*), 78 & fn, 80, 295, 412, 598, 660, 755 & fn, 770 fn, 774, 809
- Panikkar, K.M., (*Vol. 1, p. 384*), 752 fn, 819
- Pant, Apasaheb Balasaheb, (VOL. 8, P. 412), 687 fn
- , G.B., (*Vol. 3, p. 306*), 50, 55, 71, 74, 76, 108, 109 & fn, 113 fn, 142 fn, 191, 198, 205, 215, 224, 244 fn, 246, 250, 277, 279, 297, 298 fn, 300-301, 307, 312, 321, 327, 330 fn, 336, 343 & fn-344, 347, 360, 396, 425 & fn, 516 fn, 660, 730 fn, 806
- Papua (New Guinea), 668 fn



- Paris, 296 fn, 645, 796
- Parliament (India), 20, 24, 98, 100 fn, 102, 119, 164, 310, 332, 353-354, 435, 458, 555, 707, 775
- , Consultative Committee on Goa, 447 fn
- , President's Address, 3, 15 fn, 16-17, 20, 30-31, 368-369
- , Public Accounts Committee, 29-30, 308
- , Resolution on nuclear test explosions (22 May 1957), 459, 463, 486 & fn
- Parliament House, Central Hall of, 354-357
- Parsuram, T.V., 519
- Parthasarathi, G., (VOL. 28, P. 193), 742 & fn-743
- Partition of India, 644, 699
- Pataskar, H.V., (VOL. 30, P. 236), 302, 403 fn
- Patel, Baburao, 293 fn
- , H.M., (VOL. 5, P. 236), 634 & fn, 660
- , Rajni, 291
- , Vallabhbbhai, (VOL. 26, P. 7), 355 fn, 357, 359
- Pathak, G.S., (VOL. 31, P. 370), 411-412, 419
- Pathet Lao, 611-612
- Patil, S.K., (*Vol. 12, p. 503*), 701 fn-702, 739 fn
- Patnaik, Bijoyanand (Biju), (VOL. 3, P. 372), 731 & fn
- Pay Commission (21 August 1957), 73 & fn, 119, 337 & fn, 349
- Peace News* (London), 409
- Peking *see* Beijing
- People's Daily* (Beijing), 691
- Pepsu, 210, 221, 226
- Peter the Great, (*Vol. 5, p. 557*), 796
- Philip, Prince, *see* Edinburgh, duke of
- Phulpur (UP), 306 fn, 335 fn
- Pillai, K. Shankar, (*Vol. 8, p. 846*), 665 fn
- , N.R., (VOL. 1, P. 598), 287 fn-288, 290, 292, 295-296, 423, 466, 735 fn, 754, 809
- , V.K.B., 199, 238 fn
- Pineau, Christian Paul Francis, (VOL. 32, P. 335), 646 fn
- Planning Commission, 19, 28, 44-46, 49, 50 fn, 52-53, 55, 59-62, 70, 116, 118, 120-121, 129, 148, 244, 246, 254, 311, 312 fn-313, 343-344, 385, 522
- , Panel of Economists, 60, 115
- Plantation Enquiry Committee, 141
- Poland, 720, 733, 788, 793
- Polish Radio, 487, 491
- Pondicherry, 534, 556
- Poona *see* Pune
- Poona University, 184
- Portugal, 22, 534-535, 539, 556, 734
- , Government of, 23, 448, 533
- Portuondo, Emilio Nunez, 418
- Posts and Telegraph Department, 70, 73, 346
- Prabodh Chandra, (VOL. 24, P. 141), 390
- Prague, 796
- Praja Socialist Party, 22 fn, 84 fn
- Prasad, Brajeshwar, (VOL. 15 Pt. II, P. 436), 16
- , Rajendra, (*Vol. 3, p. 4*), 3, 16, 27, 171, 196 & fn, 263 fn-264, 275, 302 & fn, 303 fn, 325-326, 347, 359 fn, 360, 757, 807
- Pratap, Mahendra, (*Vol. 4, p. 341*), 16 fn, 29
- President's Estate (New Delhi), 279, 281, 384
- Press Trust of India, 519
- Prime Minister's House (New Delhi),

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- 99 fn, 273-274, 277, 279, 281, 283, 285, 384, 809
- Prime Minister's National Relief Fund, 117, 180, 741
- Princeton (USA), 823 fn, 826 fn
- Public Works Department, 325
- Publications Division, 4 fn
- Pune, 240
- Punjab, 31 fn, 36, 55, 107, 111 fn, 209-210, 220-223, 228-230, 234-235, 339, 679
- , Cabinet of, 217 fn
- , Government of, 212, 217-218, 236
- , Legislative Assembly of, 390
- , Regional Formula for, 218 fn, 221
- , Sachar Formula for, 213, 221
- Punjab Congress, 236
- Pyarelal, (*Vol. 1, p. 261*), 697
- Qudmani, Bashir, 469 & fn
- Radhakrishnan, S., (*Vol. 4, p. 564*), 354 fn-355 & fn, 357 & fn, 804
- Raghavan, Venkataraman, 173 & fn-174
- Rahman, Tunku Abdul, 739 & fn
- Rahul, R.N., 769 & fn
- Rai, Lajpat, (*Vol. 1, p. 27*), 354 fn
- Railway Budget (1957), 368, 370-371
- Raj Bhavan (Chennai), 168 & fn
- Rajagopalachari, C., (*Vol. 1, p. 350*), 385, 409
- Rajasthan, 31 fn, 36, 431
- , Government of, 109, 247
- Rajputs, 6
- Raju, P.V.G., (VOL. 27, P. 299), 169, 763
- Rajya Sabha (Upper House of Parliament), 43, 354, 396, 420
- Ram, Jagjivan, (*Vol. 15, p. 208*), 108, 123, 140, 142 fn
- , K., 166 fn, 242 fn, 298 fn
- Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital (New Delhi), 196 & fn
- Ramakrishna Mission, 339
- Ramaswamy, S.V., (*Vol. 8, p. 439*), 388-389
- Ranga, N.G., (*Vol. 7, p. 534*), 266
- Rao, B. Ramakrishna, (VOL. 26, P. 153), 303, 307
- , V.K.R.V., (*Vol. 11, p. 306*), 57-58, 70 & fn
- , V. Narahari, (VOL. 6, P. 381), 309 & fn
- Rarewala, Gian Singh, (VOL. 24, P. 299), 226 & fn-227
- Raschid, M.A., (VOL. 25, P. 471), 770 fn
- Rashtrapati Bhavan (New Delhi), 83, 99 & fn, 273 fn, 275 fn, 278, 281, 285 & fn, 325-326, 385, 807
- Ratnam, (of Andamans), 250
- , S, 133
- Rauf, M.A., (*Vol. 15, p. 296*), 770 & fn-771 & fn
- , Maksood Jahan, 770 & fn
- Raurkela (Orissa), 314
- Rawalpindi, 704
- Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case, 704 fn
- Ray, Nihar Ranjan, 397 & fn-398
- Red Fort (Delhi), 5
- Reddy, K.C., (*Vol. 8, p. 566*), 133-134, 240-241
- , N. Sanjiva, (VOL. 19, P. 524), 165, 167
- Republic Day (1958), 742
- Reserve Bank of India, 52, 61 fn, 451 fn
- Reuters, 488
- Revolution, Chinese, 670, 683



- , French, 636  
 ———, Indian, 565  
 ———, Indonesian, 456  
 ———, Industrial, 155, 514-515, 652, 679, 719  
 ———, Russian, 13, 91, 604, 625, 682  
 Reynold, Reginald, (*Vol. 4, p. 351*), 409 & fn, 411  
*Rise of the Dutch Republic, The*, (J.L. Motley), 664 fn  
 Rolland, Romain, (*Vol. 2, p. 230*), 807 & fn-808  
*Romain Rolland and Gandhi Correspondence* (Publications Division, 1976), 807 fn  
 Romain Rolland Fund, 807 fn  
 Rome, 796  
 ———, Treaties (1957) of, 632 fn-633 & fn  
 Roshan Ara, 300 & fn  
 Rossellini, Roberto, 276, 287 & fn-288, 289 fn, 290-291, 292 & fn, 293-294, 295 & fn-296 & fn, 815  
 Rotterdam, 666  
 Roy, B.C., (*Vol. 4, p. 230*), 52-53, 348 fn, 358, 395  
 ———, Bimal, 287 fn, 294 fn  
 ———, Manobina, 287 & fn, 289-291, 293 fn, 295  
 Royal Air Force (UK), 327, 438 fn  
 Russia (pre-Revolution), 508 fn, 609, 738  
 Russian-Chinese Pact (1954), 582  
 Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), 736 fn-737  
 Rustamji, K.F., (VOL. 30, P. 539), 283 & fn  
 Sabri al-Assali, 469 fn  
 Sacconi, Jose Manuel Rivas, 416  
 Sachar, Bhimsen, (VOL. 2, P. 304), 303  
 Sachdev, M.R., 133  
 Sahay, Bhagwan, (VOL. 28, P. 264), 730 fn, 731 fn  
 ———, Krishna Ballabh, (VOL. 12, P. 88), 303, 402, 403 fn  
 ———, Vishnu, (VOL. 11, P. 142), 419  
 Sahitya Akademi, 173 fn, 174-175, 219  
 Saksena, Mohanlal, (*Vol. 1, p. 233*), 280, 281 fn, 366, 391  
 ———, Ramji Ram, (VOL. 2, P. 490), 398 fn  
 ———, Shibban Lal, (*Vol. 10, p. 172*), 30  
 Sampurnanand, (*Vol. 2, p. 143*), 248, 399 & fn, 404, 405 fn, 689  
 San Francisco, 738  
 Sangeet Natak Akademi, 173 fn  
 Sanghamitra, 710  
 Sangli (Maharashtra), 448  
 Sanskrit Commission, 171-172, 174  
 Santiniketan (West Bengal), 768  
 Saraswati, Atmanand, 215 & fn-216 & fn, 217 fn, 223, 228 fn, 231 & fn-232  
 Sarojini Naidu Memorial Children's Hospital (Allahabad), 191  
 Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha (Delhi), 223 fn  
 Sarvodaya Sammelan (Kerala), 429, 697  
 Sastroamidjojo, Ali, (VOL. 25, P. 431), 745  
*Saturday Review, The*, 458 & fn  
 Satyakamananda Swami, 697 & fn  
 Saud ibn Abdul Aziz, (VOL. 35, P. 488), 488 fn, 551, 608, 747-748, 766  
 Saudi Arabia, 562, 590, 747, 766, 772, 797  
 ———, Government of, 771  
 ———, South-East, 747  
 Saurashtra, 666  
 Save Hindi Agitation (Punjab), 234

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Savio, Juho, 510  
 Sawant (Goan leader), 445  
 Scandinavia, 477, 489, 520, 556, 567, 569, 573, 680, 682, 729  
 Scheduled Castes Federation, 203  
 Schweitzer, Albert, (VOL. 22, P. 5), 458 & fn-459, 786 fn  
 Scientific & Industrial Research, Council of, 112 fn, 313 fn  
 Scythians, 5-6  
 Sema, Khehoshe, 262 & fn  
 Sen, Asoke Kumar, 751 & fn  
 ———, Nakul, (VOL. 4, P. 502), 217 fn  
 ———, S.N., 4 fn, 812 fn, 819 fn  
 ———, Samar, (VOL. 30, P. 443), 733 & fn  
 ———, Santosh, Dr, 694  
 Shahzadpuri, Narain Singh, 235  
 Shakespeare, William, 649  
 "Shakuntala" (play by Kalidasa), 692 & fn, 788  
*Shankar's Weekly* (Delhi), 665 & fn  
 Sharma, Mauli Chandra, (VOL. 15, P. 293), 43, 213, 365  
 Shastri, Algurai, (VOL. 10, P. 200), 387-389, 394 fn, 819  
 ———, Lal Bahadur, (*Vol. 5, p. 164*), 70 fn, 225, 392 & fn  
 Sheorey, B.K., 195 fn-196 & fn  
 Shepilov, Dmitri Trofimovich, (VOL. 34, P. 304), 650 & fn  
 Shillong (Meghalaya), 256, 322  
 Shiromani Akali Dal, 225, 226 fn  
 Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, 225 fn  
 Shivaji, 7, 184  
 Shriman Narayan, (VOL. 19, P. 485), 48 fn, 74 & fn, 429  
 Shriram Bharatiya Kala Kendra (New Delhi), 179 & fn  
 Shukri el- Kuwatli, 469 fn, 475 fn  
 Siberia, 739  
 Siddharth, *Man of Peace* (Harindranath Chattopadhyaya), 801 & fn  
 Sikkim, 687  
 Sind, 6  
 Singapore, 449  
 Singh, Anup, (VOL. 14 Pt. II, P. 478), 232  
 ———, Baldeo, 403  
 ———, Bhagwat, 109  
 ———, Bhupal, (VOL. 6, P. 140), 109  
 ———, C.P.N., (VOL. 11, P. 279), 111, 231, 233  
 ———, Chaudhry Ram, 235  
 ———, Datar, (VOL. 7, P. 32), 424  
 ———, Giani Kartar, (VOL. 6, P. 45), 225  
 ———, Gurmukh Nihal, (VOL. 36, P. 701), 303  
 ———, Hari, (*Vol. 5, p. 467*), 493 & fn, 495, 579, 639  
 ———, Hukam, (VOL. 16 Pt. II, P. 531), 62 fn, 225, 759 & fn  
 ———, Jaipal, (VOL. 10, P. 345), 266  
 ———, Jiwan, 818 & fn  
 ———, Karan, (VOL. 10, P. 237), 744 & fn  
 ———, Nathu, 247 & fn  
 ———, Ranbir, 235  
 ———, Ranbir (VOL. 23, P. 293), 231 & fn  
 ———, Swaran, (VOL. 4, P. 41), 124, 128, 132, 134, 140, 142 fn, 342, 744  
 ———, Tara, (*Vol. 4, p. 572*), 225, 226 fn  
 ———, Yadunath, (VOL. 34, P. 83), 275 & fn, 326  
 Sinha, Anugraha Narain, (VOL. 15 Pt. I, P. 40), 403 & fn  
 ———, Gajendra Prasad, 265 & fn



- , Mahesh Prasad, 303 & *fn*
- , Satya Narayan, (VOL. 2, P. 17), 107
- , Sri Krishna, (*Vol. 3, p. 420*), 51 *fn*, 324, 402-403, 821
- Smith, Howard K., 619 & *fn*, 621-629
- Sobelov, Arkady A., 743 *fn*
- Socialist Party, 169 *fn*
- Societies Registration Act, 340
- Sockarno, Ahmed, (*Vol. 14, p. 452*), 456 & *fn*, 742, 775
- South Africa *see* Union of South Africa
- South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO, 1954), 463, 582, 613
- Soviet Bloc, 455, 475 *fn*, 488, 518, 583, 635, 667
- Soviet Union *see* Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- Spain, 534
- Sri Aurobindo Society, 179 *fn*
- Sri Lanka, 82, 297, 705-707, 709-712, 714-717, 720, 722, 727
- , Government of, 705
- Sri Prakasa, (*Vol. 2, p. 203*), 183, 249 & *fn*, 779 *fn*, 806 & *fn*
- Srinagar (Jammu and Kashmir), 494
- Srinivasan, C.R., (VOL. 19, P. 184), 242
- Srishaila temple (Andhra Pradesh), 166
- Srivastava, Shanti, 822 & *fn*
- St Laurent, Louis, (VOL. 12, P. 413), 749 & *fn*, 787
- St Petersburg, 796
- Stalin(ism), 604, 650 *fn*
- Statesman, The*, 302 *fn*
- Stevenson, Adlai E., (VOL. 19, P. 592), 636
- Stockholm, 516 *fn*, 561, 796
- , City Hall, 561 & *fn*
- Strontium-90, 86, 615
- Subramaniam, C., (VOL. 17, P. 350), 51, 168 & *fn*, 298 *fn*
- Sudan, 775, 797
- Suez Canal, 25, 81, 491, 520, 524, 590, 598 *fn*-599, 609, 620, 633, 642, 686, 721, 725, 727, 747
- , Convention of Constantinople (1888), 520, 590, 608, 725
- , Egyptian Declaration, 609 & *fn*, 633, 686
- Suhrawardy, H.S., (VOL. 30, P. 387), 276, 464 *fn*, 627 *fn*, 630, 634 & *fn*-635, 659 *fn*-660, 676, 684, 686, 702-703, 704 & *fn*, 730
- Sukhadia, Mohanlal, (VOL. 37, P. 346), 247
- Sukselainen, Vaino Johannes, 504 & *fn*, 505 *fn*
- Sukthankar, Y.N., (VOL. 21, P. 264), 244 *fn*, 245-246, 311, 313, 318
- Suleiman el-Nabulsi, 781 *fn*
- Sultan, Abida, 754 & *fn*
- Sun Yat-Sen (*Vol. 9, p. 632*), 684
- Sundaram, K.V.K., (VOL. 2, P. 468), 752 & *fn*
- Supreme Court (India), 130
- Surajgarh (District Monghyr, Bihar), 694 *fn*
- Sweden, 82, 96, 224, 275-276, 406, 489, 508*fn*, 569, 591-592, 594, 793-794
- , Press in, 565, 573
- Swedish Export Association, 569 *fn*
- Swedish-Indian Society, 591 & *fn*
- Swedish Publicists Club, 573 & *fn*
- Switzerland, 219, 794
- Syria, 82, 469, 472, 488, 551, 685, 748
- , Vichy regime in, 488
- Tagore, Rabindranath, (*Vol. 11, p. 672*), 355 *fn*, 359, 710, 768 *fn*
- Taiping Rebellion (China, 1850-65), 684 & *fn*

# SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Taiwan, 573-574, 610  
 Talu pass, 728  
 Tamil Nad, 209  
 Tandon, Purushottamdas, (*Vol. 1, p. 127*), 391  
 Tarachand, (*Vol. 1, p. 331*), 360 & fn-361  
 Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (Mumbai), 157  
 Teakles, John M., 765 fn  
 Techno Export (Czechoslovakia), 122-123  
 Thacker, M.S., (*VOL. 29, P. 141*), 112, 115 & fn, 313, 315 fn, 318-319  
 Thailand, 116  
 Tharpa Choling Monastery (Kalimpong), 688  
 Thatte, L.G., 334  
 Thimayya, K.S., (*VOL. 4, P. 13*), 257-258, 439 fn  
 Thiruvananthapuram, 131  
 Thivy, John A., (*Vol. 15, p. 52*), 455  
 Thondaman, S., 705 & fn-706  
 Thorneycroft, George Edward Peter, 634 & fn, 660  
 Tibet, 562, 612, 674-675, 687, 689, 693  
 ———, Government of, 688-689  
 ———, India's border with, 689  
 Tilak, B.G., (*Vol. 1, p. 41*), 354 fn  
 Time, 289 & fn-290  
 Tipu Sultan, 183  
 Tito, Josip Broz, (*VOL. 22, P. 414*), 775  
 "To the Buddha" (poem by Tagore), 710  
 Tokyo, 753  
 Toynbee, Arnold, (*VOL. 22, P. 110*), 812 fn  
 Travancore-Cochin, 161  
 Travancore Minerals Company Limited, 161  
 Treasure-Trove Act, 166  
 Tribune, The, 215 & fn, 235  
 Tripathi, Kamakhya Prasad, (*VOL. 29, P. 105*), 255 & fn  
 Tripura, 49, 267-268  
 Trivandrum *see* Thiruvananthapuram  
 Trivedi, C.M., (*VOL. 3, P. 5*), 167, 801 & fn  
 Trombay (Maharashtra), 516 fn  
 Tuensang Division (NEFA), 255, 270-271  
 Tungabhadra, 13, 51  
 Tunisia, 748  
 Tuor (of Ashoka Hotel), 133-135  
 Turkey, 652  
 Turks, 6  
 Tyabji, Saif F.B., (*VOL. 29, P. 461*), 93, 158-159, 176  
 Tyagi, Mahavir, (*Vol. 5, p. 211*), 96  
 Udagamandalam (Tamil Nadu), 326  
 Udaipur, Maharana of, *see* Singh, Bhagwat  
 Umi Chand, 9  
 Union Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium (Madanapalli), 482 fn  
 Union of South Africa, 467, 554, 673  
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), 10, 12-13, 40, 64, 85-86, 91, 123, 156, 276 fn, 432-434, 437, 491, 508 fn, 513, 562, 580-581, 584, 587, 589, 604-607, 609-610, 612-614, 620, 624-625, 635-636, 641, 645, 648-650, 653, 667-668, 681-683, 721, 739, 743-744, 748, 758, 761, 782, 786-787, 793-795 *see also* Soviet Bloc  
 ———, Embassy in India of, 749  
 ———, Government of, 129, 667, 743, 748  
 ———, offer of aid from, 121  
 Union Public Service Commission, 30



- United Kingdom (UK), 6, 12, 25, 37, 78 fn-79, 85-86, 95-96, 156, 176, 183, 285, 295, 303, 326, 399, 414, 423, 432-434, 436, 446, 464, 466, 468, 486, 491, 503, 524, 551, 565, 571, 580-581, 600, 605, 609-612, 620, 624, 628, 631-632, 642-643, 647-648, 652, 668, 680, 684, 716, 718, 721, 733, 747, 752 fn, 758, 761, 782, 786-787, 789, 792-793, 797 *see also* British Empire
- , Foreign Office of, 413
- , Government of, 16, 79, 601, 703, 750-751
- , Indian High Commission in, 196 fn, 466, 770 fn
- , Parliament of, 372, 752
- , Press in, 275, 437, 645
- United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority, 632
- United Nations (UN), 23 fn, 417, 423, 446, 455, 461, 478, 481, 495, 505, 517-518, 520-521, 526, 531-532, 536-537, 573-574, 589, 602-603, 616, 618, 638, 673, 684, 721, 726, 739, 743, 754, 760, 762
- , Charter of, 533, 574, 617 & fn-618, 721, 743
- , disarmament sub-committee of, 520-521, 553, 639-641, 671, 762
- , General Assembly, 617 fn, 649
- United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP), 409, 416, 495-496, 532, 548-550, 627, 673, 724
- , Resolution (13 August 1948), 409-411, 496-497, 532, 638, 673-674, 734
- , Resolution (5 January 1949), 410, 496-497, 549, 638, 673-674, 734
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco), 501, 543
- United Nations Emergency Force (Egypt), 516 & fn, 589, 647
- United Nations Security Council, 21, 23, 409, 411, 414, 532, 616, 618, 639, 726, 754, 782 & fn
- , Resolution (24 January 1957), 497, 575-576, 599
- United Press of America, 292 fn
- United States of America (USA), 33-34, 86-87, 95-96, 149, 155-156, 159, 176, 410, 414, 421, 423, 432-434, 440, 446, 464, 484, 491, 513, 524, 538, 557, 559, 570-571, 580, 589, 592, 595, 598 fn, 604, 611, 613, 615, 620, 622-626, 635, 650, 652, 655, 827 *see also* American Bloc
- , Press in, 746
- , State Department of, 412, 667, 734
- , Supreme Court of, 769 fn
- Uttar Pradesh, 4, 17, 55, 169, 171, 179, 248, 367, 386, 391, 405, 673, 689
- , Government of, 169, 191
- Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee, 404 & fn
- Varanasi (Uttar Pradesh), 169 fn
- Veeraswamy, V., 204 & *fn*
- Vellodi, M.K., (VOL. 2, P. 55), 244 fn, 257, 437
- Venice, 796
- Venkatachar, C.S., (VOL. 4, P. 520), 325
- Victoria (Queen), 169 fn
- Victoria and Albert Museum (London), 171, 183
- Vienna, 774
- , Congress (1814-15) of, 275
- Vietnam, 612-613, 775
- Vijaynagaram Kings, 166

# SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Villeneuve (France), 808 & fn  
 Virolainen, Johannes, 507 fn  
 Vishakhapatnam (Andhra Pradesh), 137  
 von Brentano, Heinrich, 633 fn
- Wa (China-Myanmar border), 728  
 Wardha (Maharashtra), 429 fn  
 Warsaw, 793  
 Warsaw Pact (1955), 582  
 Washington D.C., 378, 463, 464 fn, 524, 622, 634  
 Wayne State University (Michigan), 158 fn, 767  
 Wellesley, Arthur, (VOL. 34, P. 83), 183 & fn  
 ———, Richard Colley, 184 & fn  
 West (Occident), 470, 562-563, 565, 718, 727, 738, 769  
 ———, Press in, 550  
 West Asia, 25, 145, 462-463, 551-552, 606-609, 621, 633, 650, 652, 668, 685-686, 721, 725, 732 fn, 745, 747, 766, 781, 785-786, 797-798, 812 fn  
 West Bengal, 49-50, 55, 171, 397, 818 & fn  
 ———, Legislative Assembly of, 395-396  
 ———, Legislative Council of, 395-397  
 West Irian, 668 fn, 743  
 Western Zonal Council, 304 fn  
 William the Silent, 664 fn
- Willington Hospital *see* Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital  
 Wilson, Charles E., 580 & fn  
 Windsor (UK), 275  
 Windsor Castle, 275 & fn-276  
 World Bank *see* International Bank for Reconstruction and Development  
 World Peace Congress (Colombo), 468  
 World War, (First), 37, 488, 512, 527-528, 551, 606, 652, 718  
 ———, (Second), 64, 287 fn, 436, 488, 512, 677, 681, 736, 738, 792-793  
 World Youth and Students Festival (Moscow, July –August 1957), 468, 744 & fn  
 Wu Je *see* Bara Hoti
- Xiaoping, Deng, 788 & fn
- Yagnik, Indulal, 356 & fn  
 Yash Pal, 231 & fn-232  
*Young India*, 1919-22 (M.K. Gandhi), 810  
 Youth Congress, 401-402  
 Yugoslavia, 516 fn
- Zafar, Bahadur Shah, 5  
 Zaldivar, Fulgencio Batista Y, 412 & fn  
 Zhukov, G.K., (VOL. 30, P. 351), 581  
 Ziauddin, Mian, 694 fn-695, 698, 700  
 Zilliacus, Laurin, 535 & fn



## SUBJECT INDEX

Jawaharlal Nehru, addresses, a public meeting at Ramlila Grounds, Delhi, 3-15, Congress women legislators, New Delhi, 31-40, a gathering while inaugurating the earth-moving operations at the Neyveli Lignite Mines, 125-128, the National Council for Training in Vocational Trades, New Delhi, 146-154, the Family Planning Board, New Delhi, 193-195, the Congress Parliamentary Party, 277-280, 367-378, 676-686, a conference of Presidents and General Secretaries of PCCs, New Delhi, 379-380, the AICC, New Delhi, 380-385, and a banquet in honour of PM of Japan, New Delhi, 736-737, and a civic reception in his honour, 737-739;

drafts, AICC resolution, on economic situation, 46-48, on food production, 113-114, and a Lok Sabha resolution on nuclear test explosions, 758-759;

gives interview to, Laurin Zilliacus for Finnish Radio, Helsinki, 535-539, James Cameron, for BBC, New Delhi, 599-603, and Columbia Broadcasting System, London, 619-629;

gives press conference in, Copenhagen, 483-498, Helsinki, 517-534, Oslo, 547-560, Stockholm, 573-591, London, 635-649, the Hague, 666-675, and Colombo, 722-727;

issues, a statement to the press, on Assam's claims for an oil refinery, 145-146, on a smaller house for Prime Minister, 273, and a joint statement with PM of Sri Lanka, 720-722;

sends message to, African Students'

Association of India, 164-165, the Harijan Convention, Jalandhar, 234, a brochure on development in NEFA, 252-253, and the Youth Congress, 401-402;

speaks in the Lok Sabha on, the President's Address, 15-31, the Second Pay Commission, 62-70, budget proposals, 83-97, the Atomic Energy Department, 155-161, removal of statues of British times, 169-170, policy towards the Nagas, 265-266, the tribal areas of North-East, 267-268, the importance of parliamentary conventions 353-354, the Ministry of External Affairs, 460-468, and the resolution on nuclear test explosions, 759-764;

speaks (abroad) at, a civic reception, Damascus, 469-473, a banquet hosted by President of Syria, Damascus, 474-476, a banquet hosted by PM of Denmark, Copenhagen, 477-482, the Danish-Indian Society, Copenhagen, 499-504, a dinner by PM of Finland, Helsinki, 504-509, the Friends of India Society, Helsinki, 509-515, a dinner in Oslo, Norway, 540-547, a banquet by Mayor of Oslo, 560, a dinner by PM of Sweden, 561-568, a lunch by the Swedish Export Association, Stockholm, 569-572, a dinner by the Swedish-Indian Society and International Club, Stockholm, 591-597, India House, London, 651-659, a dinner by the Dutch PM, the Hague, 661-664, a prize distribution ceremony of Shankar's children's competition, the

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Hague, 665, Colombo airport, 706-707, a civic reception, Colombo, 707-709, a public meeting, Anuradhapura, 709-711, a public meeting, Colombo, 711-718, and a lunch hosted by MPs of Sri Lanka, 718-720;
- talks with, the PM of Sri Lanka, 727, the US ambassador, 734, and the Soviet ambassador, 743-745;
- writes, foreword to, G. Borkar, *Health in Independent India: A decade of Progress* 186-189, *Romain Rolland And Gandhi Correspondence* (Publications Division), 807-808, and preface to the Polish edition of Gandhiji's autobiography, 804-805;
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, on,
- African students, higher education for, 164-165;
- aggression, definition of, 537;
- agrarian cooperatives, 28-29, 118-120;
- agriculture and industry, need for balance between, 678-679;
- AICC, approval of the Budget and Second Five Year Plan objectives, 47-48, on ways to increase foodgrains production, 113-114, resolution on economic situation, 46-48;
- Algeria, future of, 461, 667;
- Amiya Chakravarty, interpretation of India's policy by, 768;
- Andaman Islands, exploiting timber products of, 250-251;
- Ashoka Hotel, proper management of, 134-135;
- Asia, nationalism in, 488-489, necessity of peace and freedom in, 470-471, 501-503, social and economic problems in, 500;
- Assam government, audit objection to grants to Congress constructive wing by, 319-321, 338-340, financial irregularities by, 321-322;
- atomic energy, 11, development for peaceful purposes of, 155-161, 536-537, 652, discretion in the use of, 479, 514;
- atomic energy department, control of, 157, research and application by, 157, training of personnel by, 157-158;
- Bandung Conference, spirit of, 472-473;
- Buddha, and the meaning of 'true victory', 503, message of, 706-707, 709-711, 724;
- Canada, elections in, 787, US domination of economy of, 635;
- capitalism, features of, 39;
- ceremonial functions, need for austerity in, 83;
- China, admission to UN of, 574-575, 610, and India, cultural influences in South-East Asia of, 555, border with Burma of, 693, 728-729, border with India of, 689-690, 693, comparison of problems of India and, 783-784, 787, developments within, 787-788, foodgrains scarcity in, 17, people of, 613, rectification drive in, 691;
- Chitral, Afghanistan's stand on, 740-741;
- Christians, non-representation in central and state cabinets of, 200-202;
- civil defence, 436;
- civil servants, age of retirement of, 405, 680, 806, lack of dignity and propriety abroad of, 329-330;
- Coffee Board, retrenchment of workers of, 141-142;
- cold war technique, 460, 462, 513, 544-545, 626, 684, and generation of fear psychosis by, 513-514;
- colonialism, 626, 636-637;
- Commonwealth, India's membership of,



- 467-468, 525, 554-555, 599-603, 628, 764, possibility of realignment of nations within, 525,
- community development scheme, 27-28, 93, 114, 118, 126-127, 523, 559, 628-629, 656-657, 784, report of programme evaluation committee on, 58-59, 84, 784;
- Congress Party, alleged non-fulfilment of promises to Akali Dal by, 225, allocation of parliamentary work between general secretaries of, 387-389, 394-395, Gian Singh Rarewala and, 226-227, hiatus between Congress ministries and administration vis-a-vis, 392-393, 399-400, Mahatma Gandhi's leadership of, 14-15, non-selection of M.L. Saksena as a candidate for elections by, 366-367, 391-392, revitalization of the, 367-383, role of workers in, 365-366;
- cottage industries, status in pre-British India of, 38-39;
- Cyprus, future of, 750-751;
- defence policy, 85-86, 437-438, 440-442;
- Delhi, legislation for a Corporation for, 241-242, malpractices in Delhi Race Club of, 240, problems of town-planning in, 244-246, slum improvement work in, 237-239; strike by municipal workers in, 242-243;
- democracy or democratic way, 718-720;
- Denmark, impressions of, 483-484;
- East Pakistan, burden of rehabilitation of refugees from, 498, 533, 578, gift of rice to, 644;
- Egypt, aid for relief work in, 741-742;
- Eisenhower Doctrine, 725, 732, 786;
- Emperor Asoka, influence on India of, 474-475, 546-547, message of tolerance of, 546-547;
- English, continued encouragement by government of, 603;
- estate duty, obtaining revenue for Government from, 111;
- Europe, evolution of a common market for, 557-558, 632-633, rebuilding after World War II of, 792-796;
- expenditure tax, impact on former princes of, 109;
- family planning, role of government in, 193, 548, role of women in, 59;
- fertilizer factories, management of, 314-315;
- Finland, cooperation in UN with, 520, financial problems of, 516-517, kinship of spirit with, 505, people of, 519;
- First Five Year Plan, foodgrains production targets in, 46, 522, mistakes committed in, 92;
- First War of Independence (1857), and causes of 4-5, 7, 9, avoidance of mention of atrocities in souvenir on, 817, centenary of, 3-4, 14-15, communal harmony during, 8, differing opinions on the nature of, 3-4, 819;
- flu epidemic, in Bombay and Delhi, 809;
- foodgrains, production, supply, and prices of, 17, 19-20, 51-52, 61, 80, 97-99, 102-106, 113-114, 119, 789-790;
- foreign exchange crisis, 61, 71-72, 491, 523-524, 642-643, 656, 672, 774-775;
- freedom of expression, 819-820;
- Geological Survey of India, ministerial control of, 313, 318-319;
- Goa, economic sanctions on, 450, helping students from, 451, pay and allowances of certain leaders of, 445, policy of non-use of force in, 22-23, 435, Portuguese policy on, 534, 556, publicity abroad about, 422, 447, raising the morale of the people of,

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- 446-447, review of policy on, 449, role of peace brigades in, 429, talks with MPs on, 447-448;
- government employees, monitoring of conduct of, 299-300, unrest among, 152-154, 345-346, 348-349;
- Government Hospitality Organization, proposed appointment of Mrs Mathias, 275, 326;
- Government servants, age of retirement of, 405, 680, 806, lack of dignity and propriety abroad of, 329-330, misuse of public funds by, 308, 327, 329, UPCC resolution on raising age of retirement of, 404-405;
- Governors, criteria for appointment of, 302-303;
- Haj, restricting the passage of pilgrims to, 722;
- Harsha Hutheesing, explaining to, the role of the state in economic development, 823-827;
- himself, adoption of the profession of politics by, 510, 715, allegations of misuse of government machinery for election work by, 305-307, 309-310, 331-335, and Indira Gandhi's fondness for mangosteens, 81, and personal efforts at economy, 98-99, becoming a citizen of Damascus, 469-473, childhood memories of people's first-hand accounts of 1857 uprising, 4, differences between Jayaprakash Narayan and, 811, 820-821, difficulty in writing about the Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi, 801, 807, 810, naming institutions after, 178, notice of a resolution to AICC asking Nehru to 'give up control', 378, on cow-slaughter, 334, practice of yoga by, 485, 499, pursuit of history-writing by, 803, 819, salary and allowances for, 99, 384-385;
- Hindi, agitation in Punjab for securing a rightful place for, 90, 209-224, 227-231, 234, 236;
- Hindustani Prachar Sabha, grant from Gandhi Smarak Nidhi for, 812-813;
- H.S. Suhrawardy, anti-India propaganda by, 634-635, 684, 704-705, 730;
- Hungary, UN Report on, 550-551, 587, 619-621, 762, India's position on the 'national uprising in', 763;
- Hyderabad and Junagadh, integration into India of, 492-493, 577;
- India, and Asia, revolutionary changes in, 651-659, availability of trained engineers in, 148-149, Britisher's working in, 557, calling eminent Indian scientists from abroad to, 158-159, 767, economic difficulties faced by, 65-73, 76, 126, 149-150, historical reasons for weakness of, 7, inner, emotional strength and unity of, 14, 567-568, 780, intermingling of races and cultures of, 6, national solidarity of, 151, population in, 584-585, socialistic pattern of society in, 552-553;
- Indian Air Force, purchase of aircraft for, 85-86, 440-441;
- Indian Army, withdrawal from Naga Hills District and Tuensang Division of, 255-261, 264;
- Indian Institute of Technology, Madras, acquisition of land for, 168;
- Indian publications, pricing of, 175-176, sale abroad of, 173;
- Indian Revolution, children of, 565;
- imperialism, 475-476;
- Indonesia, relations with, 739-740, 742-743, 745-746;



- Indo-China, India's role in, 478-479, 611-612;
- Israel, change in the outlook of, 752, 755, exchange of diplomatic missions with, 755-756;
- Japan, and Russo-Japanese war, 737-738, diplomatic disagreements with, 738, rebuilding of after World War II of, 736, resurgence of, 736-739;
- Jiwan Singh, unfavourable reports on work of, 818;
- Karl Marx, and scientific socialism, 37-38, relevance of economic theory of, 90-91;
- Kashmir, elections held in, 532, events leading to the accession of, 409-410, 493-497, 531-532, 536, 548-550, 575-579, 626-627, 637-639, 673, 674, 782, explaining to Cuba and Colombia the issue of, 411-413, 416-419, internal situation in, 578, issue of permits to students from, 419, Jarring report on, 410-411, 414, 420, 531, 724, Pakistan's plans for destabilization in, 684-685, 704, publicity abroad on, 422, reported views of C. Rajagopalachari on the proposal for plebiscite in, 409, 411;
- Kerala, communist government in, 530, 558, 645, 725-726, situation in, 74;
- Lady Hardinge Medical College (New Delhi), proposal for admission of male students to, 163-164;
- Lalit Kala Akademi, financial grants for publications by, 178-179;
- Laos, political negotiations in, 733;
- Lok Sabha, conventions in, 353-354;
- Maharashtra, demand for a separate state of, 249;
- Mahatma Gandhi, and Romain Rolland, 807-808, and technique of satyagraha, 486-487, and the freedom movement, 14, influence in India of, 14-15, 474-475, 479-481, 500, 511, 541, 545, 565-567, 593, 658, 718, 737, 804-805, 807-808;
- Malaya, people of Indian descent in, 751-752;
- M.A. Rauf, illness of, 770-771;
- Ministry of External Affairs, allegations of corruption in, 29-30, 308; effecting economies in the functioning of, 465-466, 775;
- Naga problem, 255-272;
- Naga Hills District, taking over by the Centre of, 255-256, 262-263, 270-272;
- Nagarjunakonda, restoration work in the ancient town of, 177;
- Najoo Billimoria, unjustified dismissal from Government service of, 298-300;
- National Development Council, discussions in, 59, proposal for a standing committee of, 54, purpose of, 49;
- Nepal, investment of Indian capital in, 730-731, proposal by Biju Patnaik to run internal airline in, 731;
- New Guinea, question of freedom to, 668-669;
- Neyveli lignite project, 125, 127-128, management of, 125;
- Nihar Ranjan Ray, propriety of nomination to West Bengal Council of, 397-398;
- non-alignment, and military alliances, 527-528, and world peace, 21, meaning of, 505;
- non-official delegations abroad, sending and financing of, 772-773;
- non-violent defence techniques, theory and practice of, 430-436;

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- North-East, challenge of development in, 252-254, differences in identity of states in, 267-268, policy regarding tribal areas in, 267-268;
- nuclear and thermonuclear weapons tests, and disarmament, 10-11, 13, 15, 21, 24-25, 86, 162, 458-459, 463, 518-519, 521, 553-554, 558, 589, 614-616, 624, 639-642, 671-672, 721-723, 739, 745, 757-762, 764-765, 782, 786-787, 797, appeal by Albert Schweitzer to end, 458-459, resolution in Parliament on, 758-759;
- official secrets, leakage of, 337-338;
- oil refinery, Assam Congress agitation for location of, 139-140, considerations for location at Barauni of, 135-138, 140, 142-144, statement to the press on location of, 145-146, 269;
- optical glass factory, location of, 131, Soviet credit for, 129;
- Pakistan, arrest of Indian diplomats in, 696, 698, friendly gestures towards, 644-645, relations with, 699, 701, sharing of canal and river waters with, 463-464, 700-703, suicide in Delhi by a national of, 694, 695;
- Panchsheel, origins and application of, 456-458, 507, 536;
- Pan-Islam, 783;
- Parliament, vernacular translations of oath taken by Members of, 357-358;
- Parliament House, portraits of national leaders in Central Hall of, 354-359, selection of quotations for inscription in, 355-356;
- parliamentary democracy, evolution in India of, 20, 40, 507;
- peace, 151-152, 525;
- petroleum products, high prices in Bombay of, 124, vast profits accruing to oil companies from hike in prices of, 128, 132; capacity of Assam railway for transportation of, 123-124;
- planned development, experiences gained from First and Second Five Year Plans, 92, 490;
- Planning Commission, coordination between Ministries and, 45-46, 118, working of, 44-45;
- Police State, disapproval of methods of a, 293-294;
- political organizations, propriety of government grants to, 319-321, 338, 340;
- Pondicherry, transfer to India of, 467;
- Prime Minister's House, 273-275, suitability of Teen Murti House as, 273-286, 277-282;
- Punjab government, economy measures of, 111, criticism of appointment of high officials by, 235;
- Rajasthan, compensation to small jagirdars for land acquired by Government of, 247-248;
- Rajya Sabha, criteria for Presidential nomination to, 360-361;
- Ramlila ballet, organization by Shriram Bharatiya Kala Kendra of, 179-180;
- Rashtrapati Bhavan, expenditure on maintenance of, 325, 385;
- rice, import from Thailand of, 116-117, production of, artificial, 112, 115;
- Roberto Rossellini, police shadowing of, 292, 295, romantic affairs of, 287-296, 815;
- Roshan Ara Begum, payment of compensation to, 300;
- salaries and allowances, of Central Ministers, 101, 108, of Ministers of Congress ruled states, 384-387;
- Sanskrit, and the role of Sanskrit Commission, 171-174, importance of, 171-172;



- Scandinavian countries, impressions of, 680-682, 793, 794, role in power politics of, 489;
- Scheduled Castes, status of privileges on conversion to Buddhism of, 203-205;
- scientists, promotion of, 315-316;
- Second Five Year Plan, 26-27, 43, 46-47, 53-54, 93, 177, 522-524, AICC resolution on, 48, placing of reports in Lok Sabha on working of first year of, 84, prioritization of schemes in, 60, publicity of objectives and achievements of, 70, role of Planning Commission in, 60-62;
- Second Pay Commission, and food prices, 119, and likely burden on Central and State Governments, 73, and socialistic pattern of society, 63, appointment of, 62-63, 73;
- security arrangements, high expenditure on VIPs, 323-324, for the PM, 297-298, 301;
- separate electorates and the communal divide, 8-9;
- socialism in India, 18, 31-37, 39, 97, 552-553;
- Sri Lanka, fear of Indian invasion of, 714-718, friendly relations with, 715-716, 720-722, issue of stateless persons in, 727;
- Srishaila temple, excavation of 'hidden treasures' in, 165-167;
- State Legislatures, issue of defeated candidates standing for election to the Upper Houses of, 395-396;
- Statistical Service, formation of, 311-312, 316-317, 343-344;
- statues of British times, removal of, 169-171;
- sterling balances, release by UK of, 630-631, 648, 660;
- strikes, use of force to curb, 336;
- strontium 90, harmful effects of, 86-87, 485-486;
- Suez Canal issue, 25, 520, 590, 609, 725;
- taxation, and free education and healthcare for people, 95-96, harassment in collection of, 89, lowering of exemption limit in income tax, 77-80, 94-95, 110, need for, 96, 110, proposals in budget, 94, 110, sales tax, levy of, 55-56, 77, wealth and expenditure tax, 82, 94;
- Tibet, cultural ties with, 687-688, status of, 612, 674-675;
- UN, effectiveness of, 616-618;
- Uttar Pradesh, compensation for acquisition of land by government, 48;
- USSR, credits from, 581-582, 645, establishment of a consulate in Chennai of, 748-749, impressions on political and social changes in, 604-606, 636, 648-651, 667, 682, 793, utilization of aid from, 121-123;
- visas, delay in issue to foreigners of, 336, for Youth Festival and Peace Congress, 468;
- war, and neutrality, 526, 527, evils of, 512, way of peace versus way of, 707-709;
- West Asia, the situation in, 462-463, 551-552, 606, 610, 685-686, 747-748, 766, 781, 785-786, 797;
- western music in India, 175;

This volume opens with Jawaharlal Nehru's public speech at the Ramlila Grounds in Delhi on 10 May 1957. [Nehru] recalled how he used to listen to tales of what happened in 1857-58 in Allahabad, Delhi, Lucknow and other places. These stories made a deep impression on him and filled him with anger.

According to Nehru, the great outburst of 1857 was an expression of the people's anger against the British takeover of the country.... He did not think it was a coordinated movement: but there was a general feeling of resentment spread over the whole of north India and one spark was enough to ignite a whole conflagration.

While the bulk of the collection in this volume deals with "External Affairs", the volume is replete with documents which show Nehru's concern about the issue of food scarcity and shortage of foreign exchange at this point in time.

The sections on "Minorities and Weaker Sections" has documents that illustrate Nehru's commitment to a pluralist society. The External Affairs section begins with a letter to Russell H. Fifield, a US Foreign Service officer. It is a lucid exposition of Panchsheel. Nehru claims to have first used this term after the five principles of peaceful coexistence emerged out of long discussions between the Governments of India and China.

The Prime Minister visited, in June 1957, Syria, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden....In Oslo, Norway, he made it clear that the Kashmir problem was not a question of territory: "[It] is a question of basic approaches, a kind of theocratic approach on the Pakistan side and a secular approach that we follow."...Nehru [also] went to London to attend the eighth Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference....[There] he talked of the nationalism of each individual country in the Middle East as "a real and effective force", welcomed the decision of the United Kingdom to relax controls on trade with China, and addressed the question of disarmament.



## From Reviews of Earlier Volumes

Documents never before published and included in this volume (36) throw light on the nuances, subtleties, crudities and manipulations that suffused the situation. Particularly important and fascinating is the complete record of Nehru's marathon talks with the Chinese Prime Minister, Zhou Enlai, in India, together with his notes on his equally prolonged talks with President Eisenhower and his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, in Washington.

**Indian Express**

Jawaharlal Nehru strode across the land like a colossus. Little or nothing escaped his interest.... He was, above all, a highly civilized man.... Every volume in this series repays study. It has maintained a consistently high standard in annotation and production.... This volume (32) is no different from others in publishing, alike, records that reflect Nehru's good sense and unrealistic ideas; commitment to norms and the compromises when they suited his government's interests.

**Frontline**

As each volume of his invaluable *Selected Works* rolls out of the press, extremely well produced and inexpensively priced, one is struck, again and again, by the rich complexities of Jawaharlal Nehru.... This volume (30) covers the period when he received the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission.... It speaks a lot for Nehru's abiding relevance that each volume has material of contemporary relevance.

**Frontline**